



DADABHAI NAOROJI.

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DADABHAI NAOROJI

BY MR. RUSTAM B. PAYMASTER, B.A., LL.B.

'Tis dark, the sky of Ind is overcast
With densest gloom, her solar King is gone,
Who cheered her with his light and warmth and [love,

Who gave her nobler cares and larger views,
Infused in her a life of Faith and Hope,—
Of boundless Hope and Faith beyond all thought,
Awoke her from her deepest apathy,
And taught her how to make her destiny.
No more is Ind a listless country now,
Dull, cold and lifeless as you erstwhile found,
A spirit new with aspirations large,
Your gospel of Swaraj inspires in her,
Her heart is stirred unto its utmost depths,
Her pulse moves quick with warm and healthy [blood,

There's life in every limb, that once was numb,
And blood flows warm in every artery.

You left your hearthstone warm in native Ind,
Those near and dear to you, your kith and kin,
For foreign lands in colder regions bleak,
You stood the stress of adverse wind and storm,
Of frost and blight, receiving scars and wounds,
Nor swayed from side to side in coldest blast,
But manful conquered all for years and years,
Inured to roughest weather ever known.

Your voice soon gathered all the scattered bones
That in the valley lay, and called them up
As if their time of resurrection came,
Your own example was a deathless torch
With which was kindled bright for ever more
The fire of purest patriotism,—

Which not in mere lip-service hollow lay,
But deep as life, embraced a myriad souls.
You by your self-control first conquest made
O'er all your senses, passions, appetites,
No pride you had of victories you gained,
No consciousness of service rendered long;
But always like a true Zoroastrian wore
The white and spotless garment of true love,
In Bharat-Mata's temple stood devout,
And to her loving offerings hourly gave.

O best of patriots e'er produced on earth!
India's true Saviour and Apostle famed!

Though winters ninety-two passed o'er your head,
Still, still the same simplicity of faith
You had, so burning and so passionate,
So unsurpassed in pristine purity
Which all around undying lustre spread,
With reasoned right and sober self-restraint.

Sagacious leader of your countrymen!
Whose destinies did mould by speech and pen,
Controlled and guided currents of their thoughts,—
To right and noble ends you used your power,
To highest purposes employed each hour
And in return as idol worshipped far,—
For ever loved and honoured and esteemed
For ever revered and for ever mourned

In every niche your Indian brethren will
Preserve your image bright with sacred love,
Be they Hindoos, Moslems or Parsees,
Marathas, Sikhs, or Sindhis, Bengalis.
Your sons and daughters and their children, too,
Will hush your name as maker of the race,
Regenerator of their country loved
Who gave them eyes and gave them light and [life,
And gave them voice and speech who once were [dumb.

Let us not sadden him by our vain tears,
Too great he was for us to weep and mourn,
But following his sacred footsteps close,
In lowly wise our gratitude may show
To him who had the foresight of a seer,
Unclouded, sweet simplicity of heart,
Whose mighty soul poured out but warmth and [light,

In cascades bright, enkindling all the world.

The magic wand you held as prophet blest
Hath changed the aspect of our country's cause,
Where once was dark, there soon appeared a haze,
By efforts yours, 't was changed to crimson tint
Of dawn, and grew to blaze of glorious light
Of Swaraj and self-government you taught.
Thus earned with one accord and one acclaim,
The diadem of immortality!

A Blind Baronet's Work for the Blind

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SINGH.

BLINDNESS came to a great journalist and newspaper owner in London six or seven years ago. He was then only about forty-five years of age, and was full of life and vigour, used to working under great pressure for long hours. It was not the temperament that is staggered by a cruel blow dealt by Fate. Instead of rebelling against the handicap that had been imposed upon him and cursing his unlucky stars, he revolved in his mind various plans for spending the years that still stretched out before him so as to get the most good out of them. He could have done what another great journalist—the late Mr. Joseph Pulitzer of the New York *World*—did and continued to direct the fortunes of his newspaper and magazine enterprises in spite of his blindness. But Cyril Arthur Pearson felt that he had made all the money he needed for himself and his family, and wisely chose to give the rest of his life to the service of his fellow-creatures who laboured under the same disadvantage under which he himself had been placed.

Soon after he made this resolution, Mr. Pearson associated himself with the National Institute for the Blind. He brought to his new work that fiery energy and enthusiasm, that tireless persistence and that consummate business ability that had enabled him to rise from Rs. 1,500 a year at the age of twenty to be one of the most dominating personalities in British newspaperdom, the owner of three daily papers and several weekly and monthly magazines. He at once began to think out plans to obtain funds, to extend the institution and to increase its utility. He approached his friends personally and got at the public by letters, leaflets, and newspaper advertisements. He secured money and offers of assistance. The number of persons who bought the articles manufactured by the blind increased as the people learned of the existence of the industries that were being carried on. The additional

funds secured were used to improve internal organization, to better the methods of housing and teaching the blind charges of the institution, and to increase the volume of literature printed in Braille—the ingenious invention that enables blind persons to “read” by passing their finger-tips over the letters that consist of a series of dots raised on paper.

While engaged in this beneficent work, the war came on, and with it came the cry of the men who had been blinded in action. They had left their comfortable homes and their paying positions in office, shop, or factory, to stand up for their country and for civilizations; and had been sent back to England with their sight gone and all hope blotted out of their lives. Mr. Pearson answered the call, and immediately set out to organize an institution to comfort the blinded soldiers and sailors, and to make them as independent of charity as he could.

Mr. Otto Kahn, a rich American, held the lease of a residence in London that was ideally suited to serve as a home for the blind. It was in the midst of the world's metropolis, and yet was as quiet as if it was situated in the country miles and miles away from the hurly-burly of modern life. The reason for this quietude was that “St. Dunstan's,” as it was called, was surrounded by an extensive park known as Regents' Park. Readers of William Makepeace Thackeray will be interested to learn that it was none other than the country-house of the wicked Lord Steyne, of “Vanity Fair.”

Mr. Pearson approached Mr. Kahn the lessee of St. Dunstan's, who readily placed it at his disposal, to be converted into an institution for soldiers and sailors blinded in the war. Money was quickly collected to fit the existing buildings, to serve the new requirements, and to erect out-houses for work-shops, study-rooms, and dormitories. Within a few weeks the place was ready to

receive blinded fighters who were physically fit to leave the hospitals where they had undergone treatment after being wounded. Mr. Pearson's resourcefulness and energy were rewarded, shortly afterwards, by the King, bestowing a Baronetcy upon him, and, as a result, therefore, refer to him in the remainder of this article as Sir Arthur Pearson, or simply as Sir Arthur.

I claimed the philanthropist as an editor for whom I had written before he went blind, and called upon him at St. Dunstan's a short time ago. He was not in when I arrived, but his Secretary, Mr. Castle, who, like his employer, is an energetic and resourceful man, conducted me through the institution.

About the first thing that he did was gently to pull me off a strip of carpet that ran through the centre of the hall, on which I was standing. For explanation he called my attention to a blind man who was coming towards us. He was not carrying any stick, nor was he being led by the hand by anyone, and I naturally did not take him to be a blind man. But I realized that he was sightless as soon as he had moved forward a few paces; for he paused just the fraction of a second to feel with his foot where the strip of carpet ended at the door. He mounted the step leading into the next room, as any sighted person would have done.

Strips of carpet of even breadth ran through the centre of every room, and made it possible for men to go about without being guided, or even without feeling their way with a stick; for so long as they remained on the carpet they were sure they were going in the right direction, and that there would be nothing in their way that they would knock against, barring another blind man going in the opposite direction. Several times I saw two men bump up against each other as they were hurrying over the strip of carpet, but on such occasions they greeted each other with merry

banter, and went on as if nothing unusual had happened.

Out of doors other means have been taken to guide the men about. At the top of the terraces and on the top and bottom steps of stairways, strips of lead or wood tell the men, the moment they set foot on them, just where they are. Railings along the footpaths leading to the various out-houses guide them, and when they come to a turn in the paths they feel for the little knob that serves to direct them aright.

The first thing a blinded warrior learns when he goes to St. Dunstan's is to read Braille with his finger-tips. It is surprising how quickly these men master the system. Some of them make more rapid progress than others, though nearly every one is able to read Braille quite rapidly after six or seven weeks' practice. The secret of success lies in the institute employing blind instructors to teach the blind. I found many of these teachers were working without any recompense whatever, and a number of them were women.

Once the Braille system is mastered, the blinded soldier or sailor loses that terror of life in the dark that sudden loss of sight inspired in him. He is able to get away from his own thoughts by occupying himself with useful or interesting reading. He can feast upon books covering practically the whole range of literature. Many of the world's classics are now available in Braille. Text books on all sorts of subjects have been especially prepared for the use of the blind. Numerous novels have also been printed for their exclusive benefit. Periodical literature is also open to them. They can even read a daily paper, for the *Daily Mail* is published in Braille every day of the week. Thus they are able to keep in touch with what is going on in the world.

As soon as a man has learned to read Braille, he is taught to write it so that he may be able to express his thoughts by "writing." None of

them has ever seen, and never will see the little machine used for this purpose. It is simplicity itself. By pressing different keys, series of dots are embossed. On a narrow strip of paper tape, when the end of the composition is reached, the tape is torn off and wound back on the reel. Anyone conversant with Braille is able to pass his fingers over the raised dots and read what has been written.

A system of Braille-shorthand has been perfected, by means of which a blind man can take down notes by pressing the keys of the machine. I saw blinded fighters taking dictation as rapidly as the average sighted shorthand writer does with pen or pencil.

I was taken from the shorthand-typewriting section of the Institute to the department where blinded soldiers and sailors are taught massage. An assortment of human bones lay on a long table, around which several blinded men were sitting. One of them held in his hand the bones of a foot, and was slowly and carefully passing his fingers over them noting all their characteristics and peculiarities. The teacher, a kindly woman with a sweet voice, was telling him the names of the different parts. She paused in her lesson, upon our arrival, and Sir Arthur Pearson's Secretary picked up a bone from the table and gave it to the person nearest to him, and asked him if he could tell us what it was. The long, sinuous fingers of the man recently blinded, and without any previous knowledge of anatomy, went over it methodically, and he called out the correct name and gave the scientific description of it without any hesitation.

After the pupil has had primary instruction in anatomy and physiology at St. Dunstan's Hostel, he is passed on to the Institution for Massage by the Blind conducted by the National Institute for the Blind—the parent Institute of St. Dunstan's—which provides unexcelled facilities for the teaching of massage to the blind. It has a class-

room, gymnasium and dressing rooms, lavishly equipped with the necessary apparatus to prepare men to become healers. There is, for instance, a complete model of the human body, so constructed that every muscle, nerve, and bone is fully defined, and every organ is removable.

After the completion of the period of instruction the pupil goes up for the examination prescribed by the Incorporated Society of Trained masseurs. The tests are stiff the same for blind men as for sighted persons. One of the men from St. Dunstan's topped the list at a recent examination, with distinction, and another stood sixth with distinction.

In response to my inquiry, the teacher said that there was keen demand for masseurs. The Army needed them badly to massage the limbs of wounded soldiers. When a man went out from the Institute, he was able to earn £2.13s. a week. Many of them did not earn a third of that sum before the war, when they were sighted. She went on to say that even after the war the demand for masseurs will remain quite brisk, for the world is coming more and more to realize the good that massage accomplished. A blind man, she added, is often a better masseur than a sighted person, because blindness gives him a delicacy of touch upon which depends the success of massaging, and lack of sight makes him concentrate upon his work, for there is nothing to distract his attention.

In the boot-repairing department, a totally blind man was running a stitching machine and turning out work that any sighted boot-maker might well be proud of doing. The repairs done by hand left nothing to be desired. I was glad to hear that kind-hearted men and women in town and country regularly send their boots and shoes to St. Dunstan's, and the shop always has work on hand waiting to be done. Many of the men who have graduated from St. Dunstan's are now earning £1 a week or more at boot-repairing.

The instructor in the carpentry department is a totally blind man whose skill with the saw and hammer is almost uncanny. He has a great knack of teaching joinery, carpentry, and cabinet-making to the newly blinded fighters. He takes in hand men who were formerly employed on farms as agricultural labourers, or in shops or offices, and who had never before handled carpenter's tools, and gets them to make packing cases, hen coops, rabbit hutches, wooden trays, and other useful articles. Persons who were carpenters before they became blind, or who have special aptitude for the trade, are taught cabinet making.

I saw several drawing-room tables, desks and book-shelves, trays, that the sightless cabinet-makers had made. I carefully examined the articles they had turned out to see if the hammer had struck the wood instead of the nails that were being driven into it, and failed to detect any such mark. The finish very much delighted me.

A few yards from the work-shops is the poultry farm of the Institute. It is in charge of Captain Webber, the blind poultry expert, who is assisted by several sighted and blind persons.

When I visited this department of St. Dunstan's, I saw some of the blinded fighters being initiated into the mysteries of the incubator. In the next chicken house a class was being trained to distinguish the breed of poultry by the sense of touch. In the third house, a blind sergeant was teaching blinded soldiers how to truss a chicken for cooking.

In the garden just outside the poultry farm blinded soldiers were busy growing vegetables to feed the chickens, and also for human consumption. They worked with spade, hoe, and rake so efficiently that if I had not been told that they were totally blind, I would have taken them to be ordinary gardeners.

In another part of the grounds I saw instruction being given in netting. Nets of various sorts were being made, ranging from shopping bags to

hammocks. The dexterity with which the blinded men worked was surprising.

Sir Arthur Pearson's Secretary told me that they were also teaching blinded warriors to be telephone operators and drivers. He said that great emphasis was laid upon the advisability of every man acquiring some trade that would make him independent of charity. Men who learned to read and write Braille or studied stenography in the morning spent the afternoon in one of the workshops, the poultry, farm, or at gardening or netting. Those who had been engaged in some manual occupation in the forenoon underwent mental training in the afternoon. Thus the head and the hand were equally developed.

The blinded fighters do not lack for amusement. Every Saturday afternoon a number of them visit theatres and music halls, where they are entertained as guests of the management of these places of amusement. Twice a week dances are given at St. Dunstan's. Often, of an evening, domino tournaments are arranged, or the men compete in games in which they are required to discover and to identify various objects by the sense of touch. Once a week a debate is held, in which the men engage with great zest. Many topics of general topical interest are discussed on the occasions. A piano class has been started, and other kinds of musical instruction is given if desired. Concerts and entertainments are provided regularly. The whole effort is to keep the men from becoming down-hearted because time hangs heavily on their hands and they have nothing to amuse them or to occupy their thoughts.

The Institute has homes by the sea-side at Brighton and Torquay, where men needing change of air are sent, and kept as long as may be necessary for their health. A special annex is maintained a short distance from St. Dunstan's for the care and training of blinded officers.

The workers in St. Dunstan's try to study each person entrusted to their charge individually, and to do the best they can for him. I learned, for instance, of a man who wished to set up as a news-vendor, was taught to distinguish different papers and periodicals by the sense of touch and now has a prosperous business of his own.

The Institute takes no end of pains to find suitable jobs for the men who leave it after learning a trade or profession. It keeps in touch with them, helps them if trouble arises, and endeavours to get them to take a bright view of life if they show an inclination to become low spirited.

Sir Arthur Pearson came to the Hostel before I had finished visiting the different departments, and I had a long talk with him before I left. In the course of our conversation I unfortunately referred to his "affliction." He at once corrected me. "Handicap, if you like," he said, "but not affliction." He then let me have an insight into

the philosophy that he has learned from life, especially since he became blind. It was the rosiest philosophy that I have heard anywhere in the world, and you see it reflected in the blind Baronet's face, which habitually wears a smile.

Much of Sir Arthur's time is given to securing funds for carrying on and extending the work of the Institution. He is constantly going about to see rich and influential persons, sending letters and pamphlets, advertising in the press, and speaking from the platform in and out of London. Shows and bazaars are frequently organized.

Sir Arthur went abroad early this year to study for himself the methods that are being employed on the Continent to care for the blind. He visited numerous large and small institutions and made searching inquiries. He came back full of fresh ideas and fresh enthusiasm for his work. Ever since his return he has been busy making improvements in St. Dunstan's.

The Work of the Y.M.C.A. for the Troops

BY THE HON. SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW, K.C.S.I.

Chairman of the Y.M.C.A. Emergency War Fund.

WHEN we read the telegrams in the newspapers telling us of the battles which are being fought in Mesopotamia, East Africa or other parts of the world, we do not trouble ourselves to think very much as to how the troops who take part in those battles are moved about, fed and provided with the necessities of existence. We are inclined to take it for granted that the army's function is to fight and we don't ask ourselves whether the human units who make it up, whether British or Indian, have any other purpose in the world except to face the enemy. We forget that in every cam-

paign the hours which are spent in actual fighting must be comparatively few. Moreover, in many parts of the world there are long intervals, when owing to climatic conditions, fighting is impossible. In Europe, the extreme cold of Russia and Galicia makes it almost impossible to carry on an active campaign there during winter, while on the Western front the character of the soil of Northern France and Belgium, which a few showers of rain turn into a bog through which men can hardly drag their feet and over which it is impossible to move guns or heavy baggage, enforces a long period of inaction during the wet

winter months. In Mesopotamia on the other hand the hostilities are suspended not during the cold weather but during the hot weather when owing to the extremely high temperatures which are prevalent at that time of the year no forces in the world could advance and fight. Once more, in East Africa the rainy season imposes upon all troops the necessity for a remission of active operations. So that in almost all the fronts where fighting is now going on there are long periods when the troops have to remain quiescent.

Has it ever occurred to any one of the readers of this "Review" to consider what the position is of men who find themselves in tents or other similar accommodation, whether it be in Flanders or Mesopotamia or East Africa, during these months of inaction? These long periods of quiet are more trying to the *morale* of troops than the actual fighting itself. Men encamped in the desert or in a jungle, without even a village within a reasonable distance, without any of the amenities of civilized life, receiving letters only at very long intervals and uncertain whether their own letters will reach their destination, find themselves without any means of occupying their spare time. In Mesopotamia the long and dreary hot day comes to an end at last in the evening, but there is no recreation for the troops in tents or huts who have to exist month after month without change or amusement. In East Africa the wet season, with its attendant malaria and dysentery, is equally trying. It has been well said that it is not the active fighting which breaks the soldier's spirit so much as the halts for long periods in camps bereft of the common amenities of life.

The need to provide troops with recreation, amusement, change of occupation during these enforced periods of quiet is thus very great and has been recognized by all recent commanders. During

the present war a definite attempt has been made to meet it by various agencies, and in the East the major part of the work has been done by the Y.M.C.A. That organization which was originally intended for the benefit of young men in times of peace and which in Madras has done a very large amount of useful work for Indian young men, has during the war found an even wider opportunity for good work among the troops in the field. Both in France and in Mesopotamia and East Africa, where troops from India are fighting and where the work of the Y.M.C.A. has been of special value owing to the great distance at which the men are from their homes, the Y.M.C.A. has established stations or "Y.M.C.A. huts," each in charge of one or more secretaries. These stations are supplied with pianos, gramophones, billiard tables, bagatelle boards, libraries, writing tables, reading tables, magazines and newspapers. Concerts are provided for the troops, lectures are given to them, cinematograph shows are carried on and gymkhanas are organized. In the case of Indian troops, which contain many men who are unable to read and write well, the Secretaries in each of the Y.M.C.A. huts undertake the duty of writing letters for the illiterate while the gramophones are provided with records of Indian music and songs. In the huts the soldiers are able to purchase the chief things they require at reasonable rates while in the hospitals special agents are at work visiting the wounded and sick, writing letters for them and contributing to their comfort and amusement.

Many tributes to the success and value of the work done by the Y.M.C.A. for the Indian and British troops in Mesopotamia and elsewhere have been written by officers in the field, from General Maude, commanding the British armies in Mesopotamia, downwards. The following letter comes from one of those officers who have attained distinction in the present war. Brigadier-General

W. M. Thomson began the war as a Captain in the 1st Seaforth Highlanders and was awarded the Military Cross for his valuable service in that rank. He has risen by ability and hard fighting to the command of a brigade and has spent a long period both on the French front and in Mesopotamia. His testimony to the work of the Y.M.C.A. cannot fail, therefore, to carry conviction as it comes from an eyewitness specially qualified to speak on this matter. In a letter dated 30th July 1917, Brigadier-General Thomson writes as follows :—

"I wish very much to pay a tribute to the good work of the Y.M.C.A. in Mesopotamia and to express to a small degree what we all feel in gratitude for all that is being done for us.

"Perhaps I can best express it by examples. We were asked—"Billiard tables may be procured, how had they best be distributed?" We replied "Hand them over to the Y.M.C.A."

"In the 35th Brigade the Y.M.C.A. never have asked for a fatigue party to pitch their tents or help unloading their baggage, because there are scores of men always awaiting their arrival and only too glad to lend a hand.

"The only trouble that has ever cropped up was when a neighbouring brigade complained that we had been keeping the Y.M.C.A. longer in our camp than we should have done.

"The reason the Y.M.C.A. is so popular is that it gives the men what they most want, a place where they can be entertained with concerts, gramophones, cinemas etc; where they can read or write or talk or obtain refreshments as they wish; and if they want a friend, there are no two better hearted men than the two Y.M.C.A. men we have had with us.

"I do not think we have been exceptionally fortunate. The Y.M.C.A. is good all through. Our Padre, Rev. C. H. Hemming, took me to the Y.M.C.A. in Baghdad. They had possession of one of the best buildings there and it was a going concern and crowded at a very early date after our arrival. I am told it is the same at Sheikh Sand, Amara, Basra and elsewhere.

"It is very difficult for soldiers when on service to express their appreciation for what is being done for them. It may appear that they take everything as a matter of course. That is not so, and I should like on their behalf to say how much we are thankful to the Y.M.C.A."

It only remains to add that this work cannot be carried on without money. Although the Secretaries employed in carrying it on are paid very low salaries and although every economy is exercised in the purchase of supplies and other requisites of the work, it is impossible to pro-

vide huts at the chief halting places for troops in a great area like that of Mesopotamia, not to speak of East Africa, without considerable outlay. An appeal has been made for funds for this work by the Committee which as treasurers possesses Mr. Gourley, the well-known Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Mr. Robertson, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and in Madras, Mr. W. A. Beardsell, who has himself both personally and through his firm, contributed in the most generous way to the support of the Fund. Almost all the European firms in Madras have indeed subscribed with the utmost liberality to the support of the work and it is hoped that the Indian public in Madras will see that it is equally well represented. Among the large number of troops which are employed in Mesopotamia and East Africa a large part of the Indian army is to be found and it is for these Indian troops that help is urgently needed. These brave men are risking their lives and enduring great privation and hardship for the defence of India and for the service of the Empire and they deserve all the help that can be given them. All monies subscribed are spent on work for the benefit of the troops and on no other object. Any subscriptions which the readers of this "Review" may feel moved to give would be sent to Mr. Beardsell, Post Box No. 7, Madras.

DADABHAI NAOROJI'S

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Head of the French Mission to America.



GENERAL PETAIN
Commander of the French Armies.

THE FUTURE OF THE EMPIRE.

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BY THE RT. REV. DR WHITEHEAD

The Lord Bishop of Madras.

I do not wish to assume the rôle of a prophet and have no intention this afternoon of attempting to foretell what exactly will happen to our Empire after the war; but I wish to emphasize the fact that after the war we shall all be living in a new world with new opportunities and new responsibilities, and that this fact ought profoundly to influence the ideas and lives of us all. There can be no doubt that the war is already producing vast and far-reaching changes in the whole world.

I*

In the first place we can see a great development of the ideals of liberty and democracy. The war is a struggle for liberty and it has already produced a revolution in Russia. Russia entered the war on the side of liberty, side by side with England and France. It was a strange alliance between despotism and democracy fighting together for the cause of freedom; but the spirit of freedom has prevailed and the vast Empire of Russia has taken her place among the great democracies in the world. Then again the entry of America into the war has given a tremendous impulse to those ideals of democracy and liberty throughout Europe. In a striking sermon preached at St. Paul's Cathedral on American Day at the beginning of May, Bishop Brent, the American Bishop of the Philippine Islands, described the spirit in which America has come into the war. 'America which stands for democracy, that is, the cause of plain people, must fight, must champion this cause at all cost, the cause of plain people.' President Wilson, in his historic message to the Congress summed up the aims of America in a single sentence when he said: 'we must make the world safe for democracy.' Now

that is the spirit that will dominate the world when the war is over. It is difficult for us to realize the enormous change that there has been in this respect during the last century. At the end of the eighteenth century when the French Revolution broke out, democracy was a comparatively new thing in the modern world. There was hardly a single state of any size that was governed on true democratic principles; whereas to day out of 1,700 million people in the world 1,200 million stand for liberty and democracy, and out of those 1,200 million at least 600 million in China and Russia have joined the ranks of democracy within the last ten years.

II

In the second place the war is producing a spirit of brotherhood among the democratic nations of the world which did not exist before. History teaches us that democracies can be just as exclusive and just as selfish as nations which are ruled despotically; but as a result of the war America, France and the British Empire, and we hope also the peoples of Russia are feeling as they have never felt before a common responsibility for the cause of liberty and the welfare of the human race. We feel that we are not fighting simply for one another's interests; we are pouring out blood and treasure for the welfare of mankind. Let me again quote the eloquent words of Bishop Brent: 'To-day we are entering upon a new epoch. Democracy hitherto has been working out its problems, certainly its political problems, in an isolation that can never be seen again. The great democracies of the world are now so interlocked, interlocked in defence, that they can never be separated when the days of reconstruction come. But democracy in all countries must never lose sight of the fact that the

* A lecture delivered at Coonoor by the Lord Bishop of Madras.

supreme unit of the human race is mankind. The day is past for individualistic attempts to redeem mankind.'

III

While the war is producing these great changes in the world at large it is also having a profound influence on the British Empire.

(1) It is giving to it a wonderful sense of unity. The Imperial Conference recently held in London and all the various functions held in connection with it are a striking sign of this new spirit of unity. Last April when the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh was conferred on three of the leading members of the Conference, Sir Robert Borden, the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, General Smuts, the representative of South Africa and the Maharaja of Bikanir, the representative of India, Sir Robert Borden in returning thanks referred to the fact that General Smuts was in arms against the British Empire not more than fifteen years ago, whereas 'To-day' he said, 'he and General Botha, his chief, are great assets to the Empire, and more than that, to the world. We come from different dominions, we have sprung from different but kindred races, we have grown up under widely differing conditions. Is there not some evidence that our Empire rests on a broad foundation when I find that his conception and my own as to the course and method of future constitutional relations and development are substantially the same? It could not be otherwise, for the foundations on which the British Commonwealth stands secure are liberty and justice, autonomy and unity.'

(2) Then, in the second place, there is a growing sense of our great responsibility to mankind for developing to our utmost capacity the vast resources of the Empire. When speaking some two months ago before the British Science Guild on National Reconstruction, Lord Sydenham said that 'the resources of the Empire are almost inexhaustible and their utilisation is only begin-

ning.' The war has certainly revealed to us how slack and careless we have been in using and developing this magnificent estate. The first thing that woke us up was the discovery that the metal trade of Australia and the greater part of the manganese and hides of India were in German hands. We had simply not taken the trouble ourselves to develop these sources of wealth. It is the same with other things. Sir Robert Borden in the speech that I have already quoted says: 'I hope that after the conclusion of peace our eyes may be turned more closely upon the vast and varied resources of our Empire and their future potentialities. There are questions of the gravest import touching their control, development and utilisation for a common purpose; the production of an adequate food supply, means of transportation and communication, the utilisation of raw material by the most effective methods for all needful purposes of national concern. We must take stock of our resources, exercise an effective control and utilise them to the highest national advantage. There is reason to believe that before the war Germany had a more sympathetic and thorough knowledge of the resources and development of the Dominions than could be found in the United Kingdom.'

(3) Another change that the war has brought about is an immense stride in the direction of the State management of industries. I do not know what exact proportion of the industries of Great Britain is now being managed or controlled by the State, but it is a large proportion. The army and navy together employ five million men. A large number of munition factories are Government concerns. The State controls the railways and the shipping and has recently exercised a certain control over agriculture. We cannot assume that what is necessary in war is good in peace; but the war has undoubtedly shown us the grave dangers involved in the private ownership of those industries which are vital

to the safety and welfare of the nation; and certainly one result of this great development of State management is a greater care for the workers. Social Welfare Committees have been established in all the Government Munition Factories; the housing question is being more carefully considered, and I suppose that no large body of workers have ever been better fed or better cared for by their employers than the British Army in France. This object lesson will not be forgotten after the war. It is more than probable that there will be a strong agitation for the nationalisation of the land, the railways, the mines, the shipping and all those industries which are necessary to the safety of the Empire in time of war.

(4) Then, again, there is already a new spirit among all classes throughout the Empire in dealing with our political problems. This is especially conspicuous in the case of India. Already the peoples of Canada, South Africa and Australia are beginning to change their attitude towards the peoples of India. The Maharaja of Bikanir has more than once expressed his satisfaction at the spirit in which Indian questions were dealt with at the Imperial Conference. The same is true of the attitude of Great Britain. The Maharajah when speaking at Edinburgh expressed the hopes and aspirations of the Indian princes and of the educated classes of British India. After speaking of the profound veneration in which India held the Emperor and her constant concern for the welfare of the Empire he continued: 'Our next aspiration is to see our country, under the guidance and with the help of Great Britain, make a material advance on constitutional lines in regard to matters political and economic, and ultimately to attain, under the standard of our King-Emperor that freedom and autonomy which you in this country secured long ago for yourselves, and which our more fortunate

sister Dominions have also enjoyed for some time past.

A few years ago a statement of this kind would probably have been considered dangerous; but to-day these aspirations command the sympathy of a majority of the responsible statesmen of Great Britain. Mr. Austen Chamberlain speaking at a luncheon given to the Indian delegates to the War Conference under the auspices of the British Parliamentary Association at the end of April last when proposing the toast of the Indian delegates said with reference to the aspirations of the peoples of India that 'while the things they longed for could come only as the result of time and as Indians became qualified for the possession of greater liberties and of the exercise of greater responsibilities, at the same time we of the Mother of Parliaments, we of an Empire founded on freedom and justice above all others, were bound to have sympathy with the aspirations that Indians entertain. We are bound to lend a helping and a guiding hand, and to strive to make the British Government in that country a fitting training school for the development of India's capacities and liberties.

(5) Another striking result of the war in England is the new position it has given to women and the enormous development of women's work. It was one of the first things that struck us when we went to England last year. When we went to the railway station at Southampton a woman inspected our tickets; a woman took our tickets when we arrived at London; the conductors of the motor busses in London were women; there were women-waiters in the hotels and women clerks in the bank and in Government offices; women working on the land and women policemen. About 800,000 women were in one way or another working in munition factories and nearly all the girls one met were engaged either in nursing in hospitals or making shells, or serving in Y.M.C.A. huts

or doing important work in Government Offices. In one of his recent books entitled 'What is coming' Mr. H. G. Wells truly remarks: 'There can be no question that the behaviour of the great mass of women in Great Britain has not simply exceeded expectation but hope. . . . It is not simply that there has been enough women and to spare for hospital work and every sort of relief and charitable service; that sort of thing has been done before, that was in the tradition of womanhood. It is that at every sort of occupation, clerking, shop-keeping, railway work, automobile driving, agricultural work, police work, they have been founded efficient beyond precedent and intelligent beyond precedent. And in the munition factories, in the handling of the heavy and often difficult machinery, and in adaptability and inventiveness and enthusiasm and steadfastness their achievement has been astonishing. More particularly in relation to intricate mechanical work is their record remarkable and unexpected.' The change which this fact is bound to make in the position of women in our English social life seems to me quite incalculable. To begin with, the franchise is virtually conceded. When I went home in 1914 before the war women were assaulting policemen, breaking windows and violently agitating for the right to vote. Now, in the words of Mr. Wells, 'Those women have won the vote.' 'The girls who have faced death and wounds so gallantly in our cordite factories—there is a not inconsiderable list of dead and wounded from those places—have killed for ever the poor argument that women should not vote because they have no military value. Indeed, they have killed every argument against their subjection.' What exact influence this is going to have upon the industries of the country when the war is over it is quite impossible to say; but I think that Mr. Wells is right in saying that it is unthinkable that the invasion by women of a hundred employments

hitherto closed to them is a temporary arrangement that will be reversed after the war.

(5) Another striking change in public opinion that the war is producing is a deeper realisation of the grave moral evils of our social life. I have already spoken of the injustice of our industrial system; but there are other evils that are equally widespread and equally fatal to the welfare of the Empire such as drunkenness, gambling and sexual immorality. They are not new. People have known about them for centuries. They are as old as the human race. But before the war the mass of people in the Empire would not realise how serious they are and how deeply they eat into the very heart of our social life. People who attempted to fight against them were scoffed at as faddists and cranks. But it is different now. The people who have raised their voices against these evils during the war have been our leading statesmen, our great soldiers and sailors and our captains of industry and commerce. The war has brought into prominence the social aspect of vice. It has compelled men to realise that such vices as drunkenness, gambling and impurity not only ruin the individual life but are also a serious danger to the State. Mr. Lloyd George said at the beginning of the war that we have two great dangers to fight against, Germany and drink and that drink is the greater danger of the two. And I think that this is hardly an exaggeration. At any rate no one who knows the fact can doubt that the defeat of drunkenness is almost as vital to the power and prosperity of Great Britain as the defeat of Germany.

This close relation between temperance and social welfare has been curiously illustrated recently in the Revolution in Russia. The correspondent of the *Times* describing the causes which contributed to the success of the Revolution says that the Reactionary party, who strove to main the autocratic power of the Czar with all

its abuses always protested against the abolition of vodka and declared that it would prove the ruin of the Czar. And the *Times* correspondent goes on to say: 'None but a sober people could have carried out the Russian Revolution. Had the populace of Petrograd and other cities been besotted by drink, they would never have understood or been able to defeat the reactionary plot, nor would the Revolution have been so remarkably free from sanguinary excesses on a large scale. The police were, on the other hand, the victims of drink. They had seized the vodka at the order of the Government, and had kept plentiful supplies for themselves. Thus the Revolution was in part a struggle between drunken reaction and sober citizens. Sobriety triumphed.'

IV

This does not by any means exhaust the catalogue of important changes that the war has already produced in our Empire and in the world. But these are sufficient to illustrate the truth of the statement that after the war we shall all be living in a New World and must adjust ourselves to new conditions. I ask you now to consider how these changes in the Empire ought to affect us as individual citizens.

(1) In the first place I think that the rapid spread of democratic ideals throughout the world ought to lead us all to take a great deal more interest in public affairs. We ought to study them more and also to take part in them far more than we have done in the past. The spread of democracy throws a great responsibility on the individual citizens. It will not work at all unless the mass of the citizens are educated. It will not work well unless the most intelligent citizens and the men and the women of high moral character take their full share in public affairs. In India, I know, it is difficult for those of us who are not members of the Government to do this. We live under a benevolent

bureaucracy, and our natural inclination is to leave public affairs to the Government just as we leave the navigation of the ship to the captain and the crew when we sail from Bombay to 'Blighty'. I venture, however, to think that this attitude of aloofness from public affairs will be in the future a serious weakness both to the Government and to the country. In the years that are coming the British Government must rest far more than it has done in the past on the will of the people. If it is to govern well and govern strongly it must be backed up by a strong body of public opinion. And the European and Anglo-Indian community, small as it is, could yet do a great deal to form a sound and healthy public opinion if it would go the right way to work. But it is essential first that we should seriously study Indian affairs and bring to bear on them the highest ideals of English public life and Christian morality. I know the difficulties that lie in the way. I have myself been thirty-three years in India as a non-official and I can sympathise with your tendency to leave public affairs alone. But I feel sure that you could do a real service to the Empire if you would really study the problems of Indian politics and even if you cannot take any part in public life at any rate do your bit in the formation of public opinion. European opinion in India does count for something and if it were better informed and more fully inspired by Christian ideals it would count for far more than it does.

(2) And then in the second place the enormous work of reconstruction and development that lies before our Empire demands that all citizens, both men and women, should do their part. There ought to be no room in the future for an idle class within the Empire. In view of the work that needs doing, no one has a right to be a burden to the community and to make his fellow-citizens work for him while he renders no service to them in return. The

British Empire will never develop its vast resources for the good of mankind and will never rise to the full height of its opportunities unless every citizen does his best. And may I urge that this applies to women as well as to men. The war has shown us what women can do, and it has demonstrated the enormous power that the women of the Empire can exercise if they are only educated and trained. And I hope that one result of the war will be to stimulate the women of the upper classes all over the Empire, and especially the younger women, to make their lives really useful for the service of the Empire and the Church. They will not go on making shells and munitions; they will not be needed, I hope as agricultural labourers; but there are many forms of social, medical and educational work all over the Empire for which women would be invaluable. But if workers are to be effective, whether they are men or women, they must be properly trained, and they must remember that they cannot train themselves for useful service, by devoting their time mainly to amusements.

(3) And in the third place we ought all to apply our Christian principles vigorously to public questions. "In a striking passage in his latest book entitled 'War and the Future' Mr. H. G. Wells says that 'even those who have neither the imagination nor the faith to apprehend God as a reality will realise presently that the Kingdom of God over a world wide system of republican States is the only possible formula under which we may hope to unify and save mankind.'

In other words the only hope for mankind is a federation of States governed by the will of their peoples and the will of the peoples dominated by the principles of the Kingdom of God. But if that is to be brought about we must all of us take our Christian principles more seriously. We must apply them through to business and politics and to all the details of our public life. In the

past we have to a disastrous degree played fast and loose with the principles of Christian morality in our public affairs. We have had an unfortunate illustration of this recently in the sanction given by the Government of India to the lotteries for the war loan in Calcutta and Bombay and that is only one example of the way in which the ordinary principles of morality have been set aside in our business and politics. So long as that is the case we shall never see the Kingdom of God dominating the nations of the world. And in that, as men are coming to see, lies the one hope for the future. If the war has taught us anything it surely has taught us this; that the greatness and prosperity of a people depend upon its character and its moral principal, that selfishness and vice in all their forms lead to national weakness and universal misery and that the hope of the future both for our Empire and the world lies in those great principles of the Brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God which are the central principles of the Kingdom of Heaven.

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Industrial and Commercial Education.

BY PROF. M. SUBEDAR, B.A., B. SC. (ECON.)

HILE many topics dealing with the industrial problem in India have been discussed widely, there is one to which sufficient attention does not seem to be directed. And this is the bearing of commercial education on the industrial prosperity of a country. So vague are the ideas of people on this subject that this was not even included in the first draft of questions for the Holland Commission. When as an after-thought, questions have been framed on this topic, nothing definite has been elicited, so far, from the witnesses examined. The only point of instruction in their monosyllabic Ayes and Nays is, that whereas the bulk of non-official Indian witnesses, who have answered the questions regarding commercial education, have thought the establishment of commercial colleges in this country necessary and beneficial, all European merchants and officials, who touched on this matter, have voted against commercial education. The merchants' standpoint is intelligible. They frankly dislike possible competition. But the officials' view is difficult to understand. They are harping always on the 'great undeveloped resources' of India. They have shed tears on the liquidation reports of the Indian banks that have failed. They have deplored in connection with the reform in Indian Joint Stock Companies' Act, and on other occasions, the lack of business management on the part of Indians. In their reviews of technical state-scholarships and the outlook of young men coming from abroad after finishing a course of technical instruction, they have remarked on the unpractical and unbusiness-like character of the initial ventures by those men. From the highest downwards, the officials

have pointed out to the chronic overcrowding in certain professions to which educated Indians turn in their despair. If there are resources in India and if the energies of intelligent men is misdirected, an administration, whose real care is the welfare of the people would set about to direct the people on to work where they would advance their own prosperity and that of the community and the Government. If the middle class people in India are unable, as they are, to engage in this beneficent activity, why not let them have such help as a systematic education will give. With what good grace and consistency does this solid indifference or opposition from the officials towards commercial education come? Are they afraid or unwilling to alter the present state of affairs in which the bulk of Indian trade is in foreign hands and the efforts of Indians in industrial enterprise are, in most cases, thwarted by lack of business capacity? Is it because they have ceased to believe in the Universities as they are? Let the Government control, in that case, the whole system of commercial education. Or is it that they distrust education of every description? It is not with a view to unravel, much less to assign a motive to the officials that these lines are penned. If Indian opinion is concentrated on this matter, it is not too late to get the official 'angle of vision' altered. In the hope that this can be still done, a few ideas on the subject are given below.

Every industrial concern has two aspects, the technical side and the business side. To select the proper machinery and processes, to see that these are satisfactorily worked, to secure the necessary uniformity, finish and quality are im-

portant things in industry ; but not less important is the 'series of decisions which involves the selection of the sources of raw materials, fuel, capital and labour ; which leads to the choice of what is to be produced and how much of it and which affects the organisation for marketing the produce. It is the function of the business man to form these judgments day after day and to maintain such elasticity about the enterprise as to make adaptation to the changing dynamic conditions of supply and demand easy, and to reduce to a minimum the possibility of misdirected production and waste. The success of an enterprise depends on the resultant of the efficiency on the technical as well as on the business side. A new mode of organisation involving better utilisation of the available labour and capital is as valuable as the economy effected by a new invention or a new process. This fact is patent to all industrialists to whom a better acquaintance with a bank manager or a large order from an unexpected quarter are as much tonic as additional power or improved machinery.

When the stage of factory production is reached these two sides could always be clearly distinguished and tend to be separated. The degree of specialisation always varies in different localities and industries but a considerable difference could always be discovered in the qualities required in the works-manager and the general manager even if it is not always so wide as between the editor and the business manager of a newspaper. In a country aspiring to industrial eminence, there is always great stress laid upon technical education at the start. But mere technical knowledge is like uncontrolled energy and soon lands people into side-tracks and disasters. Then people begin to perceive, but by no means too soon in this country, that the business side of industries needs to be strengthened as well. This is the genesis of the failure of a good many Swadeshi enterprises. It shows that a mere chemist or an

engineer never could run a successful industry because a thing should not only be a technical success but it must be produced on a commercial basis. Comparisons are inconclusive as in the fable of the hands and the stomach, but it must be said that a businessman can succeed by controlling the labour of others without being an expert but an expert cannot succeed without being something of a businessman.

There are many divergent opinions regarding the mental equipment of those who would direct production. But there can be little doubt that men embarking on the conduct of industrial enterprise should have in themselves (or should have the co-operation of those that have) the quality of forming sound business judgments and the necessary knowledge of the conditions of the world and of their own industry in particular, to enable them to form such judgments. There is a certain orthodox theory which regards the world as the best teacher of worldly things. Our system of education, general and special (professional) has greatly shaken this doctrine but it seems to persist still in regard to business, though it is in business that a mistake is immediately registered in £. s. d. on the wrong side and experience is the most costly of all modes of learning. In so far as is feasible the case for a systematic training is very strong in this matter. Whether it is taken as a substitute for general college education, whether it is taken as supplementing the work done in technical colleges or workshops, or whether it is merely stealing an hour or two in the evening from the time which active men do not always know how to use to the best advantage, some regular system of business training would prove ultimately of great advantage. It would enable men engaged in industry not to lose their foot-hold from the hard facts of life, to extend when opportunity occurs the field of their operation and to adapt themselves to the situation with the moving kaleidos-

cope. The actual value of such training must necessarily differ in different cases but if it is possible as an extreme case for an ignorant and unbusinesslike man to prosper in industry, it is inconceivable that even he, whom mere luck has favoured, should be able to do so for long. For the rest, the reference here is meant only to average conditions of business for the ordinary run of people and for these the value of systematic business training cannot be gainsaid.

The peculiar importance of higher commercial education lies, however, not merely in reference to people engaged in industry, but to those engaged in the occupations auxiliary to industry. To put down at the door of the factory what the fields and the mines have produced, and to reach the products of industry to the people, these are vital to the success of industry itself. The agent, the factor, the banker, the broker, the carrier, the shipper, the wholesale and retail dealer and a host of others intervene between the consumer and the industry. The more efficient these are, the greater is the reward of industry and the satisfaction of the people. These commercial pursuits have assumed peculiar importance in our days owing to the fact that improved communications have annihilated old landmarks and raw and manufactured goods are now moved across continents. Defective banking, costly communication, imperfections in the produce-exchanges, unsatisfactory market organisation; all mean wasted opportunities and languid life for industries. To leave the growth of these useful occupations entirely to chance and to the costly process of survival seems to be regarded as a very wise course in some quarters. All human progress, however, means systematisation and transmission of knowledge, and greater complexity in economic organisation calls for more specialised and precise knowledge, a good part of which can be imparted in educational institutions so as to shorten the time and trials of apprenticeship.

Even if partially successful, higher commercial education facilitating, as it would, ultimate efficiency in all these subordinate lines would be indirectly of very great advantage to industry proper.

Public opinion in England has been very slow to realise this because on account of potentialities in the large area covered by the Empire and the industrial momentum retained during the period when America was young and Europe still bleeding from Wars, the English have not been really put to it for any hard search for material or market. And for their own purposes, their banking and monetary system has been very satisfactory. Their ideas have been conservative. The Americans and Germans have, on the other hand, felt great need of systematic business training to establish their position industrially. Even in England the Tariff Reform Campaign led to the realisation that modern methods were needed in business and provision, private and municipal, and at the University was made. The present war and the need of making great effort after the war to maintain the Empire's economic position have given still further impetus to the idea of better trade training and two committees are sitting at present to consider the necessary measures. In India, where industries have to be built up, if at all, against powerful rivalry of foreign countries, the case is much stronger for systematic business training. If the Industrial Commission is going to make recommendations calculated to promote the industrial life of this country, let them remember that the business side of an industrial enterprise is very important and that if that is left to chance as it has been so far, the results would be far from satisfactory. No particular system of commercial education is urged for their support but they may recommend a system, if they will devise one or bring in a general manner to the notice of the Government and the people, the important bearing which Commercial and Business Education has on the industrial prosperity of India.

GERMAN ATROCITIES.

BY "AN ENGLISHMAN."

IN an article which was published in this *Review* in July last statistics drawn from official sources regarding immorality and crime in Germany were set forth and it was suggested that a people whose life in peace was marked by such characteristics might naturally be expected to exhibit in war the ferocity and bestiality which the record of the last two years had led one to associate with the name of German. It may, however, be doubted whether the people of India have ever had placed before them the facts regarding the manner in which Germany conducted the present war. No doubt general statements regarding outrages committed by the Germans have appeared in the newspapers. But it is necessary to read the record of individual instances in order to realise the full horror of the German misdeeds. Evidence on these matters has been accumulated both by a Commission appointed by the French Government and by a Commission appointed by the British Government and various official reports have been published by these Commissions. In addition to these Blue-Books other works have appeared on the subject. Mr. J. H. Morgan, Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of London and Commissioner appointed by the Home Office with the British Expeditionary Force has published under the title of 'German Atrocities, an official investigation' a collection of 80 new and unpublished documents containing evidence of the outrages committed by the German soldiery on the civil population in Belgium and France, the massacre of wounded and unwounded prisoners of war and the wilful destruction of property. Under the auspices of French Ministry for Foreign Affairs a book has been published entitled 'German violations of the laws of war' which has also been translated into

English and which contains a large number of similar documents many of which are produced in facsimile. It is of course impossible to give in the course of this article any adequate idea of the horror of the proceedings here narrated; but a few instances will give at least some impression of what war means when conducted by such people as the Germans.

2. It appears that the German soldier is encouraged to maintain a note book in which he records day by day the chief occurrences which have come under his notice. Many of these note books have fallen into the hands of the French and British when their writers were captured or killed in action and in the books above named extracts have been reproduced in original German and translated. Some of the writers betray horror at the scenes which they witnessed and took part in. Others manifest no such qualms. Such a man was Private Baum, a soldier of the 182nd Regiment of Infantry who wrote in his note book as follows:—

"Monday, 31—8—1914. At 7, marched with nothing to eat. We passed through the town of Rethel where we halted for two hours. Wine and champagne in abundance; we looted with a will."

A soldier of the 5th Regiment of Infantry writes:—"In the night Ette was entirely in flames and it was a magnificent sight from a distance. Next day, August 23rd, Ette was almost entirely in ruins and we looted everything that was left in the way of provisions. We carried off all eggs, bread, jam, tobacco, cigars, cigarettes and above all wines for our regiment."

Horst Braener of the 134th Regiment of Infantry writes:—"August 26th. Stayed to bivouac at Namur. Many prisoners brought in to-day. The village has been

thoroughly plundered. Only a few small hovels in which some old people live were spared. A great deal was wantonly destroyed. The houses are a terrible sight. Everything ransacked and smashed."

This was in Belgium. But things were just as bad in France.

Non-Commissioned Officer Burkhardt of the 100th Regiment Grenadiers writes near Rumigny in Ardennes:—"We re-visited the cellars and found all sorts of good things. The splendid rooms of the chateau are a terrible sight. Everything turned upside down in the hunt for gold and silver. It is every hard to have to march again after drinking one's fill. I brought away a stone bottle of Chartreuse too in my knapsack."

Private Rudolf Rossberg of the 101st Grenadiers wrote:—

"Dinant, 23rd August. We sleep on the pavement, not far from the corpses, after looting two more cafes. About 150 bottles of wine, champagne and liquors were the results of this operation. We were ravenous, and carried off everything."

"August, 28. Great day of gorging. Friday. I play the piano, and we loot steadily."

The note book of stretcher bearer, Joseph Ott, 33rd Division of the 16th Army Corps, contains the following significant remark:—"Leave was given us to loot, and we did not need to be told twice. Bales of cloth, wine in bottles and flasks, fowls and pigs were taken away. We had dinner at 1 o'clock and it was eaten in the company of dead Frenchmen. One gets used to everything."

3. These extracts relate to looting, but many others refer to crimes of even a worse order. The unfortunate inhabitants of the districts of Belgium and France through which these German barbarians advanced were subjected to every horror which can be imagined. Any one who was found in possession of a weapon was im-

mediately murdered even though he had made no attempt whatever to use it.

Private Fritz Krain of the 4th Battalion of Light Horse writes in his note book:—"Carried off four bottles of wine in my bag. Our first bivouac in France. There will soon be a battle, I hope. When we want to fetch water we encountered a girl with a revolver. Shot her dead and took her revolver."

Private Troinen of the 237th Regiment writes in his diary under date the 19th of October 1914:—"The owners of this property, rich and distinguished-looking people, fill the air with their lamentations and call upon the mercy of God. We make a search and find a revolver on the person of a young man of 21. Screaming with terror he is dragged out to the front of the farm-house and there shot before the eyes of his parents and brothers and sisters. The sight was more than I could stand. After that a light was put to the splendid barn and everything was destroyed."

Private Hassemer of the 8th Army Corps describing a massacre of French soldiers and civilians at Sommepey on the Marne writes in his note book:—

"September 3rd. A horrible bath of blood. The whole village burnt, the French thrown into the blazing houses, civilians burnt with the rest."

These outrages began the moment that the troops passed the borders.

Private Weishaupt of the 3rd Bavarian Regiment which advanced through Lorraine writes:—

"August 10. Parux was the first village burnt, then we got to work and one village after another burst into flames. We rode on bicycles over fields and meadows until we came to some way-side ditches where we ate cherries."

Private Schlutter of the 39th Regiment writes under date the 12th of August:—

"Pepinster. Belgium. The burgo master, the priest and the schoolmaster shot, houses reduced to ashes. We continue our march."

Again Private Menge of the 74th Regiment writes on the 15th of August :—" Marched from Elsenborn. Giving three cheers for our Emperor and singing *Deutschland über Alles*, we crossed the Belgian frontier. All trees cut down to serve as barricades. A parish priest and his sister hanged. Houses burnt."

Private Scheufele of the 3rd Bavarian Regiment describing the burning of the village of Saint-Maurice in France writes :—" In the night of August 18-19, the village of Saint-Maurice was punished for having fired on German soldiers by being burnt to the ground by the German troops (2 regiments, the 12th Landwehr and the 17th.) The village was surrounded, men posted about a yard from one another, so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman nor child could escape; only the greater part of the livestock we carried off, as that could be used. Any one who ventured to come out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burnt with the houses."

4. The foregoing extracts are based entirely upon entries written by German soldiers themselves, and supported by facsimiles of the original records. It is not, however, in all cases possible to supply such evidence of this character. But other documents not less reliable exist to support the statements. General Stenger, commanding the 58th Brigade, gave orders in September 1914 that all prisoners were to be killed. His order was communicated verbally by officers under his command to the various units of the brigade and was repeated in the ranks from man to man. Thus Anton Rothacher writes in his journal of the 27th of August :—" French prisoners and wounded are all shot because they mutilate and ill-treat our wounded. Brigade order." Another soldier of the same brigade, Reinhard Brenneisen of the 112th Regiment, at present a prisoner in England

wrote in his note book :—" The Brigade order is to shoot all Frenchmen who fell into our hands, wounded or not. No prisoners to be made."

5. Outrages on women were of course numerous, but for obvious reasons can neither be as easily proved nor do they furnish a suitable subject for this publication. Any one who requires evidence of them will find ample material in the documents published by Professor Morgan. Not even children were exempt. A prisoner of war in France gave a written deposition in which he said :—" Shots have been fired from a house. We broke into the house and we ordered a search of the house. But we found nothing in the house but two women and a child. But my comrades said that the two women had fired and we found some arms too, revolvers. But I did not see the women fire. We brought the women out and took them to the Major and then we were ordered to shoot the women. The Major was called Kastendech belonging to the 57th Regiment of Infantry. When the mother was dead the Major gave the order to shoot the child so that the child should not be left alone in the world. The child's eyes were bandaged."

A Private of the 2nd Royal Irish writes on the advance from the Marne to the Aisne in September :—" We passed through a village and saw a baby brought up at the window like a doll. About six of us went into the house with a sergeant and found the child dead, being bayoneted. We found a tottering old man, a middle aged woman and a youth all bayoneted and in another village our interpreter pointed out to us two girls who were crying and told us that they had been ravished."

Professor Morgan's book contains the record of scores more of similar sickening atrocities.

UP THE RIVER IN MESOPOTAMIA.

BY MR. HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE.*

ASIA is one. Mountains and waters divide only to accentuate the inherent unity which makes Asia one—and bring out, in the different civilisations which different peoples placed in different environments have developed, the flowering of the same genius. Whether in the plains of Bengal the fatal fertility of whose flood-stricken shores has so often made the tidal waves of conquest sweep over her, or in busy and bustling Bombay which is a hive of human life and labour or in the arid desert of Arabia where the date alone grows, breaking the dull monotony of the sandy waste, supplying the people with all they need like a loving aunt as their Prophet said, everywhere “East is East” and people take things with the same ease and stoic resignation. This fact is impressed upon one as one goes up the Shatt-el-Arab from the Persian Gulf crossing the Mud Bar at the mouth of the river. But one must pause at this Mud Bar as a ship must pause for the tide. It was this Mud Bar which had caused the Kaiser some uneasiness proving an insuperable impediment to the realisation of his dream of an Eastern Empire extending up to India. Germany had adumbrated and advanced a scheme of Empire-building in the East which she could not accomplish. Here the English had been before. They had already a Residency and a Political officer. This arrangement dates from 1778. “The first big Company to enter into trade here was that of Messrs. Lynch, for whom England wrested from Turkey the right to navigate the Tigris.”†

The Baghdad Railway scheme was designed to

* Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose was one of the Indian journalists invited by the Government of India to visit Mesopotamia. His contribution, therefore, will be read with particular interest. [Ed. I. R.]

† W. M. Warfield.—*The Gate of Asia*.

bring the Persian Gulf into direct communication with Berlin, Sir Valentine Chirol had said years ago “The growth of German influence in Constantinople was one of the most remarkable political phenomena of the closing years of the nineteenth century”.*

It began in 1880 but received an impetus in 1895. That was the time when the Turkish Government had been perpetrating atrocities upon the Armenian subjects and England was trying to lead the European Concert to demand a cessation of these atrocities. Germany said that the psychological moment had come and imposed its desired conditions on Abdul Hamid offering to protect him in return for a suitable reward. The bribe consisted in the concessions connected with the Baghdad Railway scheme designed to place the shortest and quickest routes from the North Sea to Karachi entirely under German control, and which was likely “by reason of the kilometric guarantees, the forestry, mining and other rights which appertain to the concessions, to eventually bring the bankrupt Ottoman Empire completely under the sway of Germany.”†

The German engineers who completed the survey of the proposed Baghdad line to Koweit reported that Basrah was unsuitable as a terminus for the railway because of the bar which might prevent large shipping from entering the river. So they thought the line should go to Koweit. Koweit was nominally under the sway of Turkey, being merely a *Kaila* or district in the *Vilayat* (i. e. province) of Basrah, but had long been under the influence of the British and the Sheikh had not neglected the opportunity offered by the weakness of the Turkish Government and the

* The Middle Eastern Question.

† Perfit.—*Twenty years in Baghdad and Syria*.

protection of the British to assume the dignity and arrogate to himself some of the powers of an independent prince. The Sultan now asked the Sheikh of Koweit to give a large piece of land to the Germans for the Railway. But Britain had been on the alert and concluded a treaty with the Sheikh who replied that the matter must be referred to the British. The Kaiser was wroth and the Sultan mobilised his troops at Nasiriyah to over-awe the Sheikh. The troops were subsequently disbanded, and an attempt was made by the Turkish Navy to "spring a surprise on the Sheikh". "A gunboat appeared one day with 300 soldiers on board, but the British warships were already in the harbour and the Turks were forbidden to land. The gunboat stayed all night in the hope of getting the men ashore, and raising the Turkish flag in the dark". But they had calculated without the British searchlights which were concentrated on the gunboat. So the Turks returned to Basrah to report that the expedition had failed and their hopes had miscarried. Then crooked diplomacy was resorted to and Ibu Rashid the Arab Chief was instigated to attack the Sheikh. But the Sheikh defeated Ibu Rashid dealing a serious blow to Turkish prestige in Arabia. The English had thus got scent of Germany's designs in Mesopotamia.

As one proceeds up the River one is reminded of India. The same blue sky and the same goldenshine. The muddy waters of the Shatt-el-Arab flow sluggishly depositing silt. The country is purely alluvial and dead flat save for occasional mounds. The banks are never more than a foot or two above water level. In April the country is under water. The banks are fringed with a belt of date palms varying from half-a-mile to three miles wide—the country beyond on either side being desert. In the date groves here and there one sees patches of green—signs of cultivation—the shoots obliterating the scars of the shovel-like implement with which the Arab of the

desert tills the land. Country boats called *Mahelas* full of merchandise pass, some with sails spread to catch every breath of the wind, some tugged along by men on shore. Then near the villages one finds the *Ballam*. "In shape it is a hybrid between a canoe and a punt, while it has a slight *soupeon* of the gondola added; that is to say it has the general lines of the first, the flat bottom of the second, with a graceful curl of the bow and stern reminiscent of the third."*

The passenger reposes in cushioned ease in the middle of the boat with a rower in front and one behind. But these "rowers" seldom row. They pole along near into the bank using their long flexible bamboo poles. Now and then a steamer passes troubling the sluggish waters which strike against the shore and spend up their force in foamy smile. There are fishtraps all along the river and on either side miserable little villages of reed huts where one finds Arab women clad in shapeless garments affecting a complete concealment of form and face, only allowing the eyes to appear—and Arab men in their flowing robes which exhibit their love of colour. Beyond the date belt one sees the desert and men passing it on donkeys. In the village miserable curs wander about and cattle not unlike the cattle of India.

The first place of importance up the River is Fao. A small town at the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab where the British Expeditionary Force first effected a landing at the commencement of the Expedition after destroying the Fort there.

Proceeding up the River one reached Abadan where the Pipe Line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co., Ltd., ends. "Rows upon rows of oil reservoirs, of the same familiar shape as the great drums at a gasworks stretch into the desert; along the bank in front stand bungalows, power houses and retorts for refining the oil, the whole linked together by a network of light railway along

* Hubbard.—*From the Gulf to Ararat.*

which little engines run clauking and shrieking. This turns out to be the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's refinery, the big enterprise which, like the Suez Canal, has the British Government as its principal shareholder. The oilfields are 150 miles away, near Ahwaz on the River Karun—from there the oil comes down in a pipe laid across the desert. In its refined state it is pumped into barges which lie alongside the bank—which, in turn, empty it into big tank steamers anchored outside the bar.*

"The oil question, although it was one of the principal factors in bringing about the Mesopotamian campaign, is in origin a Persian rather than a Turkish affair." In 1901 an Englishman obtained from the Persian Government a concession, which gave him a monopoly of exploiting most of the oil-fields in the Empire. Eight years later the concession passed to a Company named the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which started to work with great energy to develop its resources. Oil was opened in a number of different places and the first important wells were sunk at Kasr-i-Shirin, rather more than a hundred miles east of Baghdad. The transport of oil from these wells, situated so far away from any port, represented a serious difficulty, and their output has been only used till now to supply local needs; but when a supply was tapped at Ahwaz within reach of the Gulf, a pipe line was laid down to the Shatt-el-Arab and the great Abadan Refinery erected.†

The Government acquired shares in the Company and a fresh pipe was to have been laid down in order to double the output when the war broke out. The old pipe was cut by the Turks.‡

Early in 1915 (February 5th) but after the successful operations of General Forringe's Column

* *From the Gulf to Ararat.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ According Lewin, the author of the *German Road to the East*, the pipe was cut by Persian tribesmen acting under German instigation.

from Ahwaz they were driven far from the neighbourhood of the line and it was restored to working order.

The next place of importance is Muhammerah where two large navigable rivers—the Karun and the Shatt-el-Arab meet. Here one sees the Arab of the desert and the Arab of the village, also the Marsh Arab as some of them are called, with the Persian and the English. The Arab of the desert—stately, calm and aloof is one of the last picturesque figures left to a civilised world.—

"A long cloak hangs from his shoulders, with broad sleeves which leave full play to his sinewy wrists and well-shaped hands. Open at the front, this reveals a long garment resembling the dressing gown of the Western world, gathered in the midst with a waistcloth into which are stuck a couple of silver-handled daggers. Over the head and drawn forward at each side so as to resemble a headpiece of old, is a gay coloured kerchief round which are twisted rings of camel hair. From under the kerchief stags out a dark sombre face, with keen dark eyes puckered at the edges with much watching against the desert sun, and well-cut features. Over his shoulder hangs a rifle by its sling, a full bandolier crosses his chest. Such is the Bedouin, the Spirit of the Desert made manifest in flesh*."

Compared with the Arab of the Desert the Arabs of the villages are a degenerate lot. They are largely agriculturists and many live and work for a livelihood in towns. The poor live in reed and palm leaf huts which can be put up in a few hours and abandoned without regret. The prosperous live in mud houses built like forts. All that they have to do is to cut a few canals and ditches to irrigate their land. The date palms generally do not demand much labour. They merely have to be fertilised artificially, the flower of the male (Fahal) being put into the flower of the female (Nakhla)

The Arab is a well built, powerful and handsome man; and the shapeless garment of the women more often than not hides a beautiful form

and face—fair complexion, brilliant dark eyes, black hair and graceful contour. Muhammareh was once a scene of war. But that was as far back as 1856. Persia had attempted to seize Herat and the British retaliated by despatching a force up the Gulf bombarding Muhammareh and sending a Regiment up the Karun to capture Ahwaz. The whole affair was shortly finished and "now a few bits of shell ploughed up from time to time on the outskirts of the town and some gashes in the trunks of the older palm trees are almost the only records of it left."

To-day "the Sheikh of Muhammerah is an important personage in this part of the world, for he controls powerful tribes in the neighbourhood, is married to a Persian Princess, and has a small navy for the maintenance of his prestige."

"The Sheikh of Muhammerah, Sheikh Khazal, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., has always been a loyal friend of the British, and his friendship has now stood the severe test of the war in Mesopotamia and the revolt of a large part of his subjects. He is a middle-aged Arab of liberal tendencies, though far too cautious to introduce any wholesale ready-made project of civilization within his domain. Progress has to be a gradual affair in Muhammerah. His authority extends over the two tribes of the Chaah and the Muhaisin which have, to a great extent, coalesced under their common ruler. These tribes are supposed to have immigrated from Arabia some 250 years ago and settled in Persian territory. Thanks to their remoteness from the centre of Government, their difference of language and race, and the incessant rivalry between Turkey and Persia, they have remained very independent of the Shah and his Government, and the present Sheikh having steered adroitly through the troublous waters of the Revolution, is now sovereign in all but name over the greater part of the Province of Arabistan, a country nearly as big as Belgium. He levies his own taxes and makes his own laws, and the Imperial Government has only a shadowy representative in the person of the *Karguzar* or Foreign Office Agent."

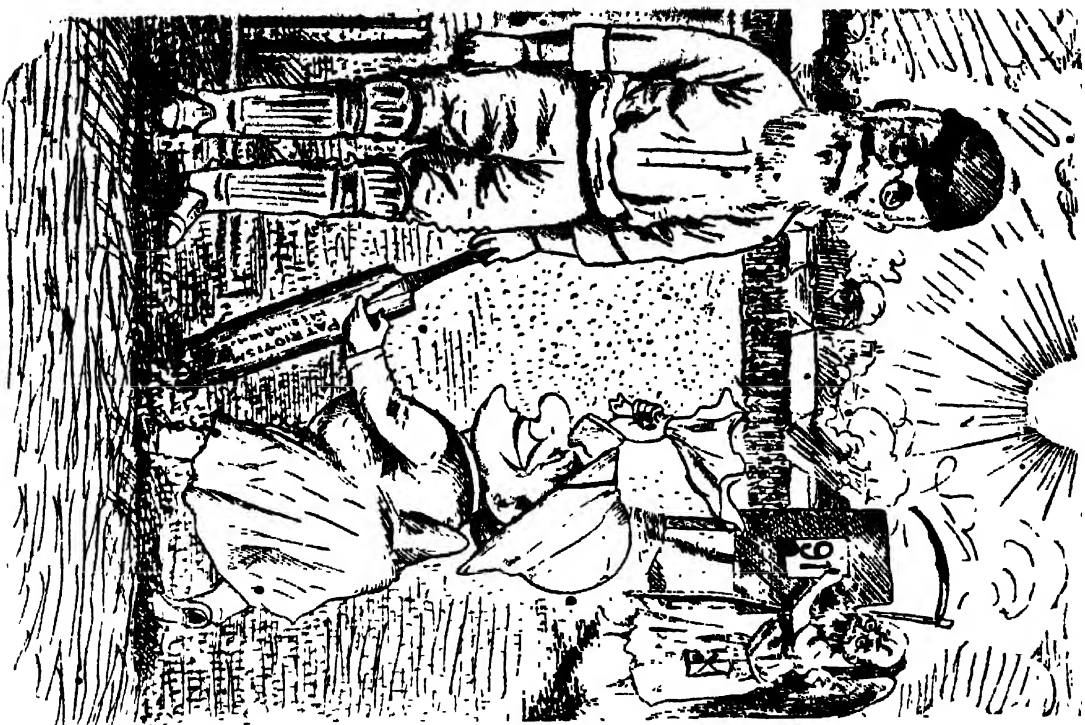
The Sheikh has, however, surrendered the control of the Customs, though even here he is the *Ex-Officio* Director-General.

Fraser—The Short Cut to India,

About half-a-mile up the Shatt-el-Arab from the place where the Karun joins it one sees the Palace of the Sheikh—an imposing edifice on the picturesque river front which looks like a castle. And in these places the rich have to construct castles for the purpose of defence against unexpected but violent attacks not unlike those sudden storms of the desert which cause such devastation. For more than a mile along the river front one sees a newly constructed road with neat little bridges over the irrigation channels and sandbag *bunds* built to protect the road from floods.

Near Muhammerah one finds the ships sunk by the Turks to block the waterway for British ships.

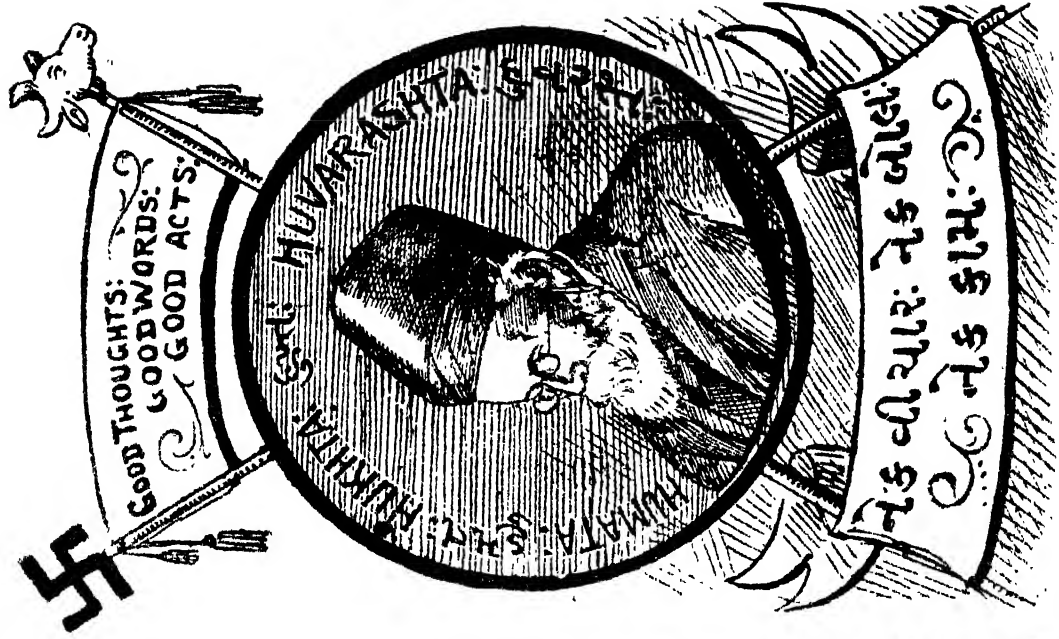
From Muhammerah to Basrah it is no longer a far cry—and the only beautiful building one passes is that of the opulent merchants—Beit Nama, standing in the midst of groves of palms and orange trees. This house cost the merchants £T90,000 one £T being now equivalent to Rs. 14-4. The cost may seem fabulous to people not acquainted with the conditions of the country. The local brick is brittle. The merchants got it from some place of the Gulf. The timber they got from Karachi, and the painters from Persia who blend the colours for carpet patterns were requisitioned to paint the walls and the ceilings. The house has been rented by the authorities for an Officers' Hospital; the Government wanted the best house in these parts for an Officers' Hospital with 100 beds and here it was ready made with its spacious rooms more a palace than an ordinary house. Then one approaches Basrah or rather Ashar, for Basrah proper is not on the Shatt-el-Arab, being situated about two miles inland on a creek. Ashar is a comparatively new city growing on the river bank through which passes the trade and where the Turks had their barracks a long row of rather poor looking buildings now occupied by the British troops. Along the river the new city is growing up to Margil, with the inevitable busy bustle of steam launches and steam tugs, mahelas and ballams, the shouting of orders and the garrulous chatter of the workmen.



DADABHAI NAORJI.

Dear Mr. Watson
 I thank you very much
 for the letter to me from
 London of the 11th inst. The
 same is in the hands of my
 agent Mr. Watson
 I am very
 truly
 Yours
 D. N. Naorji
 D. N. Naorji
 D. N. Naorji

DR. DADABHAI NAROGJI, LL. D., THE GRAND OLD MAN OF INDIA



THE VOICE OF INDIA IS STILL

IN MEMORIAM: HIND-KA-DADA.—Hindi Punch.

Reminiscences of a Revenue Wallah

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BY E. H. B.

DURING my wanderings around this Presidency I have, as a Revenue official, heard many a curious tale that well bears repetition. And so, to enliven an idle hour, I set down a few of them. These are stories of the mofussil, where news is scarce, and where the vagaries of an individual are enjoyed by an entire district over camp, tables and in places where men meet. So far as I am aware, these anecdotes have never appeared in print before, and the human touch in them is so obvious that I need no further excuse for publishing them.

How small a matter can sometimes ruffle official serenity is evidenced by the story of the Treasury Officer and the Police-wallah. The Policeman was in charge of a rain gauge, while the Treasury Officer, as is the habit of his kind, collated rainfall statistics. One fine morning the guardian of the King's treasure, omitting to correct a careless draft prepared by a half educated clerk, signed a letter to the guardian of the King's Peace, asking for the "rain for the week ending" a certain day. To which the Police-wallah who was a stickler for the King's English, replied that he had no such article as rain in stock. Whereupon the Treasury Officer, after explaining that the word *rain* was a clerical error for *rain report*, added in a burst of indignation "The humour in your letter is poor." All the materials for a skirmish were now present, and a very pretty skirmish there was, to the intense delight of the district.

In quite a different vein is the story of the expansive Sheristadar. One Collector had just relieved another in a district which I may not name and as both of them, followed by the hero of my tale, passed a handsome tree that shaded a large part of the office compound, the new arrival casually let fall the words "What a fine tree!" To this the terror of the Tahsildars hastened to assent. "Yes, your Honour" said he "the parties are very fond of coming and *taking umbrage* under this tree!"

There is quite a good tale of a cynical Port Officer, who had been officially instructed to observe Empire Day in a fitting manner. He was a lonely Englishman stationed in an out-of-the-way Port, and so he did that which was right in his own eyes. Having done this, he entered the following note in his official log. "*Empire Day*. Decked the flagstaff with all available bunting in three rows, Union Jack uppermost. Stood on

the steps in front of the office door, and whistled 'God save the Queen!'"

He was quite a character, that old sailor, and his conversation was distinctly interesting, being usually flavoured with a soupçon of cynicism. I recollect how he once told me of a servant of his who had bolted from him. He complained that the man had gone leaving all his *chits* (certificates) behind. These *chits* Captain X. had held on to as collateral security, but the misguided servant cut loose, abandoning them, to the great disgust of his deserted master, who unburdened himself to me thus: "I presume he'll get some fresh ones in the bazaar, in Madras. I believe you can buy a High Court Judge's *chit* there for two annas. I suppose you can get one written by a Port Officer for about a pie!"

Here is a story of an irate Presidency Port Officer and of a careless Port Conservator. This latter official is a cheap variety of Port Officer, and performs all the duties of one in a minor port. The particular Conservator of whom I write was both pugnacious and negligent. So that when on one occasion he had been informed that the Presidency Port Officer *might* arrive on a certain morning at the port in his little Government steamer, while the Conservator's wife would *certainly* arrive the same morning by train at a railway station several miles away, the careless one risked it, and rushed off to meet his wife, returning at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Meanwhile, as it usually happens in such cases, the Government steamer was sighted at daybreak. No boat went off to meet her till the Conservator returned with his wife, and it was not till near eleven o'clock that the port boat reached the vessel. The Presidency Port Officer in question was an old fashioned sailorman, whose language was 'frequent and free.' I accordingly draw a veil over that meeting.

The best of the story is to come. A few days later an official order came down to the Conservator directing him to explain his gross delay in boarding the Government vessel. The explanation was submitted, and it was delicious.

For in allowing that he was *a little late* on the morning in question, the laggard Conservator went on to state that it was true that the steamer was sighted at daybreak, but as it was a misty morning, and as she was a small vessel, the people ashore took her for two catamarans! The blend of apology and impudence in this statement is sublime.

The same Conservator had charge of a casuarina plantation which was also supposed to be looked after by another minor official, who lived close by. But as the Conservator and the minor official were 'at loggerheads, the plantation was not a success. Rumour had it that while officer No. 1 saw that the plants were watered every morning, officer No. 2 did the same every evening. The only drawback to this excellent system, was that officer No. 2 used *boiling* water!

A Port Officer of my acquaintance who exercised magisterial powers once complained to me that he had been hauled over the coals by the High Court. "I had a case before me," he said "and the accused were almost certainly guilty, but there wasn't quite enough evidence, so I acquitted them, *with a warning*. And the High Court is quite cross about it." "The Judicial order of the Port Officer was certainly open to criticism. For in essence his verdict was "not guilty, but you must not do it again." And yet it is difficult to refrain from sympathising with the practical sailor, who had acted in all sincerity.

Another Special Magistrate of the same species found himself trying his own dhobi. The washerman had been charged with obstructing a road by placing thereon a charpoy covered with clothes set out to dry. They were quite possibly the Magistrate's own clothes, and the dhobi got off with a modest fine of four annas. The indignant surprise of the Magistrate may be imagined when the dhobi insinuatingly approached the Court and pleaded "would the Doraigaru mind taking the money out of the next month's *Jeethun* (pay)?" A hasty threat of two days simple imprisonment in default and the four annas appeared as if by magic from a corner of the dhobi's cloth.

This Magistrate was once approached by a woman with a novel petition, which stated that the petitioner's husband was quitting India for Burma, and was leaving his wife behind. The prayer at the end of the petition was in the alternative. Would the Magistrate detain the husband, or if this could not be done, would he allow the petitioner to take another husband? This was distinctly embarrassing. I rejoice to record that the Court was successful in effecting a compromise.

It is not often that so uninteresting a matter as a Customs classification gives rise to a good story. But I recollect a case where a Customs Collector spent a very unhappy ten minutes because of a ludicrous error committed by one of his classifiers. In his *teppal* one day was a stern demand for an explanation as to how he came to

allow fireworks to be landed and cleared at his port. The Customs man was bewildered. The port was not one at which fireworks could be landed, except under very special circumstances. And so he feverishly hunted out the documents referred to in the order from headquarters. When he had found them, he hardly knew whether to laugh or to weep. For that which his classifier had labelled fireworks turned out to be an inoffensive consignment of *sparklets*, the well-known aratars. The word had been taken by his subordinate in its apparently obvious significance, and what could be more clear than that little sparks should fall into the fireworks class?

One last tale, and I close.

The scene shifts to a Plague office in the days when plague passports were strictly supervised and when each passport holder was obliged to present himself for observation for ten days. Four individuals having absented themselves on a certain day were directed to explain the reason for their absence. Four absolutely identical replies were received. They ran thus "30th of January happened to be a Sunday and therefore as Christians, we are strictly prohibited from presenting passports. For authority, see Holy Bible, Book of Exodus, chapter 20, verses 8, 9, 10, 11."

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

By MR. N. GUPTA.

Thou hast crossed the bar and the crested foam
Beyond where the tumult of wind and wave is
[still,
O war-worn warrior, O white-souled knight!
Patriot and Prophet, the white flower of thy life
Shall bloom fadeless in the years to be!
Immortal by the crowded glory of thy stainless
[years,
O, mortal crowned immortal by the gods in
[heaven!
Godlike in life, deathless in death,
Time waits as a handmaid on thy fame:
Dowered child of the Motherland! Seer whose vision
Saw the future as a scroll unrolled,
O Rishi in the land of the Rishis, O Elect of thine
[race,
Rest, for, lo, the night passeth
And the dawning morn crowns the rugged heights.

THE BARODA CASTE USAGES BILL

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BY DR. SUBRAHMANIA AIYAR, M.A.

(*Senior Dewan Peishkar, Travancore.*)

I have read the Baroda "Caste Usage Bill" which, it is said, is under the consideration of His Highness the Gackwar.

The preamble to the Bill runs thus :—

"Whereas caste usages and practices are in vogue in this State which, in course of time have lost their social value and now, only hinder the physical, moral and material welfare of the people and whereas there exists a body of enlightened opinion in the castes whose usages and practices they are, which revolts against them but is powerless to throw off their yoke and whereas it is expedient in the public interest to foster such enlightened opinion and help it to assert itself it is hereby enacted as follows" —

I have not been able to lay hold of the statement of objects and reasons or any proceedings of Government or any speech which contain those objects and reasons. But to the unbiased student, the preamble suggests the following queries which, I am sure, His Highness, as the head of the State responsible to God and man, must have put to himself before drawing up the Bill. I will simply name them by way of foreword to this letter.

i. What was the social value of the caste usages and practices now proposed to be ruled out by the strong arm of the legislature? In other words "in what way or ways were they useful and valuable to the society."

ii. How, when, and why was that value lost? (To say that all this occurred in course of time is not to say anything at all. Time is an inanimate thing and not an active agent. It only marks a succession of events. The question is, what in the opinion of law makers, are those events that led to these usages losing their social value.)

iii. Is the benefit of that value one that should not be surrendered, and if so, what is the alternative that is proposed to still secure that value?

iv. In what precise way do the caste usages hinder the moral, material and physical welfare of the people?

v. What are the grounds for believing that the opinion in the caste which revolts against their usages and practices is "enlightened"?

vi. Why is that opinion powerless to throw off the yoke of these usages?

vii. What steps have been taken either by the holders of the "enlightened" opinion or by Gov-

ernment to diffuse this opinion among the people and avoid resorting to a strong penal law? viii. Has the proposed law any precedent in history, all other conditions being equal?

As if to make the outside reader realise how some of the caste laws obtaining in Baroda are ridiculous beyond measure, the drafters of the Bill give, as illustrations to section 3, of the following :—

Illustrations.

CLAUSE 1.

1. A does not observe the custom of lamentation and beating of breasts (by women) in public on the occasion of a death in the family, for which he is fined by the head-man of the caste.

2. A does not get the hair shaved off or the moustache and beard removed on completion of funeral obsequies and hence the invitation to caste dinner to A is stopped.

CLAUSE 2.

1. A is fined for giving or accepting a girl in marriage beyond the "ring" generally agreed upon.

2. A person belonging to one sub-caste marries a girl of another sub-caste for which he is excommunicated.

CLAUSE 3.

A is excommunicated for not giving the prescribed number of caste dinners on the occasion of marriage, funeral obsequies or consummation of marriage.

CLAUSE 4.

It is resolved that A should pay a certain fine for foreign travel or sea voyage and that he is to be excommunicated on failure to pay it.

CLAUSE 5.

A is excommunicated for not getting a girl married although she is past a certain age.

5. Now let us take example (2) where the non-slaving of the hair, moustache or beard on completion of funeral obsequies as prescribed by Smithies—not the caste law of a community, mind—means the non-invitation to the caste dinner. Under section 3, a suit shall be to declare against this practice. Under section 6, a judgment may be passed to the effect that it is unlawful to omit such a man to dinner. Section 7 says that whoever omits to do an act which is unlawful to omit, viz., inviting persons to dinner, shall be punished with simple imprisonment which may extend to 6 months and shall also be liable to fine. Imprisonment is here a compulsory item of

punishment, though under the Indian Penal Code even offences like theft may be punished with fine only. This difference will speak for itself. But to show up the contrast, let me take a parallel instance from club life; for a village community is, in one sense, only a residential club. A number of Europeans are members of a club. A few of them believe that, for this hot country, the clothing of the ordinary Indian is most convenient. They take off their trousers and boots and put on dhoti and pugrie. To their eyes, a flowing tuft of hair on the back with the front part of the head shaved, impart a greater elegance to the person than a cropped round head; and lastly they think that chewing pan and supari is less harmful and more healthy than smoking a pipe. Such members, though Europeans, would be considered very odd by their comrades, and if they are not sent out of the club straight off to the lunatic asylum, they would be cut most unkindly by every other member. If any member gives a dinner at the club to all the Europeans of the station, these externally Indianised Europeans might be excluded from that dinner. These men may feel they have really a grievance. They have not offended against public decency or morals. They have only been doing what several estimable Indian brethren of theirs are doing and they feel that they should be helped to remain in the club and have as free social intercourse with their fellows as ever. Will it be the business of the State in its judicial department to entertain a suit for declaring that keeping a tuft, chewing a pan or supari, wearing dhoti instead of trousers is all lawful, that to omit to treat those that so act, just as they were treated before is unlawful, and that whoever so omits shall be punished with imprisonment with the additional liability of being fined? If individuals have a right to liberty of action, have not corporate bodies or associations a right to a similar liberty? And as an English weekly put it the other day, in reference to Irish Home Rule, "assuming both parties to be within their rights, the suggestion to apply coercion to one or the other must be distinctly immoral." This is what I understand to be the situation. While I am no defender of tyrannies, either in the name of caste or state, the proposal contained in the Bill to make penal the non-invitation of a person to dinner is passing comical. To keep a tuft or beard unshaven may not by itself be a crime. But to shave it if religious prescriptions or long-recognised custom requires it, and to do so, if not from conviction at least from deference to social conformity cannot be an offence either. In connection with the so called tyranny of caste law it

has to be remembered that the cohesion is well worth the sacrifice of the liberty or convenience of a few, and that the out-raging of custom and the breaking of conventionality without strong reason are every where considered anti-social. A caste or a community is really, by its very connotation, a number of people bound together by certain common customs, manners, etc. It is an association of people governed by certain common laws. And if in a community of association so formed, any persons, whether numbering 25 per cent, or not as specified in the Bill wish to throw off some or all of those customs or laws, they should either win the others through persuasion or they should leave them alone to form separate community or association for themselves if they please. But to ask that the dissentients should be allowed to remain in the community or association, and that with all the elements of commonness, such as common customs, common laws, etc., being allowed to be repudiated one by one, and to ask again for this repudiation being accepted by the others at the point of the bayonet i.e., through the intervention of the armed forces of the crown—if need be,—for, the ultimate enforcement of all laws, is by physical compulsion—this is, to my humble thinking, a misuse of kingly power, especially, when the caste customs whose violation caste-law seeks to punish do not, taken by themselves, constitute any crime under the general laws of the State.


Caste usage represents what was once the public will of the caste. It is admittedly still the will of the majority. The present Bill proposes to free the minority from that will, while ensuring to that minority the right to remain as part of that caste nevertheless. This is not to make caste government healthy and efficient, which can only be by creating an atmosphere of correct public opinion in the light of which all injustices and tyrannies will disappear. It is no less than killing caste government altogether and replacing it by State tyranny. All legislation means, in its ultimate effects, armed interference with private liberty, individual or corporate: and the policy of civilized legislatures is not to extend its power but to gradually let public opinion and social tribunals take the place of laws and law-courts in increasing measure. Of course, a certain section of modern public opinion, may support Bills of this kind and what is more; they may perhaps even serve as pegs on which to hang many a diatribe against other Governments for not having the same boldness and real love towards the people. But they are wrong all the same.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT

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BY MR. M. B. SANT.

(Assistant Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, Bombay.)

 THE question of the Swadeshi movement has been so often and so thoroughly discussed on public platforms in newspapers, and other periodicals that very little now remains to be said. Yet living, as we do, in an age of short memories and numerous distractions, no subject however important or affecting the vital interests of a nation, it may be, will leave any permanent impression on the popular mind unless and until it is repeatedly dinned into their ears and its significance brought home to them by diverse methods and on different occasions. In the pregnant words of His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda, "This economic problem is our last ordeal as a nation, it is our last chance." It behoves, therefore, every son of India to study this question carefully and to persist in reducing to practice what we have all been preaching so long. Because practice is the school of mankind and it will learn at no other.

The first faint beginning of the Swadeshi movement was made in Poona, so far back as 1878 by an old veteran of that place, Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, who may be justly looked upon as its pioneer. He, however, failed to gather any adherents at the time, but like all truths which have the inherent property of manifesting signs of vitality, whenever there is the least favourable chance, this movement came to be revived in 1890 and was fostered by men like the late Mr. M. G. Ranade. For nearly 15 years the idea remained stagnant, until it received a sudden impetus in 1905. The credit of its revival, renewed vigour and vitality is largely due to Bengal. But the association of the movement with the Partition question and certain other incidents which happened in its earliest stages about a decade ago, brought it under dis-repute. A dark cloud of suspicion hung over it, its advocates and martyrs for a time until the light of subsequent events dispelled the awful gloom to such an extent that the Government of India has itself become now an Indian Swadeshi by advocating in unmistakable terms the purchase of Indian goods even in preference to foreign articles by the different departments under its control, whenever possible.

Now what is the meaning of the Swadeshi movement or what does it connote?

Pure and unalloyed Swadeshi is a genuine sentiment that every son of India ought to do something for the industrial welfare of his Motherland

and as such this sentiment deserves to be cultivated in its intensity. By dint of self-help the movement honestly attempts.

(a) To conserve old existing industries of the country by introducing all possible and necessary improvements.

(b) To start new ones necessitated by the circumstances of the modern civilisation, to keep India as far as possible independent of foreign supplies of articles either of daily use or of luxury.

(c) To create within the country itself a permanent market for the home goods and raw products by observing a vow of self help and self-sacrifice affording by these means a legitimate support and protection to the home industry.

If there is any non-controversial subject before our countrymen, which must appeal to the patriotic instincts of all communities, irrespective of caste, creed or complexion, inhabiting this vast Peninsula, it is this Swadeshi movement. The domiciled Anglo Indian, the Parsi, the Mahomedan, the Bohra, or the Jew is as much interested in its correct solution and its progress as the Hindu. In the earlier stages of the Indian History, when India was isolated and self-sufficient, the need of this question never arose. It is only owing to the impact of the Western civilisation heralding a new era of mechanical inventions and the subjugation of the forces of nature, that the conditions of Indian life have been entirely upset and the need for protection of home industry has, naturally come to be recognised.

This question throws certain responsibilities on the producer and the dealer along with the consumer. It is within the knowledge and recollection of many of us that in the beginning of this movement, unscrupulous manufactures and dealers had a sole eye to illegitimate profits and were in a hurry to get rich by all possible means fair or foul. They exploited the movement by plating off as country made goods articles of foreign make by using false labels, trade marks and other devices. Manufacturers put on the market unfinished, inferior and worthless goods taking thus an unfair advantage of the movement. In fact as one of our friends has happily put it, "this movement has enabled people to sell and produce candles that will not burn, soaps that will not wash, matches that will not light, and pencils that would not write." This picture may appear to be over-drawn. But it must be conceded that there

is much truth in this statement and it teaches us that any movement based on sentiment alone can never last long, unless it is nourished by other factors equally sound and encouraging.

Want of expert knowledge in the bankers, manufacturers, engineers and traders, low commercial morality, impatience to get rich at the cost of one's own countrymen, shyness of capital, starting of industrial ventures without proper and sufficient investigation, lack of advertisement of goods for the purpose of creating markets either in the country or abroad—these and many other causes, some within our own control and some beyond, contributed to the fall of Swadeshim and unless steps are immediately taken in the right direction, there is no prospect of an abiding success of the movement.

OUR DUTIES.

Our first and foremost duty is to organise and combine. Those who loudly complain of the industrial invasion of Japan since the commencement of the present titanic struggle, forget the fact that Japan does not believe in talk, platform speeches, lengthy discourses and discussions, more or less of an academical nature, but in action, pure and simple. It is a country of cottage industry, properly organised on the principles of combination and co-operation, without the aid of costly machinery and in most cases without bounties or other forms of government help. In Japan, the mill-owners and other big as well as small traders form combines and by united action succeed in underselling articles in foreign countries, in a way which makes it impossible for them to compete with Japanese goods.

To ensure success of the Swadeshi movement, it is necessary to patronise existing industries, and also to start new ones to suit various centres in India. There is ample scope in the country for the expansion of the hand-loom and diverse other occupations.

The following measures should be adopted for the purpose of creating a market for indigenous products at home and in foreign countries :—

(a) For home market, shops should be opened in all important centres and in every town for the collection and sale of only country made articles. "The Directory of Indian Goods and Industries," compiled by the office of the General Secretary, Indian Industrial Conference, will afford much help in organising these shops.

(b) There ought to be standing exhibitions of indigenous goods and productions of art at least in the principal cities of India.

(c) It is necessary also to collect specimens of foreign goods of various description which should be kept on view for the instruction of artisans and others desirous of studying them for the purpose of producing similar wares. This system has already been adopted by Japan and has produced excellent results. The Commercial Intelligence Department of the Government of India has organised Museums for the exhibition of Indian as well as foreign articles.

(d) Determination on the part of the people to buy genuine Swadeshi articles in preference to foreign goods, even if the cost is slightly higher.

(e) To organise exhibitions of machinery large and small which is actually used in foreign countries for the manufacture of different articles of daily use. These exhibitions of the processes of manufacture will be of greater practical utility than the exhibitions of Indian articles organised now and then in the different parts of the country.

For the success of the Swadeshi movement and the diffusion of the Industrial ideal, there ought to be extensive schemes of Scientific and Technical Education undertaken either by private agency or Government departments. In addition to these, a nation bent seriously upon industrial advancement, must prepare its younger generation for manual work, which should not be looked down upon, but assigned even a higher place than that of the merely literary and unproductive careers. Unless there is a harmonious and genuine combination of capital, brain, earnestness and sincerity of purpose, there can be no Industrial progress.

These are only a few of the essentialities of modern industrialism, which cannot be lost sight of.

My remarks on the abuses of the Swadeshi movement and on the causes of its failure are likely to make some of you despondent in regard to the future of this activity. For their sake, let me at once make myself clear on the subject by stating that those remarks represent only one side of the picture. Let us not ignore the bright aspect of the movement and the marvellous transformation which it has made both in the ideals and the actual life of the people. About twenty years back, gentlemen who could afford owing to their affluent circumstances to send their sons or relatives to foreign countries for training, invariably selected the I. C. S., I. M. S., and Barrister's courses, but a change has since then come over the popular feelings; and wealthy persons or

public associations started in the various parts of the country choose mechanical, or electrical engineering, textile engineering, pure and applied chemistry, agriculture and other technical courses for their students. The Government of India has allotted a certain number of scholarships purely for technical education. As a result of this impetus, those places and posts which were formerly occupied exclusively by the foreigners, are now in the hands of Indians. The Society for the Advancement of the Scientific Education started in Bengal, has alone sent nearly three hundred students so far to foreign countries solely for technical studies. The commendable activity of this as well as other similar institutions all over India and the co-operation of the Government of British India and Indian States, have already borne fruit. There are now in the country experts in glass making, paper and paper pulp manufacture and some other industries and also men capable of undertaking geological surveys and mining industries. We possess a number of electrical and mechanical engineers trained here as well as in foreign lands. Our spinning and weaving mills are run by our own spinning and carding masters and dyers. In the forest research work, our chemists and experts are working on equal footing and side by side with European officials. In the agricultural department, we have got our own botanists, entomologists and chemists showing equal aptitude in research and organisation with their European confreres. I have seen Indian Engineers in charge of Steamships of the Indian Navigation Companies. Many of you who have not paid much attention to industrial problems, will be surprised to learn that high class gentlemen have chosen deliberately leather tanning and other despised professions and careers for their sons who are B. Scs., of Indian Universities. Can the Swadeshi spirit go further? Yes, there is yet in the country a portion of the younger generation which shows an aversion to any profession or avocation requiring manual labour. So long as this feeling lasts, do not dream of your economical emancipation. In other countries, sons of millionaires will not shrink from working as coal heavers in the mines owned by their own fathers. Let us take this lesson to heart.

The starting of Swadeshi shops, in principal cities, has given much impetus to this activity as each shop is a standing Museum of country made goods.

In the midst of the gloom cast by the regrettable failures of our banks, there are also several

features which are distinctly reassuring. The colossal enterprises started by the distinguished sons of the late Mr. J. N. Tata with the aid of funds raised in India, I mean the Steel and iron works and the Hydro-electric schemes of Bombay Presidency, are an emphatic answer to the charge sometimes laid at our doors, that we are efficient in the capacity of organisation and combination.

According to some pessimists, we may not be able to show a distinct advance owing to the vastness of our country and the meagre information that we possess regarding our own activities. We may be moving in a circle, but that circle is continually widening and bids fair to encompass the whole world within the domains of its activities.

There was a time, not long ago, when our dhoties used to come from Manchester, boots from Dawson, socks and shirts from Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co. But, now, thanks to the spread of this movement and the energy and enterprise of our Bombay and Ahmedabad mill-owners, a prince as well as a peasant can now be dressed from head to foot in an attire which can be purely Swadeshi.

If that is the case, may we not hope that captains of industry and all who attend future Conferences and Congresses, which include the Swadeshi in their programme, may set an example to their countrymen by appearing in a dress composed entirely of Swadeshi manufacture?

India occupies a unique position on the globe. Blessed with fertile soils, an equable climate, favourable for the production of an abundance of raw materials, with an inexhaustible mineral wealth, India was and is still capable of meeting her own wants by producing articles of every-day life. Yet it presents in the words of a well-known writer, the "strange spectacle of a country formerly rich, prosperous and civilised, but now with many of its industries on the border of extinction." The only way to solve our economical difficulty is by being Swadeshi. The right of civilised citizenship implies freedom of purchase and use of commodities and if Indians in their patriotic zeal for the revival and development of indigenous industries, prefer home made goods to articles of foreign origin, there is no cause for despondency.

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DIARY OF THE MONTH

- June 26. Bombay Presidency Association's cablegram to Messrs. Lloyd George, Asquith, Chamberlain and Sir William Wedderburn against repression in India and the need for a statement of a definite policy.
- June 27. The *New Times*, an Indian daily started six weeks ago in Karachi, has been ordered to deposit a security of Rs. 500 under the Press Act.
- June 28. The first United States contingents have arrived in France.
- A new Greek Cabinet has been formed with M. Venizelos as Premier and War Minister, M. Repoulis, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Admiral Condouriotis as Minister of Marine.
- June 29. Accounts of the *Mongolia* disaster. Students prohibited from attending public meetings in the Punjab.
- Punjab newspapers prohibited from reporting speeches against the Internment.
- June 30. Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji died this evening in Bombay.
- July 1. Lord Ronaldshay's advice to students at the Calcutta University Institute.
- Funeral of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
- July 2. Reuter cables that the terms of office of Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon have been extended.
- July 3. Air raids on aerodromes and air sheds in Belgium.
- The French repulse serious attacks on Chemin-des-Dames.
- The first Petrograd Women's contingent has been formed and presented with a flag.
- Lord Hardinge's defence in the Lords in regard to the accusation of the Mesopotamia Commission Report.
- July 4. Celebrations of the American Independence Day in Allied Countries' capitals.
- July 5. Lord Ronaldshay's views on Self-Government in a speech at Dacca.
- The Viceroy's message of condolence to Dadabhai's family.
- July 6. Indignation in England against the inadequacy of measures against the air raid.
- July 7. Allied aerial activity.
- 'German Socialists' manifesto.
- July 8. Mr. Bonar Law's Statement in the Commons on the air raid.
- Vigorous Russian offensive.
- Control of Neutral shipping.
- July 9. Secretary of State's message to the relatives of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.
- Debate in Parliament on the air raid and Mr. Lloyd George's statement.
- July 10. Success of the Russian offensive.
- Paric in Germany and Hungary.
- Conference of the Indian Student's advisory Committees at Simla.
- July 11. Appointment of a Committee on Empire cotton growing with Messrs. D. T. Chadwick and J. J. Kershaw representing India.
- July 12. Mr. Austin Chamberlain, Secretary of State for India, has resigned.
- Indian papers express strong resentment at the censure on Lord Hardinge and express continued confidence in his Lordship.
- July 13. Bengal Provincial Congress Committee proposes names for Presidentship of the ensuing Congress.
- July 14. The Admiralty announces that Count Von Bethmann Holweg the German Imperial Chancellor has resigned.
- July 15. Renter and the Associated Press report that Mrs. Besant has refused the Government's permission to continue her non-political works.
- Death in Calcutta of Sir P. C. Chatterjee.
- July 16. Swadeshi Day in Madras. No less than a dozen meetings in the City and numerous meetings in the mofussil were held in which Swadeshi vows were taken.
- July 17. Mr. Montague becomes Secretary of State for India.
- Change in name and title of the Royal family is announced.
- July 18. Champaran Agrarian enquiry.
- Meetings in Government House, Madras, re the ensuing Madras Exhibition.
- July 19. Messages from the British Indian Association and the All-India Moslem League to the Premier re India's confidence in Lord Hardinge.
- July 20. The New Central Hindu Collegiate School Benares was opened to-day by H. H. the Lieutenant Governor,

TWO NEW MEMBERS OF THE INDIA COUNCIL.



THE HON. BHABU BUPENDRANATH BASU



THE HON. SIR PRABHASANKAR D. PATTANI



THE LATE SIR P. C. CHATTERJEA

An Indian in the Australian Army

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh writes a vivid sketch of "The only Indian in the Australian Army," Private Gurbuchan Singh, in a recent issue of the *Commonweal*. Gurbuchan presented himself to the writer like a true born Australian farmer in Khaki with his weather-beaten face and the soft "slouch" hat. And but for his Sikh salutation, could hardly be recognised as Mr. Nihal Singh's countryman. Gurbuchan had been through the Chitral and Tirah Campaigns and had served in South Africa in the siege of Ladysmith.

"We are willing to serve as mere privates in the expeditionary force that Australia was organising," said the Sikh soldier. "There was one Mussalman among us who owned a large number of camels in Western Australia, who was eager to raise a Camel Corps. There was a Sikh farmer with a large acreage who wanted to make himself responsible for raising two hundred recruits. There were thousands of Indians in Australia, and we hoped that a regiment might be recruited from amongst us and sent to Europe for service."

It was of course very very difficult to get the chance. Not being a "substantial European," he couldn't get in but the Punjabi's pertinacity stood him in good stead.

"I told the officers who examined me that I had fought for the King-Emperor in three campaigns. They seemed to think that I was too old to fight now, but I satisfied them that my age at that time was only forty-two years six-months, and that I was quite fit. My earnestness finally overcame all opposition, and I was taken in. My happiness would have been complete had I been passed for service at the front, but I was classed OI. I was, however, glad to be enlisted at all, and felt sure that sooner or later I would have my chance to fight in Europe."

"Was that the end of your difficulties?" I questioned him.

"Not exactly," he rejoined. "Attempts were made later to shunt me off. But in my enthusiasm I had made a considerable sacrifice in leaving off my business, and I asked them to take my sacrifice into consideration, and let me stay in. I won my point."

But why are you so eager to fight, asked Mr. Nihal Singh. Here is the warrior's reply:—

"Well, you see," he said, "I am a Sikh—and fighting is in my blood. Besides, the Germans killed one of my people—Subadar-Major Sardar Balwant Singh Bahadur. Last and most important of all, this is a time of emergency, when every man who can fight is needed to fight for the King Emperor."

The prospect of facing the enemy in open battle is too cheerful for the Sikh patriot to think of the perils of war. "Death" says Gurbuchan, "has no terrors for us; soon the desire of my heart will be fulfilled when I cross the channel and confront the Germans." Mr. Nihal parted with the only Sikh private in the Australian army "with a heavy heart, and felt sorry that other Indian settlers in Australia had not been given the chance to fight for the King-Emperor."

The Commonwealth Government does not, however, stand by itself in this matter. "So far as I know," writes Mr. Nihal Singh, "only three or four of our settlers in Canada have been allowed to join the Canadian Contingent. The other day a friend of mine saw one of these Indians dressed up in the Canadian uniform, who was ready to go to the front, and told me that Indians in the Dominions are all eager to fight. Now that the Canadian authorities are planning to introduce compulsory service, it is to be hoped that our countrymen settled in Canada will be given the coveted chance."

The Indian Defence Force

The current number of the *Review of Reviews* (London), discusses the real reason why the Indian response to the Defence Force has been poor. The Editor writes in the course of a note: "A laconic telegram received here the other day told the people that only 300-Indians had come forward to join the Defence Force that the Government is creating. There was not a word to explain why the response has been so poor. If the correspondent had embarked on such an attempt, he would have had to make many damaging admissions. We would like to ask the authorities why they have failed to respect their promise of giving Indians the same terms as Europeans. How can Indians feel enthusiasm if they are not to hold commissions even in a volunteer force, let alone the regular Army, and if B.A.'s and M.A.'s are required to serve at less than £1 a month? The Indian Government does not even seem to realise that the success of volunteering depends very largely upon making training available for the patriotic volunteer near his place of residence. Let the authorities treat our Indian fellow-subjects generously, and we are sure that there will be a warm response from India's manhood."

Ceylon After the War

Mr. C. E. Corea, the Editor of the *National Monthly of Ceylon*, in the course of his notes in a recent issue of his journal makes in an impassioned plea for the introduction of free institutions in Ceylon after the War.

The Allies are unequivocally committed to the "principle of nationality." That principle has been admirably defined by Mr. Wilson, the President of the United States, as follows: "No nation should extend itself, in policy, over any other nation or people, but each little and great nation should be free to develop unhindered and unafraid."

If the Allies are sincere, then Ceylon after the War will be governed by His Britannic Majesty,

through "the principle of nationality." There must be no more dumping of foreign undesirables upon the land belonging to the nation; there must be no conserving of the nation's labour for the benefit of the planter, by the abolition of tobacco cultivation, paddy cultivation or any other national industry. And in the Public Service there must be no preponderance of any outside nationality; nor in Council shall there be any more official domination. Also, after the War, the term "Ruling Race" shall no longer be heard, here or elsewhere, for no more shall race rule over race, since the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, has announced in regard to the future of the Empire: "We shall set to work to build up that ordered freedom and fraternity which is the only security for human peace and progress." All this shall surely come to pass if the Allies are sincere in the aims they have declared before God; for the realisation of those aims God will give them victory—but "God is not mocked."

English Education in Bengal

The Bengal District Administration Committee was appointed in 1913 to inquire into the administration of that Province and to report how far that administration was responsible for the indiscipline, unrest and seditious movements there. The report of that Committee holds that much evil has been caused by the loose management of educational affairs in Bengal, by the almost entire absence of adequate supervision and control, particularly in the case of secondary schools and by the consequent mal-administration of public funds; and it lays a share of the blame for the grave defects of Bengal education at the door of the Education Commission of 1884.

Dr. Miller, writing in the *Christian College Magazine*, for June, repudiates this charge, and shows that if the report of the Education Commission had been acted on and its recommendations put in force, the evils which have grown up

might have been nipped in the bud. The Education Commission recommended that the Bengal educational authorities should inspect and supervise all schools much more strictly than was being done in 1882 and pointed out the necessity for the provision of an adequate supply of trained teachers. It also urged that periodic and frequent conferences should be held between officials of the Education Department and accredited representatives of private effort. So far no attention seems to have been given in Bengal to these during the last 34 years. Other points might also be mentioned to show that the recommendations and views of the Education Commission have been ignored and deliberately set aside in the educational administration of Bengal. There is no ground, therefore, for charging the Education Commission with complicity in bringing about the present regrettable situation in Bengal. In Madras, where a certain amount of real effect was given to the views and recommendations of the Educational Commission, a comparatively good state of discipline and general tone was well established. And Dr. Miller goes on to say that "those who know the people best ascribe this striking difference between the young men of Madras and the young men of Bengal, if not mainly, at least largely to the harmony between Government, and private managers, which was established and for a time maintained on the basis of the work done by the Education Commission."

There are two ways in which an official department of education can confer some real benefit on the people in the midst of whom it works. The one by means of sympathetic fellowship and wise guidance works out a larger and more lasting good; the other within much narrower limits may work out some amount of good of a less far-reaching and fruitful kind. Those ultimately responsible for educational administration in Bengal appear to have deliberately abstained from walking in either of those two ways. To this fact, not to any blindness or mistake on the part of the Education Commission, must be attributed the chaos of education in Bengal which the District Administration Committee has investigated so fully and described so powerfully.

Hindu Theory of Government .

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., writing in the current issue of the *Empire Review*, discusses the nature of ancient Indian polity based on the principles of Varnashrama Dharma. He points out :

The root of the theory of government which we find in Sanskrit Literature is the organisation of society upon the basis of caste, the essential feature of this organisation being that each of the functions required in a civilised community is discharged by a separate section of the people. The worship of the gods is the business of one caste, banking of another, shoe-making of another, and so on. By analogy the business of government is also assigned to one particular section, instead of being the common business of all as it is usually held to be in Europe. In India, this arrangement reacted upon the body politic in two ways. *Firstly*, the exclusion of most of the castes from politics left little room for the growth of feelings of common interest and public spirit; *secondly*, the efficiency of the governing section became of immense importance. Only if this section were strong could it perform its function of keeping each caste to its proper duties, and thereby combine the parts into an organic whole : while, if it were weak, society would fall apart into disconnected atoms. Anarchy is the peculiar peril of a society that is organised on the basis of caste, and the dread of anarchy naturally leads to monarchy as the strongest defence against it. Indian thinkers were well aware of the weakness of divided counsels, holding that one person should be appointed to one task, and not two or three. "It is always seen that several persons, if set to one task, disagree with one another." Desiring above all things a strong government, they insist over and over again upon the value of the kingship as a defence against anarchy, than which, it is said, "there is no greater evil."

Village Economic Surveys in Madura

Mr. A. J. Saunders, Professor of History and Economics in the American College, Madura, writing in a recent issue of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, tells us the results of his survey of three typical villages within the Madura district, made along the lines of Dr. Slater's valuable scheme for a survey of a Ryotwari village. The main outlines of the survey included statistics of the population, land, cultivation methods, stock, manuring, pests and diseases, living conditions, land values, industries, village trade, rates of wages and prices, indebtedness, sanitary conditions, education, village administration etc. One of the villages was under the influence of the large and growing city of Madura; the second living its own quiet life and almost alone; and the third situated on the main railway line, a leading village and a large union. The following are the general conclusions arrived at by the writer.

"The old methods and implements of agriculture are still almost universally used. The average village ryot is quite content to do as his father and grand-father did before him. In theory he is not opposed to change and progress. But he is afraid to experiment. If a new way is plainly demonstrated to him, and its advantages shown he will accept it, but not otherwise. I therefore would urge the Agricultural Department to undertake a series of demonstrations in the chief centres of the District, and bring the results within the reach and study of the average ryot. I would suggest that the lines of demonstration should follow method, implements, seed, manure, rotation of crops, breeding of cattle.

2. Co-operation between villagers in the matters of production and exchange of commodities so as to save to themselves the middleman's profit is absent. The gospel of mutual trust for mutual benefit needs to be preached day and night in every village in South India.

3. The money-lender and his exorbitant rates of interest are the veritable bane of the poorer ryot. The average ryot cannot continue his cultivation without capital, but at a rate of interest which finally results in the ryot's becoming an agricultural slave to the money-lender. Happily for the Indian ryot there is a remedy and it is along the lines of Co-operative Credit Societies. The principle of co-operation is the only salvation for the Indian ryot and I would urge a policy of enlightenment along these lines in every district in the Presidency.

4. Indebtedness is an actual curse in every village. People seem more or less callous to it. They do not seem to understand the enormous rates of interest they are paying, how that cripples their working capital, and lessens their powers of production. Diminished production means less wealth and capital, and no country can become industrially and commercially great which has the great majority of its population continually in debt.

5. The Panchama classes are in a deplorable condition living in a state of abject misery and ignorance, far worse off than thousands of animals around them, and with no future, unless we are moved to bring to them liberty, education, and a chance in life. This survey has led me to see that what the average villager in South India needs is education, ambition, and enterprise."

Poetry and Education

Sir Henry Newbolt, writing in the June number of the *English Review*, on classics vs. science, points out that there is no necessary antagonism between the two methods, but that in a perfect, or even adequate, educational system they should be complementary. "By all means in our power," says the writer, "we must see that true generations which are to be touched by the great scientific minds shall be touched also by the great creative minds."

Co-operation in India

Mr. Crosthwaite, writing in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* points out several interesting observations on the state of co-operation in India. He says that co-operation in Britain and co-operation in India are two very different things. In the matter of industrial co-operation England has always been *facile princeps*; but even a few years ago, it seemed as if a great deal of preliminary, educative and propagandist work would be wanted in rural England, before there could be a really popular move towards co-operation in agriculture. Education is more advanced and more easily to be had in industrial centres, and the town-dwellers are sharpened in their wits by the atmosphere of busy competition, and they use co-operation as a protection against the strain and stress of that competition. In India, he says, the first necessity is the improvement of the state of rural education and the formation of private organisation societies.

"The difficulty which strikes me is the backward state of rural education,—general education and enlightenment, I mean, not mere book-learning. And how is the cultivator to understand if he has not had matters brought home to him? I plead for a campaign of rural education in India. If this great country is to be a self-contained unit of the Empire, then there must be not only a reform but a revolution in her system of agricultural economy. For most modern industries the raw material supplied by the fields is essential: and in many parent industries this material must be produced within a short distance of the factory if profits and efficiency are to be secured. Intensive cultivation is, indeed, a corollary of the modern factory: and I need not labour on the point that industries and agriculture, whether in the matter of labour or of markets or of material are inter-dependent. An examination of Japanese conditions will bring home the truth of this. But if you wish

to get money out of business you must first put money into it. A great deal of money is wanted for the improvement of Indian agriculture. The improvement of agriculture and the need of the cultivator for increased capital will progress together; and the ideal which some people appear to cherish of rural co-operative credit societies requiring no credit, can only be reached by means of economic stagnation and the stoppage of human progress. In Germany the rural societies borrow because they progress from one stage of improvement to another on the strength of their credit, and their credit depends upon their ability to progress. And that ability in turn is the result of the research work done by the scientific experts paid by the State. But the scientific expert is not expected to devote his attention to the organisation and supervision of co-operative societies. The co-operative societies eagerly assimilate and apply the discoveries of the scientists, and the mainspring of their enterprise is the thoughtfulness and vigour of their members.

Later he urges also very much the same warning. "Those who expect too much of co-operative institutions forget the limitations of environment and the unequal development of the many countries of which India is composed. The progress of co-operation depends upon progress in many other directions. It depends on the development of education, of railways, of roads, of markets. It depends upon the supply of workers, paid and unpaid, and most of all perhaps, on the degree of importance attached to economic development by those who are the elected representatives of their countrymen. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. Bricks cannot be made without straw. And those who desire to see the co-operative movement go ahead in India, should do all they can to secure the general development of the country and should attach to co-operation that same degree of commanding importance which is attached to it in other countries."

China in English Literature

Mr. G. Currie Martin, writing in the May number of the *Asiatic Review*, deplores the remarkable ignorance of China under which Englishmen labour and more than that, their mental attitude which betrays the distrust that arises from ignorance. He says that English readers had comparatively little excuse for their lack of knowledge of China, for there has existed for centuries in the English tongue very excellent accounts of the land and very just estimates of some of the finer qualities displayed by the Chinese. European travellers as early as the 14th century were busy in the far Eastern lands; among whom the most famous was Marco Polo. This traveller is particularly poor in his accounts of China proper. Among the great Elizabethan writers and playwrights, we have very few references to Cathay. One can only suppose that in spite of all that had been written, no traveller had told anything of China's history where there was any dramatic situation for them to choose. But as it was, the inhabitants of China were for Shakespeare, only synonyms of cheating and chicanery. We are told that the great sailor Drake himself came into touch with a Chinaman who begged him to take him back to his own land.

The 'Voyages' of the industrious Hakluyt give us a wonderfully accurate picture of China as it was then known, wherein are described the Chinese wall, the dense population, the fertile soil, their system of graduation, their love of literature, the method of governmental postal arrangements and the variety of religions prevailing in the country. Robert Burton with his massive learning has many shrewd references to China in his 'Anatomy.' He quotes a Chinese proverb to the effect that they have two eyes, Europeans one and the rest of the world blind, and makes numerous references to their prosperity, customs, and superstition. Later in the 17th century, we have got Sir Thomas Browne. Milton

did not allow China to go altogether unnoticed in his epic and his brief, history of Moscovia. Defoe in his 'Robinson Crusoe' makes his hero find his way to China and visit Nanking and Peking. 'Defoe is evidently not favourable to the Chinese and writes of them in a very insular and parochial spirit. In Goldsmith, we find a gracious and imaginative use, made by an English literary man of the 18th century, of his knowledge of China. Gibbon deplores that, in the trade between Rome and China, there was no importation into Europe of the art of printing as it had been already practised by the Chinese. Cowper, and Lamb, Leigh Hunt, Coleridge and Byron have all some references to China; as well as Carlyle and Landor. De Quincey wrote a pamphlet in 1857 in support of the war against China which is full of the most atrocious mis-statements and prejudice. Books on China and Chinese affairs, accounts of travel in China, studies in her literature and ideas, have been written in ever increasing numbers within the last century, but what among them, will be reckoned as permanent additions to English literature, the future alone will decide.

Sir W. Wedderburn on Women's Education

The *Mysore Social Review* says that at a meeting in London Sir William Wedderburn, speaking on the question of education of Indian women, said that the ultimate success of Self-Government for India was closely connected with that of education of Indian women. In other words, they must have sound education for Indian women, if they desired to have satisfactory results from Indian Self-Government. After referring to the urgent need for trained Indian women teachers and what was being done in that direction and to Sir Sankaran Nair's circular to the local Governments on women's education following Mrs. Fawcett's deputation to Mr. Chamberlain, Sir William referred to the Gokhale scholarship and appealed for more donors.

The Economy of an Indian Middle Class Home

Mr. G. A. Chandavarkar, writing in the June number of the *Wealth of India* warns the middle class people of the financial crisis that is bound to occur very soon and that will affect their position very seriously. The middle-class man depends for his maintenance upon his intellect and brain-power and the sources of his income are either public and private service, or the so-called independent professions and private enterprise. The resources from all these directions tend to become extremely limited; and from an economic standpoint there is no other conclusion for him to draw than that for a long time to come he must, in order to continue to live, either cut down his expenditure by rigid economy, or by ingenious means supplement his income. There has been a steady increase on the expenditure side so much so, that on an average, within the last ten years, the cost of living has risen almost 50 per cent. The writer proposes a few methods to better the position of the middle-class man. Of these the most important is life-insurance the premiums of which regularly enforce and teach economy, and become a compulsory form of saving. The starting of home industries on a small scale, which would supplement the income of the family is another device; and the making of socks, neckties and woollen comforters on a systematic basis by the housewife is bound to lighten the financial burden. The adjustment of expenditure on a co-operative basis seems also economical. Purchasing articles, foodstuffs and even clothing at wholesale rates and then distributing them between 3 or 4 families may also be economical. And lastly, rigid economy, even at the cost of some present day comforts, deserves a trial. A few luxuries may be dispensed with, and some injurious habits of food and drink may be given up. The methods thus suggested may easily better the economic condition of the middle-class man.

The Nation

Sir Rabindranath Tagore, contributing an article to the *Modern Review* (July), contrasts the hidebound organisation of the present day nations which are merely huge machines for production and destruction with the natural peoples who are living beings each with its destructive personality. The present day methods of nation organising crowd away into a corner the individual and the living man. He says that with the unchecked growth of nationalism the moral foundation of man's civilisation is unconsciously undergoing change, that the ideal of the nation like that of the professional man is selfishness which leads to a hopeless moral blindness confusing the religion of the people with the religion of the nation, and that the spirit of national selfishness is the brain disease of a people, which for the time being, shows itself in red eyes and clenched fists, in violence of talk and of movement, all the while shattering its natural system of healing. This moral alienation of peoples decked with the showy title of patriotism passes abroad as high moral influence and has its own inflammatory contagion. The material prosperity of the nation not only feeds the selfish instances of the people continuously, but impresses men's minds with the idea that for a nation, selfishness is a necessity and therefore a virtue. It is this emphasis upon the idea of the nation growing in strength that is the greatest danger to man, both in its direct activity and in its power of infection.

The idea of the nation is the professionalism of the people, which is becoming their greatest danger, because it is bringing them enormous success, making them impatient of the claims of higher ideals. The greater the amount of success the stronger are the conflicts of interest and jealousy and hatred which it arouses in men's minds and thereby makes it more and more necessary for living peoples to stiffen into traditions,

• The Imperial War Cabinet

The June Issue of the *Round Table* contains an interesting article about the Imperial War Cabinet which included representatives from all the Overseas Governments and India, except that of Australia. The primary object with which this was summoned was to convene a series of special and continuous meetings in order to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the War, the possible conditions on which, in agreement with our Allies we could assent to its termination and the problems which will then immediately arise. This invitation was accepted by all the Overseas Governments except that of Australia, and the delegates including three representatives from India assembled in London in the middle of March.

Almost, at once, under stress of necessity, these meetings seem to have changed their intended character. The original idea had clearly been that the Overseas representatives should sit ~~as~~ members of the ordinary War Cabinet, enlarged for the time being to include them. But, in practice, while the special series of meetings of what came to be called the Imperial War Cabinet were held as originally intended, the pressure of facts made it necessary to hold during the same period, meetings of the ordinary British War Cabinet for the transaction of urgent War business and for the consideration of the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom, and also meetings of an Imperial War Conference for the consideration of other Imperial business not immediately connected with the War which were not attended by members of the War Cabinet proper.

Thus there came to be differentiated not by design, but by the necessity of the time, 3 bodies, viz., (1) the ordinary War-Cabinet of the British Isles, (2) An Imperial War Cabinet, consisting of the British War Cabinet and the Prime Ministers or other Plenipotentiaries of the Dominions under the chairmanship of the British

Premier, and, (3) An Imperial War Conference consisting of the representatives of the Dominions with certain British Ministers, but not the members of the British War Cabinet, sitting under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The constitutional significance of this new position is very great. The Prime Minister declared in the Commons that meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet should be held annually or at any intermediate time, when matters of urgent Imperial necessity require to be settled. The institution, in its present form, he declared, was exceedingly elastic. But this has been very fruitful in better understanding and in bringing about a unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated. Its existence will raise a number of new and difficult problems which will have to be solved later on. But it may be stated with certainty that in this we may discern the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE INDIAN REPRESENTATION ON THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE. By Sir Roper Lathbridge, K.C.L.E. ["The Asiatic Review," May 1917]
HINDU FUNERALS AND HINDU FAKIRS AT BENARES. By Axel Dane. ["The Occult Review," June 1917]

THEORIES OF THE EVOLUTION OF KINGSHIP AMONG THE INDO-ARYANS. By Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. ["The Modern Review," July 1917.]

AN INTERPRETATION OF DAYANAND. By Prof. T. D. Gajra, M.A. ["The Vedic Magazine," May 1917.]

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM IN INDIA—SOME CONSIDERATIONS. By Mr. Sarada Prasad, M.A. ["The Hindustan Review," May—June 1917]

ENGLAND AND INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION. By Mrs. Blair. ["The Mysore Social Review," June 1917.]

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES FOR THE SALE OF COTTON IN THE SOUTHERN MAHRATTA COUNTRY. By R. B. Ewebank Esq., J.C.S. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," June 1917.]

A Diversity of Creatures :—By Rudyard Kipling.
Messrs Macmillan & Co. : Ltd., London.

A collection of short stories and poems contributed to various magazines between 1911 and 1915. The stories are choice specimens of the author's best work, and the subtle association of pure idealism with the practical problems of every day life, which is his distinguishing feature is in evidence everywhere. The latest obsession of humanity in leaving dull earth alone and fighting for supremacy in the air forms the interesting material of more than one contribution. The pieces are written in the best manner of the author's vigorous individuality of vision and utterance. The publication in book-form of stories and sketches contributed to magazines and periodicals has, no doubt, become one of the recognised methods of the art of book-making in modern days, but there is perhaps no other author for whom there is truer justification for this method from the point of view of the reading public, as even the lightest touches of Kipling deserve preservation in a permanent form.

Zaruthushtra and the Buddha :—By Miss D. T. Stephen, C.L.S.I., Madras.

This small book contains interesting studies of the founders of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism respectively, and institutes instructive comparisons of their teachings. The lives of the two founders, the nature of their surroundings, and the central doctrines of each are set out in clear, and discriminating language. The authoress, as a Christian, considers that neither religion has fulfilled the intentions of its founder, *for want of a due realisation of the value of personality*. In the case of Zoroastrianism, absence of faith in the founder, and in Buddhism, absence of the idea of personality in the religion itself, are said to be the real causes of the failure of these religions in the world.

61.

Sapta Bhangi Naya or the Pluralistic argument :—By Kannoomal, M.A. Atmanand Jain
Pustak Pracharak Mandal, Agra.

Syad-Vada or *Anekanta-Vada* is the special tenet of the Jain philosophy which is the butt of attack of all other philosophers in India. This small pamphlet of Mr. Kannoomal contains a National exposition of this doctrine, according to Jain view. It is explained as the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge. In viewing anything, this Nyaya adopts seven alternative standpoints called the *Sapta Bhangi*, which are explained in this treatise; what other philosophers consider as a doctrine of doubt and inconsistency is maintained by the Jains as a liberal and useful doctrine necessary for full understanding of all phases of a subject. If the question were whether a pot exists, the complete truth of the answer is contained, according to this doctrine, in the totality of seven positions of which some are "The pot, may be, exists," "The pot, may be, does not exist," etc., the assertion and negation being both truth, as referring to different times, places, qualities, etc. All this is explained in the pamphlet to which we refer our readers for the information.

Handbook of Arya Samaj :—By Pandit Vishnu Lal Sharma, M.A. Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Allahabad, United Provinces.

This is a useful tract explaining the growth and progress of the Arya Samaj, and containing an exposition of the theology and beliefs of this Samaj. It is said to have over 700 branches and is active in the fields of education, social reform, relief of distress, and other philanthropic work. The pamphlet contains a biography of the renowned founder, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, who upheld the belief in one God, and the Divine origin of the Vedas, but strenuously opposed the worship of images, and advocated social reform.

The Olivant Orphans:—By Suez Haynes Gillmore. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

This story centres round a family circle of three boys and girls of the modern type before they emerge into the world, each to fight his or her battle. Various incidents in which the youthful energy and spirits of the actors mould their outlook on life are related with sympathy and insight. The book is full of vivacity and juvenile spirit from end to end, and will make a healthy appeal to those for whom it is intended.

Jainism:—By Herbert Warren, Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India.)

This manual of Jainism is a presentation in excellent English of the Jaina doctrines, as gathered by the author from the late V. R. Sandhi's talks and lectures. As Professor Jacob says in his opinion on the book, "Jainism is an ethical religion calculated to improve morally those who obey its commands." Jainism does not accept a creator, and is not materialistic either. It considers each individual soul the master of its own destiny, and capable of reaching the highest bliss and immortality, by right knowledge and conduct. The author explains the doctrines of this religion in four chapters dealing respectively with the Universe, man as he is, man as he may become, and the means to that end. In the last of these he explains the successive stages of development that have to be reached. The innumerable divisions and sub-divisions are somewhat staggering to the non-Jain reader, but the Hindu readers will see the common standpoint with their own religion, in the insistence on pure life, control of the senses, and love for all.

Constructive Thought:—By Benjamin Johnson. L. N. Fowler & Co., London;

A brochure intended to show the force of thought and the vitality of faith, based on the familiar idea of thought-waves, and the success of intense faith in achieving the objects desired. The subject is presented in an attractive manner.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

PERSONALITY: LECTURES DELIVERED IN AMERICA. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

SANDHYAYANDANA. By B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar, M.A., Dewan Peishkar, Pudukkottai.

THE BASIS OF LEGISLATIVE POLICY IN MODERN STATES. By Sir N. C. Chandavarkar, Kt. The Indian Liberal Club, Servants of India Society Home, Bombay.

COMMUNAL RIGHTS. By C. E. Corea. Pearl Press Office, Delhiwalla.

AS WE SOW, SO WE REAP: A NEW DRAMA IN TAMIL. By Rao Saheb P. Sambandam, B.A., B.L., Madras.

THE STUDY OF JAINISM: THE SATPRBHANGI NAVA: LORD KRISHNA'S MESSAGE. By Kaddoomal, M.A., Published by Atmanand Jain Pustak, Pracharak Mandal, Agra.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ASCERTAIN AND ADVISE HOW THE IMPERIAL IDEA MAY BE INCULCATED IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN BURMA, Government Printing, Rangoon.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE LIFTED VEIL. By Basil King, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

THE PRINCIPLES OF HEALTH CONTROL. By F. M. Walters: Messrs. Harrap's and Heath's Indian Agency, P. T. I. Book Depot, 4th Rd. Chamarajapet, Bangalore City.

DREAMS: WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY MEAN. By J. W. Wickwar, A. and F. Denny, London, W. C.

THE OXFORD BOOKS OF ENGLISH MYSTICAL VERSE. Chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE BRONZE BELL. By Louis Joseph Vance; **THE SLAVE OF THE LAMP.** By H. Seton Meriman; **LOVE GIVES ITSELF.** By Annie S. Swan. Hodder & Houghton, London.

Indian Political Situation

The Hon. Sir Dinsha Elulji Wacha, President, Bombay Presidency Association, has, by the direction of the Council of the Association, sent the following cablegram to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, to the Secretary of State, India, to Mr. Asquith and, to Sir William Wedderburn, after sending it to the Viceroy at Simla with the request that his Excellency will be pleased to cable it officially to the Secretary of State. He has also cabled separately to Sir William Wedderburn requesting him to arrange for the publication of the telegram in the British press:—

‘The Council of the Bombay Presidency Association draw the earnest attention of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet of the United Kingdom and of the Secretary of State to the grave situation which has arisen all over India owing to the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia by an arbitrary and unjustifiable application of the Defence of India Act by the Madras Government. The step taken by that Government has produced an unprecedented ferment throughout the country which is bound to increase in volume and intensity unless it is immediately retraced.

‘The Council regret that the policy of repression which has never been successful anywhere in suppressing national aspirations for political freedom, should have been resorted to by the authorities in India at this juncture when India, having spontaneously rallied to the help of England in the cause of the Empire, was pouring forth her money and shedding her blood on the various battlefields along with the rest of the Empire in the cause of liberty, justice and righteousness for which England and her great Allies were carrying on the present war at such a heavy sacrifice of life and wealth. Statesmanship would dictate for India a policy far different from this at such a time. The Council therefore deeply deplore the

entire lack of imagination and of political foresight and judgement which is responsible for this policy of repression and earnestly appeal that the Imperial Government may lose no time in ordering its reversal. The Council trust that considerations of upholding official prestige will not be allowed by the Imperial authorities to influence their decision and embitter the situation.

‘The Council feel constrained to point out that this policy of repression is being construed as an attempt on the part of the authorities in India to force the Indian public to accept without demur such post-war reforms of a minor character as the Government of India are believed to have formulated, without giving effect to the essential features of the scheme of reforms which the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have conjointly framed and adopted as a definite step towards Self-Government for India within the Empire which they desire the Government to take at the close of the war.

‘The Council pray that in order to allay the acuteness of the present situation and to prevent its becoming still more critical the Imperial Government will be pleased besides directing forthwith the rectification of the blunder which the Madras Government has committed in internment Mrs. Besant and her two co-workers, to announce authoritatively and unequivocally that it is the aim and object of British policy to confer Self-Government on India within the Empire at an early date and to direct the Government of India to publish immediately for public discussion the post-war reforms which they may propose as a substantial and immediate step in furtherance of this policy. The publication of such proposed reforms for public criticism before they are finally shaped and promulgated would be in consonance with the precedent established in Lord Minto's regime when Lord Morley was the Secretary of State.

The Council fully appreciate the great strain which the exigencies of the war impose on the time and energies of the Imperial authorities but having regard to the gravity of the situation at the present moment in India and the need for immediate consideration and prompt action with a view to assuage the intense public feeling which has been aroused, the Council pray that the Imperial Government will be pleased to deal without delay with the situation in India in a spirit of courageous and true statesmanship.'

Hon. Mr. Basu and the India Council

Interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press, Mr. Basu who has been appointed a member of the India Council said that the main reason for his accepting the offer of the Secretary of State was his belief that he might be of some use to his country and the Government in the carrying out of a scheme of Indian reform which would satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and give them a sense of oneness in the Government of India. He does not overlook the difficulty of the task but he believes that the war has so accelerated the march of events that a satisfactory and honourable solution of the question at issue does not seem to him to present any insuperable difficulty. In the first place the democracies in England and the Dominions realise that the present system of administration in India is incompatible with that free partnership of the component parts of the British Empire which the Imperial Conference seems to point out as the only means for preserving the integrity and unity of the Empire and co-operation between the various Governments included in it in peace and war. The official mind in India has also come to recognise that, though the present system of administration has achieved great results, much more has yet to be done to give Indians legitimate scope in the direction and administration of their own affairs. He

believes that the bureaucracy has come to realise the truth of the old saying that a man cannot live by bread alone and they are anxious to assure the Indian public that they are willing to advance. At this juncture all that was needed was courage and statesmanship. The recent utterances of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India show that in the reconstruction of the Empire a courageous outlook will not be wanting and, therefore, Mr. Basu feels that the presence of men at the centre of the Empire with first-hand knowledge of the aspirations of the people of this country and of the difficulties that undoubtedly stand in their way—but which there is a tendency to make too much of—will, to a great extent, help the solution of the problems now awaiting the Empire so far as India was concerned. It is this feeling which has induced him to accept the office, in spite of great personal inconvenience and difficulties. He is keenly alive to the fact that it should not be said of the people with whom he has been working, and who have been pressing for the reforms which enabled the Secretary of State to offer a seat to Mr. Basu in his Council, that they were unwilling to face the difficulties and inconveniences of accepting office in England when the call came for them.

About his Indian colleagues Mr. Basu said that he knew Sir P. D. Pattani personally and he had a very high opinion of his tact, courage, and judgment. He did not know Sahebzada Aftab Ahmed Khan personally, but from all that he had heard about him from friends in the United Provinces. Mr. Basu felt sure that he would be loyal to the cause of Indian progress.

In conclusion Mr. Basu said that he and his colleagues had an arduous time before them, requiring the exercise of great judgment and perseverance, and he felt that they would have the support of all India, of all her communities and creeds.

The Hon'ble Mr Wazir Hasan on our Destiny

The Hon. Mr. Sayad Wazir Hasan, Hon. Secretary to the All-India Muslim League, in a letter to the Press, writes :—

Let the truism be once more stated that our destiny lies in our own hands and no sacrifice is too great in the cause of freedom. . . . Shall this War have been fought in vain? The whole of the civilised world has given its answer to this question, and India is called upon to give hers in a plain and unequivocal language. One word more, and I have done. What should be the method of our work? The answer to this question is, to my mind, very simple. I have always held that nothing which is noble can ever be illegal. Let our course of action, therefore, be consistent with the law, with constitution and the fundamental ethics of British connection with India.

Sir Subramania Iyer on Home Rule.

Sir S. Subramania Iyer, in a letter to the Press replying to Lord Pentland's speech, says :—“Before I was raised to the Bench I was a Congressman and to me Home Rule is no new thing. I believe and have long believed that its early establishment is vital for the welfare of the country and the stability of the Empire and that it is therefore necessary to carry of a constitutional and educative agitation for it as ordered by Congress at its last session. Believing this I gladly accepted the Honorary Presidentship of the Home Rule League for India—honorary only because my health forbids active and strenuous work. I cannot retrace my steps. I will not resign my office even if the League be declared unlawful. I am ready to face any penalties which may follow on my decision. In the words of the Congress, in the reconstruction of the Empire after the war, to defend Home Rule is to me a civic duty and this duty I will discharge. I call on you my countrymen to do the same.”

India's Man-Power

In order to organise the man-power of India more effectively to meet the growing demands made upon it, the Governor-General in Council has constituted a central recruiting board of which (at the request of His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief) the Hon'ble Sir William Meyer has accepted the Presidency. The other members are His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, Their Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikanir, (who have been specially appointed as recruiting will extend to Native States), the Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, the Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, the Lieutenant-General H. Hugson, Adjutant-General in India and the Hon. Major-General A. H. Bingley, Secretary to the Army Department. The Board's functions may be summarised as follows:—(1) Consideration of our requirements in military “personal” of every description, combatant and non-combatant, and how these requirements can best be met. (2) Consideration of how the quotas required can be best distributed among the several provinces. (3) Co-ordination of recruitment so as to ensure that the demands for military services shall conflict as little as possible with essential, industrial and economical requirements. (4) Close scrutiny of the progress of recruitment and consideration of schemes for meeting necessary or potential demands for recruitment in regard to which the present system may seem inadequate. (5) To ensure in short that the prosecution of the war is not hampered by any avoidable deficiency in man-power.

The Local Government have been asked to form provincial recruiting boards containing a large civilian and non-official element in the shape of landowners, businessmen, and leaders of public opinion.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Fisher on National Education

Mr. Fisher, Minister of Education, addressed a meeting recently on the Educational outlook in England which is equal interest to us in India also.

Mr. Fisher said.—Is it not in itself a remarkable fact that, in the third year of this great exhausting war, at the very hour in which a critical battle is being waged by the biggest British Army which has ever been placed in the field, a large audience of men and women should be gathered together to consider the future of education? That is a fact full of brightest augury for the future. I do not claim that education is the most interesting subject in the world, but I do claim it is most important: and when I use the phrase "education," I am not merely thinking of learning from books, I am thinking of the whole moral, intellectual, and physical development of our race. Efficiency depends upon the teacher, upon the managers of our schools, upon members of our local educational authorities, upon the Board at Whitehall, and all these various agencies must work in cordial co-operation as partners in a great patriotic enterprise.

But behind these agencies there is a dark sinister figure. There is the figure of British rate-payer, and I am told that the education rate is an unpopular rate. People accept the rate for gas and water as an inevitable though a disagreeable factor in a dismal scheme of Providence, but when it comes to the education rate their groans become audible. (*Laughter.*) If this is so it speaks very ill for the intelligence of our community, and the primary duty of every good citizen is to convert the reluctant rate-payer to an intelligent view of his duties in respect of the education rate. After all, this country cannot afford to allow its children

to grow up undeveloped in mind, body, and character. (*Hear, hear.*) I hear people say, "Why should I pay for the education of somebody else's children? That is their affair, not mine." But is it not everybody's affair that the Army and Navy shall be efficient, that industry and agriculture shall flourish, that crime and intemperance shall be diminished, that our men and women shall be brought up knowing the sanctity of civic duties, temperate in habit and possessing something of our previous heritage of culture; and how can any one of these great objects be obtained unless people are ready to spend money, and to spend money freely, upon the education of the great mass of the population, upon whose well-being the future strength and power of this country depend? Depend upon it that England will never realize the full measure of her human powers until the education rate becomes the most popular rate which can be imposed, and until the rate-payers insist, and vehemently insist, that the children who live in their locality shall have no worse an opportunity for obtaining education than the children who live in any other part of the country. (*Cheers.*) There is no difference in kind between profound knowledge and superficial knowledge. We are all superficial. The knowledge of Cabinet Ministers is superficial (*laughter*); the knowledge of Oxford and Cambridge professors is superficial and even the knowledge of the schoolmaster is superficial. If we are going to be deterred from giving education to the poor on the ground that it is superficial, by what right can we claim education for ourselves? Every little scrap of knowledge, however superficial, however it may be collected, like the food the birds pick up in the forest, is worth something. And in the fierce light of this war we know this to be so.

Mr. V. S. Sastri on "The One Propaganda"

The Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, in the course of his address at the protest meeting at Poona, against the internments, said :—

It is remarkable that in the speeches of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Pentland what is condemned is a certain Home Rule propaganda. The scheme of reforms advocated by the Congress and the Muslim League is not specially named but we have got to remember that now there is only one movement and one propaganda in the country, namely that which promotes the scheme of reforms above mentioned. Whatever schemes there were before the public prior to the adoption of that scheme by the Congress have been superseded by it. Lord Pentland stated in precise terms the descriptions of Home Rule which he condemned. It is as follows :— " Nothing less than at a very early date the placing of the Executive Government in all its departments under the direct and full control of Legislative Councils containing a large majority of elected members." This is what is technically known as Responsible Government except in one particular, *etc.*, that the Legislature is not to be wholly elected. Now even a cursory reader of the Congress Scheme will see that it is much below Colonial Self-Government and Irish Home Rule, and in the resolution of the National Congress it is described only as a distinct step towards Self-Government. Leading Congressmen in their expositions have also dwelt on this feature of the scheme as a proof of our moderation and willingness to accomplish stage by stage the journey to full Responsible Self-Government. Lord Pentland's definition, therefore, cannot apply to our scheme, and I find it difficult to believe that even a less instructed person could have fallen into the error of so materially misconceiving the scope of the Congress and League scheme. I should think His Excellency was indulging, at the end of a tiresome Council session, in the

recreation of constructing a political phantom of his own and demolishing it. At the same time we cannot admit that it is improper or treasonable to advocate the establishment of Responsible Government all at once. It might be impracticable; it might require the scrapping of the existing administrative machinery; it might also presuppose the existence of two well-defined and mutually opposed schools of political thought. These are matters for consideration and friendly discussion. The holding of advanced views and earnest advocacy is no crime calling for condign punishment. Even within her British Empire there are examples of States that obtained Responsible Government before they knew how exactly to use it. After a few years of bungling and mismanagement they understood it thoroughly and have since prospered exceedingly.

Gen. Smuts on the Mission of British Empire

In the course of a recent speech in England General Smuts dwelt upon the mission of the British Empire and concluded with the following stirring appeal to the British nation :—

" I think the British Empire has only one mission, and that is a mission for liberty and a mission for greater self-development. You represent the only system in history in which a large number of nations has been living in unity. You talk about a league of nations. You are the only league of nations that has ever existed. If the lines I am sketching here are correct, you are going to be even more a great league of nations in the future; and if you are true to your old traditions of self-government and freedom and are true to those views of your future you must exercise far greater and a far more beneficial influence on the history of mankind than you have ever done before. I pray that we may have the clearness of vision and of purpose and the strength of soul in the coming days which will be even more necessary than the strength of arms.

Sir K. G. Gupta on Post-War Problems

Presiding at the Naoroji condolence meeting on July 12, at Calcutta, Sir K. G. Gupta, in concluding a lengthy speech, said :—

There is no longer any question of postponing the Post-War Problems. Great Britain, the centre and heart of the Empire, has taken the lead, and private individuals, responsible statesmen and authoritative bodies are earnestly discussing every conceivable question relating to the social, industrial and political rearrangement of the Empire and of its component parts. The Self-Governing Colonies are doing the same, but it is only in India that in some quarters we are seriously admonished to keep quiet and not to disturb those who are actively prosecuting the War by discussing problems that vitally affects us. Why should we, of all people, be marked out for silence. We are all passing through critical times. Any mistake, any indiscretion on our part may cost us dear. There is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that our young men all over the country and, for the matter of that many elderly men, too, are showing signs of impatience. Can we say that they are wholly wrong? The Government, unfortunately, have been sitting too long on the fence. It is time that they made a clear declaration of their policy. Such a course has been advocated everywhere, and even the *London Times* strongly supports it. The declarations of policy should be followed by such measures as will give heart to the people and bring hope to them. Distrust must give place to confidence. But, however great the provocations, we must not swerve from the straight course we have laid down for ourselves. We must persist in our constitutional methods. The teachings of Mr. Naoroji, of Mr. Hume, of Mr. Gokhale and of a host of our leaders, dead and alive, should hold us on to the right path. We must carry the vessel of our aspirations safely to port. The young men

are with us as the driving power, and they naturally want us to go ahead, but for a successful voyage it is not enough to have powerful engines and expert engineers. There must also be wise and experienced men on the bridge. The vessel must be steered from the bridge and not from the engine room. A tempestuous sea lies ahead full of breakers and whirl-pools. The men on the bridge should be trusted to give the direction to regulate the speed and even sometimes to go astern. In that way only can we ensure the safety of our vessel and the accomplishment of our voyage.

A Civilian on Self-Government

Addressing a large gathering of students at Palamcottah Mr. A. G. Galletti, I.C.S., said :—

If you think that we, the civil bureaucracy are in any way opposed to Indian aspirations, you are very much mistaken. We should not be gentlemen, we should be cadets, if we did not identify ourselves with Indian interests. If it is a case of a conflict with a Colony, as happened in South Africa we unanimously take the Indian side. If it is a case of a conflict with an English district such as the conflict with Lancashire over the cotton duties, we unanimously voice the voice of India. We are all in favour of the ultimate self-government of India, it is only a question of time and methods. When the Madras Government were incubating their views on the scheme of reforms, afterwards known as Lord Morley's Reforms, I had to work in the Secretariat with a Member of Council who was the most slow-moving and conservative gentleman that I have met in the Indian Civil Service. He was not in favour of some of the proposals I put before him. But when I asked him what his attitude towards Indian aspirations was, he did not hesitate at all and he received with entire approbation my quotation :

We want India for Indians altogether some day.
And for that day to come we'll aspire and we'll pray.
Continue to aspire and to pray.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Mr. H. S. L. Polak on South African Indians

In an interview which the Editor of the *Mahratta* had with Mr. Polak recently, the latter gave the following information and opinions regarding the position of Indians in South Africa:—

Of the Colonies constituting the South African Union, the Cape is the most liberal to Indians and the Free State the most illiberal. The Indians are better off in the Cape than in any other province. In the Cape the Indians possess the political and the municipal franchise on the same terms as Europeans. I know of an Indian, who is a member of a Municipal Board in the Cape, who is highly thought of by his colleagues and would have been chairman but for his modesty.

In the matter of trading licenses, Indians in all the Provinces have a very real grievance. New licenses are scarcely issued. The renewal of old licenses and the transfer of licenses from one trader to another has also become a matter of very great difficulty. Municipalities in the Transvaal have recently been empowered to restrict the issue of certain classes of licenses and this power is largely employed by the municipalities to the serious prejudice of the Indian trader. It is, of course, the European retail dealers and small traders who come into competition with the Indian trader and it is they who are intensely hostile to the latter.

The terms of Mr. Gandhi's Settlement had no direct reference to trading licenses. Still there is a provision in it that the existing vested rights of Indians are to be maintained. In the matter of these licenses, the Union Government has no power of direct interference. That power where it exists rests with the Executive of the particular province.

Mr. Gandhi's Settlement related to all the provinces and, speaking generally, it has been maintained and carried out in spirit and in letter except for certain difficulties arising out of the folly of particular officials here and there or out of the Union Government's inadequate notions, in certain matters, of what the Settlement had provided for.

Regarding the present attempt in Natal to take away the municipal franchise of Indians, Mr. Polak said:—

It was in 1896 that the Natal Government passed a measure taking away the political franchise of Indians. But at this time positive assurance was given that their municipal franchise would not be interfered with. However, in 1905, when Lord Elgin was the Secretary for the Colonies, an attempt was made to disfranchise Indians, but it failed as the Imperial Government was firm. The present draft Ordinance proposes to restrict the franchise to those who are already on the voters' roll and to prevent any Indian from being elected to a municipal Council.

Referring to the Johannesburg incident of the young Indian who was recently thrown out of a tram-car by a European and died as a consequence, Mr. Polak said:—

In Johannesburg Indians were not allowed to use tram-cars. After our Passive Resistance Movement was over, we took a case to the Supreme Court and got its decision to the effect that Indians had the right to use the tram-cars. Not to exasperate the feelings of the lower orders of Europeans, a private understanding was arrived at that only top seats and back seats should ordinarily be used by Indians. The recent unfortunate incident is a testimony to the colour-hatred of the lower orders of Europeans. The Government are, of course, taking steps to bring the offender to justice. I may say that the incident should not be taken as an index of general European feeling with regard to Indians. There are many Europeans in South Africa who are sympathetic towards Indians residing there, though no one wants more Indians to come to South Africa.

Q.—Has the War affected the relations between Indians and Europeans in South Africa?

A.—During the War Indian community has raised no difficulties and rendered what help it could. Two Volunteer Bearer Companies have been raised and sent to East Africa, where they have done splendid work. This restraint and this service have, no doubt, been appreciated by the Europeans.

Q.—What is the position with regard to the Natives of Africa?

A.—The Natives have no ancient civilisation behind them. The masses are just beginning to develop, though there undoubtedly are some individuals among them who possess great capacity. There is no special policy followed with respect to Natives. Very few persons have yet cared to study them and their institutions. Things are left to take their own course.

Q.—What about the new demonstration of republican feeling in South Africa?

A.—The feeling is likely to spread amongst the more ignorant section of the Dutch population and if it does, it will probably cause trouble. The republican cry is a very artificial one. The Dutch are even now practically controlling the whole South African policy and through the Imperial Conference they also have a big share in shaping the policy of the Empire. They ought to be satisfied. Generals Botha and Smuts have done splendidly. They have had more trouble with their own people than with Indians, who have been very quiet during the War.

Q.—What is the condition of Indian education in South Africa?

A.—How the Indians are going to be educated is a great problem. In regard to higher education, they have to do what they can by private tuition. They can appear at University examination but no Government institution is open to them for that purpose.

It would be well for some Colonial-born Indians to come out here, to study and to go back and work amongst their brethren. This would, of course, require a system of scholarships, a Fund and a good organisation. But the thing is worth doing.

There are about 150,000 Indians in South Africa. Their position there depends on the courage and capacity for organisation which they will be able to show. But in any case they need support and encouragement from the people of India, from the Indian Government and the Imperial Government.

Natal Indians' Patriotism

An inspiring instance of Indian patriotism that would not be denied has come to light in South Africa, says the *Indiaman*. A Natal-born Indian named Thomas, who has been working as a waiter at Umtata, East Griqualand, made various but ineffectual attempts to enlist in South Africa for active service in a British military force against the enemy. As a last recourse in South Africa, he sought to join the native labour contingent for France. Not being an African aborigine, he was, of course, ineligible.

Unlike his Scriptural prototype, the Natal Thomas was still not a doubter, and, obsessed with the desire for British military service, he set about saving sufficient money with which to pay his passage to England, in order to accomplish his purpose, where he hopes soon to arrive and offer himself for enlistment.

Mr. Polak

Mr. H. S. L. Polak has informed the Chairman of the Indian Colonial Society, Madras, that he regrets that owing to illness he is unable to carry out the task of inquiring, in company with Mr. G. A. Natesan, into the conditions of Indian cultivators on estates in Ceylon. Mr. Polak expects to be going to England about the beginning of September.

FEUDATORY INDIA

Prohibition of drinking in Bhopal

The action of Her Highness the enlightened Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, in making punishable by law the use of intoxicating liquors by Muhammadan subjects of the State, has already elicited the warmest appreciation of all concerned. But thinking that a similar action in case of her Hindu subjects, however called for and desirable, might be construed as a coercion, and to avoid even the least resistance on their part, the Begam Sahiba has moved the Kayastha Central Sabha to take necessary steps in that direction. We congratulate Her Highness on such a prudent but the most desirable of steps, and hope that her wish about her Hindu subjects too will have been successfully carried out before long.

Orissa Chiefs and the War

The Chiefs and Feudatory States of Orissa have contributed a sum of Rs. 54,000 for the purchase of two aeroplanes for presentation to the British Army for use in the war. The aeroplanes will be named "Orissa Feudatory States" and it is expected will shortly be commissioned. The fund was raised on the initiative of the Maharaja of Sonapur State, and the following Chiefs and States contributed largely to the fund: the Raja of Bamra, the Maharajas of Sonpur and Patna, the Rajas of Dhenkanal, Seraikela, Beramba, Rempur, Khondpara, Kharasawan, Tigiria and the States of Keonjhar, Kalahandi, Baud, Nayagarh, Nilgiris, Daspalle, Pal-Lahara, and Narsinghpur, which are at present under the administration of Government during the minority of their Chiefs. These two aeroplanes are in addition to the one presented to the British Army by the Mayurbhanj State at the desire of the minor Maharaja.

Local Self-Government in Mysore

The main object of the new Bill Amending the Mysore Municipal Regulation VII of 1906 is, says the *Hindu*, to increase the elected popular element in the Municipal Councils and to give them greater control over their funds, and with this end in view, provision is made for a higher percentage of elected councillors. Under the Amendment Bill, there are three classes of Municipal Councils according to certain well-defined principles viz., Minor, Town and City Municipal Councils. The Government have power to declare any Municipal Council, not ripe in their view for Municipal Administration, a Minor Municipal Council and to except the same from the operations of any of the provisions of the Regulations found unsuitable and to frame rules for the guidance of the Council in matters governed by such provisions. Room is made for the appointment of paid non-official Presidents and chief Executive Officers wherever necessary to secure continuity of policy and administrative efficiency and for the enhancement of taxes on houses and sites, wherever it was found necessary to increase the financial resources of the Municipal Councils. On the recommendation of the Local Self-Government Committee, the Government can vest selected Municipal Councils with the control of elementary education, medical relief including vaccination and Muzrai institutions.

Ruling Chiefs' Conference

His Excellency the Viceroy proposes to hold an informal conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs at Delhi from the 5th to the 10th November, to discuss certain matters connected with the Native States and their rulers.

The Maharaja of Gwalior

The Willingdon Technical School for disabled Indian Soldiers, Byculla, Bombay, was visited recently by His Highness the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, who, in a letter enclosing a cheque for Rs. 5,000 as a first donation towards the school, says:—"I am very pleased with all the arrangements I saw, and I am sure that the institution will be a great boon to those of whose interests you have so wisely thought."

Her Excellency Lady Willingdon has handed over to the Willingdon Technical School for disabled Indian Soldiers, Byculla, a donation of Rs. 1,500 made by Miss Dinoo S. Bastavala, being the net proceeds of the sale of her booklet called "A brief narrative of the Great War."

Mysore and the Cauvery Power Scheme

The confirmation by the Government of India of the award of Arbitration Committees presided over by Sir Lepel Griffin on the question of the Cauvery River water impounded by the dam above Seringapatam has enabled the Mysore Government to proceed with the second stage of the project. Good progress has been made, the dam having been raised to a height of 80 feet in the river bed and to 75 feet at the flanks. The water stored and available at present has rendered it possible to guarantee a supply of power under the first three installations as well as the power promised under the fourth installation of the Cauvery Power Scheme without recourse to the costly channel conservancy operations hitherto carried on in the summer months for the past eight of nine years. In the direction of the extension of irrigation, which is another important purpose, the reservoir is intended to serve the development of sugar cane. Cultivation under existing canals is receiving due attention. The storage available now is sufficient to guarantee a supply of 9,321 electrical horse power to the Kolar Gold Mines under the first three installations and about

5,000 h.p. under the fourth installation carried out last year. It has thus become possible to dispense with channel conservancy operations previously resorted to for securing the requisite flow of water for the power works at Sikasamudram at an annual cost of nearly half a lakh of rupees.

The Bhavnagar State

One noteworthy feature in the administration of this State, observes a contemporary, is the complete separation of the judicial from the executive functions, a reform which in many other bigger States and in British India has not yet been introduced. The title of Maharaja was made hereditary in the family in New Year's Day Honours this year. We note from the Administration Report for the year 1916-17 that the rainfall and general prospects were not very favourable and necessitated a liberal system of remissions and suspensions in the revenue collections. The revenue collected during the period under report was Rs. 23,14,442 out of a total demand Rs. 38,80,925 and a large amount of over 15 lakhs had to be suspended. With regard to the large arrears the Report mentions that a general concession is being granted every year for the remission of 25 per cent. of the arrears of those cultivators who pay off the whole of their arrears. To improve the economic condition of agriculturists in the State, a beginning was made during the year in the starting of Agricultural Co-operative Societies in villages in the State. The rules for these societies are similar to those of the Co-operative Credit Societies elsewhere but they are more simple and less complicated than the latter. We are told that already 312 societies have been formed with a total of 10,795 members and a capital of Rs. 37,407. The results for the first year seem to be very encouraging and the Durbar naturally expected that the remaining villages will soon adopt this useful institution.—*Extract.*

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Export of Hides

It has been brought to the notice of the Government of India that the tanning of hides for War Office purposes is likely to be seriously prejudiced by the large demand for tanning barks for the purpose of tanning goat and sheep skins. They have accordingly decided to make the prohibition on the export of tanned skins absolute, and are, by notification, prohibiting the export of tanned skins to the United Kingdom. As to all other destinations, certain relaxations of these orders in respect of existing commitments are under consideration, but otherwise no licence to export tanned skins to any destination whatever will be issued for the present. Would-be exporters should furnish full details of their commitments to the Collector of Customs concerned with the least possible delay.

Indian Cotton Mills

The officially issued statistics of cotton spinning and weaving in Indian Mills show that during March the total quantity of yarns spun amounted to 53.7 million lbs. and that of woven goods to 31 million lbs., as compared with 57 million and 25 million lbs., respectively in the corresponding month of the preceding year, or a decrease of 6.3 per cent. in the case of yarn, and an increase of 23.3 per cent. in the case of woven goods. In the seven months, September, 1916, to March, 1917, i.e., from the beginning of the cotton year 1916-17, the quantity of yarn spun amounted to 397 million lbs. and that of woven goods to 208 million lbs., as against 814 million and 224 million lbs., respectively, in the corresponding months of the preceding year. In the twelve months, April, 1916, to March, 1917, the quantities produced were 680 million lbs. of yarn and 377 million lbs. of woven goods.—*Empire*.

The Origin of Blanket

According to a writer in *The Daily Chronicle* the cold winter of 1340 was the cause of the production of the blanket. "So, at least, says tradition, which ascribes its invention to Thomas Blanket, a Flemish merchant, who settled in Bristol, and fell from affluence to want. Suffering from the intense cold by reason of scanty bedding and lack of fuel, he searched for something to put on the bed to increase the warmth, and hit on a piece of rough, unfinished cloth that had been thrown to waste. Its success as a warmth-giver suggested the manufacture of special bedcovers from the same material, and these articles, to which he gave his own name, won him wealth and immortality."

Empire Cotton-Growing Committee

In the House of Commons Mr. Stanley, announcing the appointment of Sir H. Birchenough as Chairman of the Committee on Empire cotton-growing on July 11, stated that the Committee would investigate and advise the Government as to the necessary measures by which the industry could best be developed. The names of the committee includes cotton spinners, manufacturers, merchants and operatives, representatives of the British cotton growing Association, Foreign, Colonial and India Offices, the Government of India and the Indian cotton industry; also the Government of the Dominions, where cotton-growing could be developed, would be invited to send representatives.

Messrs. D. T. Chadwick and L. J. Kershaw will represent the India Office and the Government of India respectively. One representative of the Indian spinners and one of the merchants will be nominated.

Coffee Export to United Kingdom

A deputation of the United Planters Association of Southern India waited on the Committee of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce and requested the Chamber to represent to the Government the difficulties of coffee planters regarding the result of the Government restriction on coffee import to the United Kingdom. In reply to the Chamber's representation, the Chamber has now received from the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore a copy of the telegram dated the 12th May from the Government of India, Department of Commerce and Industry, Simla, to the effect that the Home Government have agreed to allow importation of half the coffee crop on the basis of a total crop of 4,000 tons, Madras; 4,210 tons, Coorg; 4,200 tons, Mysore; half of which is 6,210 tons. From this amount the 1,100 tons shipped by the "Clan Macintyre" has to be deducted. Local allotments are to be calculated from the above figures and its distribution is left to the Chief Commissioner of Coorg. The Customs authorities of Madras and Bombay have been instructed to allow out consignments as certified by the Chief Commissioner. Certificates will be issued to the limit above indicated.

Bengal Home Industries

Countess Ronaldshay opened the Bengal Home Industries Association on July 2. Sir R. N. Mukerjee, in asking Her Excellency to open the depot, said:—The objects of the Association are primarily to promote and develop home and cottage industries and arts and crafts in Bengal. It was considered that one lakh of rupees would be sufficient to give the work of the Association a good start. The people of Bengal have subscribed half a lakh, and the Government made a grant of eighteen thousand. Small industries constitute a most important part and exercise a powerful influence on the economic and political life of the people of Bengal.

An Indian Engineer in England

We are glad to learn, says the *Tribune*, that Mr. Bidhubushan Roy, Imperial Engineer, has been awarded the diploma of Associateship of the Institution of Naval Architects, London. Mr. Roy is the first Indian who got a training in a British naval yard as he is also the first to have got such a high distinction as their associateship stands for. We congratulate him with the *Tribune* on the recognition he has earned.

The Exports and Imports of Raw Cotton

The exports of raw cotton from Bombay by sea to foreign countries for the official year 1916—17 amounted to 2,011,037 bales of 400 lbs. each as against 2,002,408 bales and 2,173,836 bales in the official years 1915—16 and 1914—15, respectively. The arrivals of raw cotton into Bombay by rail and sea (foreign and coastwest) during the week ending the 21st April, 1917, were 26,790 bales of 400 lbs. each, as against 54,090 bales and 124,359 bales in the corresponding period of 1916 and 1915 respectively. The arrivals from the beginning of the present season (1st September) were 1,939,257 bales, a decrease of 53 per cent. as compared with the figures (2,508,354 bales) of the corresponding period of 1915—16, but an increase of only 1 per cent. over the figures (1,919,081 bales) for 1914—15.

A Burmese Industrial Enterprise

The Government of Burma proposed to grant Messrs. Jamal Bros. certain areas in Meiktila, Myinayan, Sagaing and Shwebo districts and to undertake not to give similar leases to any other applicants, provided the Company permit the collection of soap sand by villagers for household cleaning within these areas. The monopoly will be for a term of years to collect soap sand for the manufacture of alkali.]

A Mango Tree Pest

A very destructive caterpillar does immense harm to mango trees, eating the leaves and also attacking the fruit. The Burma Agricultural Department has pointed out how the pest can be combated. Small fires in plantations at night will attract and destroy a certain number of moths and prevent the laying of eggs. When these are hatched it is comparatively easy task to clear the leaves of them. But when they attain full size they attack and destroy every green thing within their reach, and to get rid of them is a much more difficult operation.

Soldiers and Agriculture

Lord Milner, in a recent speech, told the House of Lords that the Army had lent 40,000 men for spring agricultural work and promised 17,000 for the harvest. The 40,000 were at work in the fields more than a month ago and Sir R. Winfrey, in an official statement in the Commons said that they were lent by the War Office on certain definite conditions as to return for military service. Sixteen thousand Class A men were accordingly recalled on May 10; 16,000 of the remaining 24,000 are liable to recall not before July 25, while it is expected that the remainder will be kept much longer. Colonel Yate asked if Government would take steps to replace these 16,000. Among others of a lower category as early as possible. Sir R. Winfrey said that the President of the Board of Agriculture was making the strongest representations to the Government as to the necessity of finding more men to put upon the land and Lord Milner's statements show that an agreement by both official departments has been reached and that the Board of Agriculture have obtained at any rate a large part of their demands.

The British soldier is not only helping to raise crops in his own land, but is cheerfully lending

the French a hand in the same kind of work. A pleasant tribute is paid in the *Matin* to hand by the new mail to the work done by the British Army on the Somme in reviving agriculture in the country devastated by the war and by Boche depredations. Unhappily, large tracts are ruined almost irretrievably, and some 45,000 acres will remain unproductive for at least a century to come, but in other parts, British officers themselves agriculturists and landowners, and British soldiers are doing admirably useful work, for which the French countryfolk are keenly grateful. England supplied four powerful ploughing machines, and men back from the trenches "rest" by working in the fields. One English Army alone has put in 50,000 hours' work in the Picardy fields, and restored 30,000 acres to cultivation. "England is not content with wresting back our soil foot by foot from the invader; by a refinement of courtesy she gives it back to us, cleaned, healed, and fruitful again."

The Indian Wheat Crop: A Record

The third general memorandum of the wheat crop of 1916-17 issued by the Department of Statistics shows the figures of both area and yield were the highest on record. The total area is estimated at 33,000,000 acres as compared with 30,143,000 acres at this time last year, or an increase of 10 per cent, and the total yield is estimated at 10,160,000 tons, as against 8,518,000 tons reported at this time last year, or an increase of nineteen per cent. The present estimate of the yield shows an increase of 128 per cent. in Rajputana, 63 per cent. in Hyderabad, 37 per cent. in Central India, 20 per cent. in the Central Provinces and Berar and also in Bombay, 19 per cent. in the Punjab, 14 per cent. in the United Provinces, 13 per cent. in the North West Frontier Provinces, 9 per cent. in Delhi, 7 per cent. in Sind, and 3 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa.

Improved Agricultural Implements

The demand in India for improved agricultural implements has arisen within the last decade or so. It is increasing every year as may be gathered from the Annual Reports published by Government. It can safely be said that the number of such implements now sold is ten times as great as it was ten years ago and that the rate of increase henceforth is likely to be progressive. This is largely due to two main causes: (1) to the new spirit abroad consequent on the active measures taken by Government to develop the agricultural resources of India and (2) to the growing shortage and increased cost of manual labour.

Motor Ploughs

The opinion of those responsible for the organisation in connection with motor tractors, says *The Motor Traction*, is understood to be that they have generally exceeded expectations. There are now at work in Lancashire, under the auspices of the Country War Agricultural Committee, about a dozen motor tractors, and it is expected that more will shortly be available. On one well-known estate, one of these machines, in addition to ploughing over fifty acres, has been utilised in sowing oats, a corn drill of Canadian design being employed.

One of two ladies, who started to drive a motor plough early in the year, thus recently described their joint experiences. They had experience in motor driving but none in ploughing; now either of them can work the tractors and turn into and out of the furrows without slowing up very much. Screws and bolts are always working loose and spanner and wire are often needed! The most onerous part of this task appears to be the refilling with fuel, which has to be done twice a day, involving lifting a ten-gallon drum of paraffin to the top of the tank. This is done in slow stages, and is finally achieved by one mounting the tank and lifting whilst the other pushes up with her head. They are now able to

plough from two to five acres a day with a three furrow plough.

The Ministry of Munitions owns a very extensive tract of fertile agricultural land in connection with one of its factories in the North, and to ensure the cultivation of the maximum area is using four Mogul tractors of 16 h.p. with Cockshutt Canadian threefurrow ploughs to assist the tenants.

India's Oil-yield Seeds and Nuts

India's cultivation and trade in oil-yielding seeds and nuts is likely to expand in an extraordinary manner after the War. The great upheaval has brought many sources of wealth to the surface and among them the oil seeds of India is one that forces itself on the attention. The ground-nuts and cotton-seeds take precedence because of increased cultivation during the last few years, but there are many others, including castor-seed, copra, linseed, mowra-seed, sesamum, poppy and the soya bean, which will have a great influence on the industrial activity of India.

The great possibilities of cotton-seed are very well-known, but it is surprising to find only one mill working satisfactorily in India, with the adjustment of tariffs, the cheapening of freights, and State encouragement to Indian manufactures after the war, this solitary Mill should quickly find itself surrounded with companions. Margarine making will undoubtedly develop here with the expansion of the cotton-seed industry and be a serious competitor to the butter-making firms of Guzerat. India is realising fully of exporting her oil-seeds to Europe when there is so much wealth to be extracted from them, and she too is taking notice of the waste going on in India in the crude consumption of two-thirds of her output for cooking and toilet purposes. It is computed that 65 % of the oil-seeds consumed locally is wasted because of our inability to scientifically extract and separate its wealth-producing parts. *Indian Industries and Power*.

Literary..

MR. EARDLY NORTON AS A JOURNALIST.

Mr. Eardly Norton was for sometime a journalist in London. Of his experiences, he writes in a recent issue of the *Looker-on* :—

I loved the light and glitter. I gloried in the *Veure Clicquot* and the choice samples of tobacco from West, the camaraderie of the Press was infectious, the liberality of our hosts a seductive solvent. The theatres were free to me. I had but to ask for a box or for stalls and, as by a magician's wand, the open Sesame to every play house in London lay upon my desk. For two years I followed and described the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race from Boat. Police Passes secured me the freedom of the streets when London thronged to welcome some distinguished foreigner and endless lines of soldiers, pressing back the unenfranchised public, confined them to the limits of a strict *cordon*. I hobnobbed with great journalists, exchanged chatter with the critics of the great London Press, reviewed first nights and with unfailing confidence freely expressed my personal opinions on theatrical stars of both sexes and the merits of the latest novel. Andrew Lang received his earliest fees on a London daily by a cheque I signed. Men much older than myself accorded me an attention which not even my vanity could refer to my personal merits. Pretty actresses smiled—I know not whether at or with me—and for a time I felt I was not an insignificant member of the Fourth Estate. Under Hamber's teaching—and he certainly was a leader of men—I learnt enough of newspaper editorial work to take charge many years later of the *Madras Mail* for a week and to earn from its editor and owner, Charles Lawson, the tribute that I had mistaken my vocation. So time passed, and the paper's reputation grew. But not its exchequer. Then came the crash."

BOOKS BY THE INTERNED.

The Madras Government recently resolved to relax the orders issued against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia by permitting the publication or republication of purely theosophical or religious writings or speeches composed by them, provided that such writings or speeches have been previously examined and passed for publication by the Governor-in-Council himself, or by such officer as he may appoint to make such examination. Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale have declined to avail themselves of this concession.

THE EDITOR'S FUNCTION.

An Editor contributes to the *March Chamber's Journal* a very readable article on the above subject. The public, says the writer, have curious conceptions about an editor's functions. A deep-rooted fallacy is that the editor is in perpetual want of things "to fill-up." The writer observes :—

No, Editors do not live on casual manna in the wilderness like that. They are not in want of copy, not even in what used to be called the "silly season" till the war had reduced all the months of the year to a dead-level of wisdom. . . Well-conducted news-papers do not have odd corners.

Another erroneous conception of the Editor is largely entertained by ladies on charitable committees, to whom an Editor is a nice old gentleman who sits at a desk with a pen behind his ear, waiting to write down nice little paragraphs for every caller with an axe to grind, especially an axe she is grinding gratuitously. The sober fact that in most large newspaper offices the Editor either does not write at all or writes less than almost anybody else on the staff is one which they flatly refuse to credit. So they would know the fact that as soon as their backs are turned he passes over their "story" to the junior reporter, probably with imprecations, and certainly without any trace of the enthusiasm which would be expected of one in his position.

Educational.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY.

The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel's Bill for the extension of municipal powers for compulsory primary education is published in the Bombay Government *Gazette*. The object of the Bill is to enable the municipalities to make elementary education compulsory within their areas other than the city of Bombay. The provision of the Bill is a permissive one and not obligatory. In the case of several municipalities in the Presidency, it has been found that the number of boys in elementary schools is little more than half of the total number of boys of school-going age.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY CORPS.

At a meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University, on July 14, a resolution of the committee regarding the formation of University Corps came up for consideration. The Vice-Chancellor pointed out that, as there were legal difficulties, the matter was referred to the Faculty of Law, and the latter reported that, under the existing law relating to the Calcutta University, the University had no power (1) to organise the formation of a University Corps to form part of the Indian Section of the Defence of India Corps (2) to spend the University funds for the purpose of forming and maintaining a University Corps, and (3) to raise funds for such purpose. The original resolution was withdrawn and the following resolution was adopted: "That the Senate in Committee, while regretting its inability under law to sanction the proposal of the Syndicate, record its opinion that it is desirable to form a University Corps to be part of the Indian Section of the Defence of India Force and a Double Company for the Bengali Battalion, without throwing any financial burden on the funds of the University." A small committee was formed to take up the work, and Sir Rash Behari Ghose offered Rs. 10,000 for this purpose.

HOME RULE AND STUDENTS.

The following is the text of the letter written by the Government to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, dated the 16th May last:—

"The Governor-in-Council has had under consideration the action to be taken in connection with the association of College students and school pupils with the recently inaugurated Home Rule agitation and I am directed to convey the following instructions on the subject:—

"Apart from the aspirations and ideals underlying the formation of the Home Rule League, its immediate result has been the initiation of an active political propaganda, with which it is undesirable that youths pursuing their studies at school or college should be associated. His Excellency in Council, therefore, considers it necessary to direct that no boy attending a Government or aided school, and no student in a Government or aided College, whether studying for a degree or engaged in post-graduate studies, should join the League "either as an associate or as a member." Under the rules of the League, school boys are ineligible for membership, but students can apparently be admitted as associates for the purposes of study etc.,

"IMPERIALISM" IN BURMA SCHOOLS.

About a year ago, a Committee was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma to ascertain how the Imperial idea might be inculcated in schools in the province. The Committee has issued a report making 101 recommendations. Amongst them are the following: that the principals of all Government Anglo-Vernacular High Schools should be officers of the I. E. S., and that every Normal and European School should have on its staff a proportion of British subjects trained in the United Kingdom, and a first rate training college, manned by British trained professors and teachers, be instituted, in connection with the Burma University.

Legal.

THE LEGALITY OF THE INTERNMENTS.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, has contributed a special article to the "Times of India" in reference to questions put on the 2nd July in the House of Commons whether the Home Rule movement headed by Mrs. Annie Besant was supposed to be outside the constitution. Sir Narayan deals with the constitutional aspect of the order of internment and shows after consideration of the principles underlying British constitution, how a similar use of a summary and absolute power was made in 1879 by Lord-Lytton and how it was characterised by his Law Member, the Hon. Mr. Whitley Stokes, and by Sir William Harcourt, a great constitutional lawyer, as a fraud on the power, because the intent of legislature was that the power in question should be exercised only in some specific cases. The Law Member's argument was in effect, says Sir Narayan, that where legislature confers an exceptional summary and absolute power on the executive in the widest of terms, the executive is not warranted in taking advantage of those terms and using the power in its absolute discretion for cases beyond the more limited intent which the legislature had in conferring that power on the executive. Sir Narayan is careful to explain that the word "fraud" in this connection was not used in its ordinary ignoble sense of equity and law as an exercise of power, honestly and unselfishly but still arbitrarily for purposes not within the real intent of the power. Sir Narayan ultimately comes to the conclusion that the Government, in regard to these internment orders, have gone beyond the object and intentions of the legislature in the matter of the Defence of India Act and has acted unconstitutionally and he has come to this conclusion even after assuming for the sake of argument that the political agitation headed by Mrs. Besant was carried on by "mischievous methods likely to be prejudicial to public safety as contended by the Government.

AN APPEAL TO THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Sir P. C. Banerjee and Mr. Justice Ryves, at the Allahabad High Court, heard an application made by Pertab Misser for leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council. The suit originally was brought by Pertab Misser in the court of the Subordinate Judge, Benares, against Rajah Munshi Madholal claiming Rs. 20,000 as commission for having secured a loan of Rs. 10,000,000. The Subordinate Judge decreed the suit and Rajah Madholal appealed to the High Court which reversed the decision, dismissing the plaintiff's claim. The plaintiff, as a broker, procured a loan of Rs. 10 lakhs from the Maharajah of Benares and claimed two per cent. commission. Rajah Madholal repudiated the claim, stating he did not employ the plaintiff. Their Lordships granted a certificate to appeal to the Privy Council as the case fulfilled the requirements of Section 110 of the Civil Procedure Code.

THE LATE SIR P. C. CHATTERJI.

We deeply regret to record the death of Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji, which occurred at his Calcutta residence on the 15th July. Sir Pratul Chandra was one of the ablest Judges that ever adorned the Chief Court Bench at Lahore. His judgments, said Mr. Shafi, were "intellectual treats and showed not only a surprising command of the English language, but a masterly grasp of the legal principles and customary law. Mr. Shafi then referred to the various activities of the illustrious deceased on the Panjab University of which he was twice the Vice-Chancellor, and representative on the Panjab Council, and expressed condolence to the bereaved family. Mr. Justice Shah Din, Acting Chief Judge, replying on behalf of the Bench, associated himself with the sentiments expressed by Mr. Shafi and said that the legal learning of their deceased friend was as profound as his judicial experience was extensive.

Sir P. C. Chatterji was an esteemed contributor to the *Indian Review*. We offer our condolences to the bereaved family.

Medical.

KING EDWARD HOSPITAL, POONA.

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon, performed the opening ceremony of the King Edward Memorial Hospital and Sardar Mudaliar Dispensary, two buildings forming part of the same institution, in Rastas Peth, Poona City. Rao Bahadur B. V. Mudaliar, Vice-President of the hospital committee, read a short account of the progress of the hospital. This showed that the Chief of Bhore was donor of Rs. 50,000, out of which Rs. 31,000 had been utilised in building a maternity hospital which was named after the Chief. An Indian lady doctor Mrs. Sunderabai Kirtana, L. M. & S., was in charge and 192 in-patients and 56,921 out-patients had been treated up to the end of last March. The annual income of the hospital was Rs. 9,600 which Rao Bahadur Mudaliar admitted did not place the hospital on a sound financial footing. He, therefore, trusted that the association of their Excellencies' name with the hospital would help to place it on a permanent footing, especially as it was well-known that their Excellencies' sympathies were always extended to the relief of the sufferings of others.

Lady Willingdon next expressed her pleasure at being asked to open the hospital. It was a very great honour to her to feel that she had been appealed to in order to help to raise funds for the institution and she promised to do her best to collect more money in order to put the hospital on a sound footing.

TRAVELLING DISPENSARIES.

The Government of Madras have approved of the proposals of the Surgeon-General to open, as an experimental measure, three travelling dispensaries in charge of selected Civil Assistant Surgeons for the treatment of patients in specially malarious tracts in the districts of Cuddappah, Nellore and Bellary.

VERNACULAR MEDICAL SCHOOL IN BURMA.

His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma has appointed a committee, with Colonel P. C. H. Strickland, I.M.S., as President, to consider the question of establishing a vernacular medical school for the training of medical practitioners in Burma, and make recommendations on the following, amongst other issues. The location of the school with particular reference to the facilities for practical training, the number of students, the cost of the necessary equipment, the methods of control, the period of training and other points incidental to the establishment of the school. The object of the school is to extend the benefits of Western medical science to the poorer classes of the community.

REST AFTER MEALS.

A writer in an English contemporary pleads for more rest after meals. He says:—

We need to take more leisure over our meals. In these times, when many young men and women have to put three days' work in one, something has to go short. Mealtime is usually the sufferer. This is a great mistake. Everyone should make it a habit to rest, at least for a few minutes, after every meal. Let the work go. The body must be thought of first. We live in nerve-destroying times. The only manner in which to keep the nerves fit is to nourish them well. This can be attained if the stomach is in proper order. We are not ostriches that can devour glass bottles. Therefore we must assist the natural workings of our bodies to the fullest extent of our power. It has been suggested that in one part of England dinner-time should be cut down to half an hour. If carried out, this will prove a dangerous policy. The human machine, like all others, cannot go on for ever. It requires rest, and the more it gets—with a full supply of work—the healthier it becomes.

Science.

THE HUNS' "MEBU."

The new German type of machine-gun position, the "Mebu," as it seems to be called (M.E.B.U., which appears to stand for "Machine Eisen Betun Understand"), built of reinforced concrete, as its name implies, is a very carefully designed and elaborate structure, writes the special correspondent of *The Times*. It is, of course, entirely subterranean, generally a group of three pits for a like number of guns, connecting in a chamber below, from which concrete steps go up a concrete lined shaft to the actual positions above. The roof of each pit is circular, protected with a lid or covering of steel and concrete, with a narrow observation slit in front, and the orifice through which the gun fires is only a few inches above ground level. The target which each pit offers, therefore, to hostile guns is about equivalent to that of the opening to a coal cellar in a London pavement with the lid propped a few inches above the ground. Our guns, however, as soon as these pits are accurately located by observation, do, in fact, knock them out with direct hits—and nothing but a direct hit is of any use—as most remarkable evidence of the quality of our artillery. For the defence of open country and bare slopes these "Mebus" are the enemy's favourite device. The ruins of villages, woods, and other silent points are filled with machine-gun posts adopted to the confirmation of the ground, and in places, as in the chemical works above Roux, there are positions as strong and complex as the Schwaben on Staff Redoubts. Besides the infantry garrisons of the positions in wood and villages, numbers of scattered but unconnected trenches, with which there is communication only across the open, and therefore in the dark, are disposed about the ground wherever suitable positions offer.

THE CHEMIST'S TASK.

Mr. Francis Mills Turner writes in the *Canadian Magazine* :—

By the introduction of the use of borax in glass, glass-chemists have been able to produce glasses which expand when heated and contract when cooled so little that pie-plates which can be used for backing in ovens can be made of them. Of course such glass is far superior for lamp-chimneys, and as those glasses were much more easily worked than the old, chimneys of much better designs have been made. It is not generally appreciated that ordinary glass is by no means insoluble in water, and although this solubility is insufficient to be noticed in everyday life, it becomes a matter of grave import in the chemical laboratory where small quantities of materials have to be taken care of. Quite recently special glasses, very highly insoluble, have been made. Other achievements have been the making of special glasses for X-Ray tubes and telescope lenses and the production of artistic glasses, such as the beautiful Tiffany or Aurene glass.

AMERICAN SUBMARINE CHASERS.

Germany is supposed to have about 250 boats in service to-day, and an American naval expert argued the other day that if, with these, she is able to send to the bottom from 100,000 to 400,000 tons of shipping per month, it is a matter of simple arithmetic to calculate that, unless we find some more effective means of combating these attacks, the losses of merchant ships, when Germany has from 500 to 1,000 boats in operation, will reach an alarming figure. He added :

The most effective contribution of the United States to the defeat of the submarine will be a vast fleet of 'chasers,' and the immediate arming of every ship in our merchant marine. So deadly is the rapid-fire gun in the hands of a trained crew that no U-boat will dare to accept the challenge to a gun-fight. It would have to rely on the torpedo, and that would greatly decrease its opportunities of attack.

Personal

MODEST ORIGINS OF GREAT MEN.

Sir William Robertson, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and the greatest strategic organiser that Britain has ever produced, was the son of a village shopkeeper.

He enlisted as a private in the 16th Lancers—"Alfonso's Own"—thirty years ago, when the Army was generally regarded by people in his walk of life as the last refuge for the destitute.

Lloyd George, again, was born of quite humble parentage, and got no more education than was provided at the village school in the remote Welsh hamlet where he was brought up.

Then there is General Alexeieff, often and aptly described as "The Sir William Robertson of Russia." Barring the Tsar himself, no man wields greater power, or shoulders responsibility, than does the Chief of Staff of the Russian Field Armies. He it was who conducted the great retreat last autumn, extricating our gallant Ally's forces from an impossible position, and he it was, too, who organised the splendid offensive of the summer just past.

Yet General Alexeieff comes of peasant stock, and began his army career as a conscript with his group in 1877. His father was serving at the time as a sergeant in a line regiment; and his mother had been, prior to her marriage, a washerwoman in the big municipal laundries at Odessa.

General Smuts, who is engaged just now in wresting, from Germany her last remaining and most valuable colony, spent his early years tending cattle on his father's farm near Stellenbosch, South Africa. With the money obtained by the sale of two cows, presented to him by his lad in lieu of wages, he paid for the first quarter's "schoteling" he ever had.

General Joffre's father was the village cooper at Rivesalts, in the extreme south of France. Sent to the little school there, the lad developed a remarkable talent for mathematics, won a couple of scholarships, and eventually worked his way up, until, at the early age of sixteen, he was able to enter the "Ecole Polytechnique," the famous French preparatory school for both civil and military engineers.

Eventually he was given his commission as lieutenant by MacMahon for his work on the fortifications of Paris after the war of 1870-71, in which he had served as a private soldier.—*Pearson's Weekly*.

THE LATE SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

Sir George Birdwood, writes the *Pioneer*, was the son of General Christopher Birdwood, and was born at Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency. He was educated at Edinburgh University, where he took his M. D. degree. Entering the Bombay Medical Service in 1854, he served in the Persian war of 1855-57, and afterwards became Professor at the Grant Medical College. His work on the *Economic Vegetable Products of the Bombay Presidency* brought him considerable reputation and reached its twelfth edition in 1818. He also interested himself in the municipal life of the city of Bombay. Returning to England in 1868 on account of ill-health, he entered the revenue and statistics department of the India Office. While engaged there he published important volumes on the industrial arts of India, the records of the India Office and the First Letter-book of the East India Company. He wrote valuable monographs on various aspects of Indian art. His researches on the subject of incense are a good example of his mastery of detail, and have made his botanical and historical account of this subject a classic. He was created a K.C.I.E. in 1887.

Political.

CHAIRMAN OF THE CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

The election of Rai Baikunta Nath Sen Bahadur of Murshidabad as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the next Congress at Calcutta must be gratifying to all Congressmen. The Rai Bahadur is a veteran political leader and has been for many years one of the most prominent figures of the moderate party in Bengal. He has been connected with the Congress movement since its very inception and his independence and patriotism are known all over the Province. He was elected President of the Indian Association only recently.

RUSSIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

General Smuts, in an address delivered at the Russian Exhibition on May 30, expressed the sympathy of the people of the British Empire with the Russians, and said :—" There is a great future before democratic Russia ; but liberty, like young wine mounts to the head. There must be more than an idealist, noble sensation of freedom pervading a people. There must be organisation and discipline. That is what the Russians are learning to-day. They are learning the greatest lesson of life, which is that to be free you must work hard and struggle hard. Russians feel the intoxication of this new experience ; but they live in a very brutal world which is not governed by cleverly constructed formulas. Unless brute force be smashed liberty cannot live. Germany will swallow all the nice formulas and swallow Russia herself. There is no doubt that this is a case for very hard fighting. Germany was founded upon blood and iron, and she must be smashed in the same way."

SIR JAME'S MESTON'S EXTENSION.

It is understood that Sir James Meston will be given an extension of service as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces until the 15th January, 1918.

LORD RONALDSHAY ON SELF-GOVERNMENT.

• Replying to the welcome addresses presented to H. E. the Governor of Bengal at Dacca on June 5, His Excellency, referring to Self-Government, said : With regard to a greater measure of Self-Government to which you look forward, I think it only right that I should utter a word of caution, lest you be encouraged to cherish hopes which are not destined to be fulfilled. I should, indeed, be a false friend to you, if I were even seem to give consent by my silence to the belief, which some of you express, that this aspiration can possibly be realised within the brief period of my rule. Those who seriously hold any such belief, if indeed there be any such, can have given no thought at all to the immense practical difficulties which stand in the way. I would commend to their attention the informed and considered opinion of the President of the National Congress held in Bombay, two years ago, that the path is long and devious, and that we shall have to tread weary steps before we go to the promised land. Self-Government within the Empire will some day be achieved, but it will come as the crown of much patient and sustained endeavour, and by no conceivable possibility can it be brought about by a mere stroke of the pen. That is not to say that a steady advance towards the goal will not be made. I hope, nay, I assure you that it will, but I am firmly convinced that no jerry built edifice will stand, and that what is required is a solid structure raised with thought and care upon a firm and well-laid foundation. And in all your efforts directed towards that end, you may count upon my warm encouragement and my sympathetic support.

LORDS WILLINGDON AND PENTLAND.

It is officially announced that in view of the restrictions in force at the present time the Secretary of State for India, with the approval of His Majesty, has invited Lord Pentland and Lord Willingdon to serve on in India and that they have consented to do so.

General.

SIR JAMES MESTON ON INDIA.

In acknowledging the "Freedom of the city of London" Sir James Meston said.—

India's position to-day is, indeed, curious. The youngest member of your Council board, she is yet by far the most ancient of the great possessions of the British Crown. When Boadicea stormed the rude fortalice which stood near where we are to-day and filled the land with her fierce revenge, India was a settled continent with a matured civilisation, with wealthy cities and monastic orders, and institutions which still have something to teach us. Three centuries before the Roman invasion of Britain, the Emperor Asoka was summoning his great council of a thousand elders, and was sending out missionaries into the rest of the world to convert it to that gentle and lofty faith of which he was the chief disciple. At a time when our ancestors were primitive dwellers in the woods, India was a highly developed and cultured land. Then came along agonies of confusion and decline; and India plunged into the darkness of mediævalism about the very time when England began to emerge from it. When London was first building this glorious hall in its present form, India had just been ravaged by the barbaric Tamerlane; and though in the succeeding centuries there were purple patches of glory at the Mogul Court, much that was best in the old life and thought of India passed into the dust.

And now India is in the throes of rebirth. You have recently heard much about the fidelity and the aspirations of India. If we have been faithful and if our aspirations are just, what we ask of the British people—and your great courtesy fortifies us in asking—is their help in our regeneration. The process may be slow, it often will be painful; in the course of it there will be disappointments both for you and for us; but in the upward path to a higher plane

of national life we need the hand of fellowship which you are giving us to-day. You have often helped us before; no gifts could have been more generous than those which your predecessors have organised time and again when India was visited by famine and plague; and without the goodwill of the City of London that sound financial system which is the backbone of Indian administration could not have been possible. The encouragement which we need for the future is wider and even more generous; the gifts which we ask for are your sympathy and guidance while India strives to fit herself for fuller citizenship and greater political freedom. (*Cheers.*) Her association in the Imperial War Cabinet, and your gracious acclamation of her representatives to-day make India feel that your assistance will be hers.

You have placed your laurels on the brows of great statesmen, of soldiers and sailors of renown, of eminent scientists and divines but this is probably the first time in which a member of the permanent Public Service of India has received the distinction during his term of office. Here again I beg your leave to accept the distinction as a representative rather than as an individual:—as one of the rank and file of the Indian Civil Service who, along with the sister Services that share with us the heat and burden of the day, have to interpret between the Government and the people. On us lies the direct responsibility for the quiet and contentment, the prosperity, the progress, of the country. It is a task which has to be carried out in an inhospitable climate and often in solitude and anxiety; but the reward which comes to most of us—and it is the highest reward that any man could earn—is the trust and affection of the people among whom we work. Our course will not grow easier, as we launch out from the familiar waters or paternal rule into new and uncharted seas; and there may at first be mistakes in the navigation. But there will be no faltering, the civil services of India will sail the course.



ON THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE WAR

BELLONA—My hated rival! I have put her in a trance and she can't wake—
at least for some months to come.

[Hopes of peace coming this year have been nullified. All the belligerents
are making preparations for another year of war.]



O! sorrow and sympathy, my thoughts fly across the
 seas to my Father in India that beautiful
 land which I have, time and time again, so
 well, I send you this to do homage to as every
 brave soldier of the Empire who died for your India
 for, and in, the glorious fight for truth, good
 freedom, against tyranny and, broken faith.

I remain &c. &c.

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AFTER THE WAR CONFERENCE—WHAT?

BY MR. H. S. L. POLAK.

THE Imperial War Conference, at its fifteenth meeting held on April 27 last, passed the following resolution :

That the Imperial War Conference, having examined the memorandum on the position of India (Indians?) in the Self-Governing Dominions, presented by the Indian representatives to the Conference, accepts the principle of reciprocity between India and the Dominions, and recommends the memorandum to the favourable consideration of the Governments concerned.

From a perusal of the memorandum, which, with all respect to its sponsors, is, in some respects, a most disappointing document, it seems clear that the reciprocity therein mentioned has reference only to the question of immigration, for no suggestion appears to have been made that Transvaal Europeans, for example, settling in India should be refused the right to own fixed property in their own names, or should be denied the municipal franchise ; or that Natal Europeans should be required to make application for the issue of trading licences to Municipalities which should have the unappealable right to refuse them without giving reasons. Even as regards immigration, it remains to be seen whether the Government of India will proceed to legislate on the lines of the Union Immigrants Regulation Act, which empowers the Minister of the Interior to exclude any persons or classes of persons as being undesirable on economic grounds, and in terms of which he has declared *all* Asiatics to be undesirable immigrants. Will the Government declare all South African colonists to be similarly undesirable? Is it probable that they will issue a resolution, declaring that no Canadian will be allowed to land in India unless he comes by direct passage from his native

land? Will they legislate to prohibit the entry into India of an Australian, unless he can pass an education test prescribed by the Immigration Officer at the port of arrival, and will that officer be instructed to set the test in, say, Sanskrit or the Toda tongue? We must "wait and see" what form the policy of reciprocity takes, before coming to any conclusions as to its appropriateness or its efficacy. Meanwhile, we can only regret that the Indian representatives should have committed themselves to some of the sentiments contained in the memorandum without consulting expert opinion in this country more closely than they would appear to have done.

The memorandum recommends, to use Mr. Chamberlain's expressive language, that Asiatics of British nationality should at least not be less favourably treated than other Asiatics. The negative form in which he framed the recommendation is significant. Without raising the question of unrestricted immigration, which, as General Smuts has pointed out, was definitely and finally dealt with by the Union Act of 1913, why should not *preferential* treatment within the British Empire be boldly claimed by the Government of India for British Asiatics? Let us, however, take the recommendation as it is. Are the Government of India going to claim that Indian business-men should be granted the same facilities as to landing at South African ports and carrying on their businesses as are apparently being granted to Japanese traders? And if they do make this claim, are the Union Government at all likely to admit it? The extension of Japanese trade in

South Africa, since the war, has been enormous, and no-one acquainted with Japanese commercial methods would, for a moment, suppose that it has been created by European agency. A few weeks ago, two Indian graduates from Cambridge were refused permission to land at Cape Town, whilst permission was freely granted to European and Japanese passengers; these last were, presumably, not desirous of landing for the good of their health. But it is foolish to expect the Indian or the Imperial authorities to insist upon better terms for British Asiatics, within the British Empire, than are accorded to alien Asiatics. In the territories of Zanzibar and East Africa, which are directly under the control of the British Government, and where a Portuguese consular officer may be found, Portuguese Asiatics are allowed to land where British Asiatics are refused. Of course, in times of war, all kinds of restrictions may be deemed to be necessary, but that does not explain why a Portuguese Asiatic may be allowed to land on British soil, where permission is refused to an Asiatic of British origin, who has, of course, no consul to whom to appeal.

The memorandum expressly refers to the special privileges that are granted to Japanese immigrants, in respect of the admission of their wives and minor children, by the Dominion of Canada, over Indians who are already settled there. Here it would seem that, whilst urging the claims of British Asiatics to equal treatment with, for example, the Japanese, the Indian representatives have gone out of their way gratuitously to bring into discredit a perfectly legitimate demand. As is well known, by an Order of Council, the Dominion Government have prevented, under the "continuous journey" requirement, the introduction of Indian wives and minor children. "Much has been made in India," say the Indian representatives, "of this grievance, though it is very improbable that, in practice, more than a dozen or so Sikhs of the labouring classes would wish to bring over their wives, especially since the Indian

community in British Columbia has become so much smaller. The efforts made to do so were probably inspired by political agitators, who wished to, and did, produce cases which aroused sympathy. But the average Sikh, ready to travel all over the world to make money, does not in the least wish to be hampered by a helpless wife." * Anything more cold-blooded than this can hardly be imagined. Elsewhere the Indian representatives speak of resident Indians introducing "women of their own race," as though it were a matter of importing cattle for breeding purposes, or Indian women were to be introduced for other purposes than marriage. The Secretary of State for India and his colleagues do not appear to regard it as a matter of ordinary human nature for a resident Indian to want his wife and family to join him in his new life. Nor do they apparently realise that the population of British Columbia has diminished probably just because of this domestic difficulty, among other reasons, which is, no doubt, exactly what the Dominion Government were counting upon. It would be interesting, too, to inquire what proportion of these disgruntled Sikhs, returning to India, may have joined the ranks of the disaffected. The Indian representatives do not seem to have understood that if every Sikh in Canada, and not merely a few, wished for the presence, help, and comfort of wife and family, he would be entitled, as a matter of inalienable human right, to have them. Nor, again, do they seem to appreciate that if, in fact, only a few Sikhs really do so desire, there is all the less reason for refusing it. What have "political agitators" to do with the matter? Is it to be understood that the removal of this disability, shameful alike to the Dominion that has imposed it and to India that has had to suffer it, has not been made the burden of repeated representations and protests by the Government of India? That is incredible. But would the right be any the less had the "political agitators" alone "agitated"? Are the Indian

representatives so unacquainted with the circumstances of the case that they are unaware that the right has been claimed, as it should have been claimed, for Indians resident in Canada, not only by "political agitators" in India—and Sir Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, who presided over the famous Bombay meeting in 1912, at which a representation claiming this right was publicly and unanimously endorsed; can hardly be so described, nor can Sir Rabindranath Tagore, who refused to enter Canada, because of the treatment accorded to the Indian colonists there—but also by European citizens of the Dominion, who are not politicians or agitators in any ordinary acceptance of the terms.

The next recommendation is that the freest possible facilities should be given to educated Indians for travel, study, or visits for any purpose, as apart from settlement. That is reasonable requirement, but why should not *educated* Indians be free to *enter and reside* in any British Dominion? What harm can they do to the social order of the Dominion concerned, to which Sir Robert Borden, the Canadian Premier, eloquently referred? It is extremely unlikely that any number of educated Indians would desire to settle in any Dominion. They would have to depend for their livelihood upon such support as they could obtain from their own countrymen or Europeans resident in the particular Dominion. In either case, the number would be strictly limited by economic considerations, and would not arouse any fear of an Asiatic invasion, such as General Smuts referred to. At any rate, where there is any considerable body of Indians resident in any Dominion, as in South Africa, they are surely entitled to the leadership of educated men of their own race. And in such cases, rights of permanent residence are an absolute necessity, for provisional or temporary residential rights for educated Indians will place them in a clearly inferior position to their less well qualified countrymen, whilst they would, if they happened to oppose any given policy of

the Dominion authorities, be in jeopardy and liable to the withdrawal of their residential privileges.

Lastly, it was asked that a kindly and sympathetic consideration should be given to those Indians who had already been permitted to settle in the Dominions. In his speech on this occasion General Smuts somewhat cleverly confused the issue. He made it appear that the difficulties in South Africa had been overcome. He spoke as though they were only administrative, whereas the outstanding grievances of the Indians in the different Provinces of the Union are of a fundamental and a legislative character, and in dealing with them, the Union Government will often reply ordinarily, as they have already done in the Transvaal, that the matter does not lie within their jurisdiction, but that authority to deal with it has already been delegated to some other authority, such as the Provincial Councils or the municipalities. Exactly the same reply, in essence, has for many years been given by the Imperial Government, who say that they cannot interfere with a Self-Governing Dominion. Take, for example, the old sore of the East London location bye-laws, which require Indians to reside, in certain circumstances, in a location. An Indian trader residing in the East London location may give his South African native servant a pass to be out until any time of the night. But he himself is forbidden to remain out after 8 p.m. as no-one can give *him* a pass. The old Cape Government and the present Union Government have been appealed to procure the removal of this racial bye-law, but they reply that the matter is one for the municipality to decide. In the Transvaal, municipalities have been granted the right to control the issue of certain classes of trading licences. The Provincial Council, to whom had been granted the power, by the Union Parliament, to confer such rights upon municipalities, did so on alleged grounds of public health. Certain municipalities have not only refused to issue new

licences to Indians, but have refused to renew existing ones, or have renewed a licence to an Indian applicant for one of his stores, presumably on the ground that he is a desirable person to possess one, and have refused to issue to him a similar licence for another suitable store within the same municipal area, on the ground that he is an undesirable—i.e., that he is an Indian. These municipalities are composed almost entirely, as they are throughout South Africa, of the Indian's business rivals, and that Province has disfranchised him, municipally, as well as politically. When the Union Government are referred to, they reply that the matter is outside their jurisdiction. When the Transvaal Administrator is appealed to, he replies that he cannot interfere with the legal action of a municipality acting within the powers conferred upon it by an Ordinance of the Provincial Council. When the Transvaal Municipal Association is approached, it refers to a private letter of Mr. Gandhi's to the Secretary for the Interior, dealing with quite other matters, and interprets it as a declaration that the Indian community agrees not to demand any fresh licences, in other words, that it has been so foolish as to tie the hands of posterity, in the shape of the Indians born in South Africa itself. Similarly in Natal. The Supreme Court says that it cannot interfere where a municipality refuses a licence to an Indian applicant, but has conducted its proceedings according to the forms that the law requires. Authority has been delegated to those whose direct interests lie in the ruin of the Indian community and who have deliberately and all but avowedly determined upon the destruction of independent Indian enterprise throughout South Africa. And nobody can interfere. These are not, as General Smuts would have us suppose, merely administrative details, but matters of law. Or if they are, then the Union Government have, in spite of their professions to the contrary, been a party to the policy of Indian *elimination* that has

been followed unofficially for years. Then, again the refusal to Indians of the right to own fixed property in the Transvaal is not an administrative matter, but a legislative prohibition. Is General Smuts prepared to introduce into the Union Parliament remedial legislation? And will he be able to carry his own party (not to speak of the Nationalists) and a considerable portion of the Unionist party and the Labour members with him? Whilst direct ownership by Indians of fixed property is prohibited in law, they are legally enabled to own it indirectly, as, for example, through their being members of a private limited liability company. But already a movement is on foot to deprive Indians even of this right. Take again, what is happening to-day in the "British" colony of Natal. The great bulk of the members of the two Indian Double Bearer Companies, with their supporters, that the South African Indian community has placed at the disposal of the military authorities, and who have served with splendid courage, devotion, and distinction in East Africa, were born in Natal. Their reward is peculiar. In 1896, Natal Indians were politically disfranchised, but the Government spokesmen declared that their possession of the municipal franchise would never be interfered with. Since then, they have exercised their right to the municipal vote with intelligence and moderation, whilst they have carefully refrained from taking an active part in municipal controversies. To-day they are threatened with the deprivation of the municipal vote and their right to be represented upon a municipal council by a member of their own community. Such things as these are not administrative matters at all. They indicate a deep-seated intention to make South Africa impossible for free Indian residence. It is not merely a question of asking South Africa to extend kindly and sympathetic treatment to Indians. The trouble lies deeper than that. Large numbers of the white inhabitants of the Union are unable and unwilling to

distinguish between Indians and the semi-barbarous natives of the country. Almost as many are determined, not only not to admit Indians to equality of treatment but to deprive them of existing rights, and to compel them, if they wish to remain in the Union, to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the white population.

General Smuts is reported to have said that he, for one, did not consider that, among the multitudinous problems which confronted them in South Africa, the question of India would trouble them much in the future. Perhaps, in spite of

appearances, his breezy optimism may be justified. Perhaps, in conjunction with those South Africans who may be said to represent the better mind of the country, he may be able to bring about, not merely administrative changes, but a change of heart throughout the Union. But his efforts and theirs, and those of the Indian residents, will need the constant support and encouragement of public opinion in India, before the disabilities set forth above, and others which proceed from a similar spirit of racial exclusiveness and intolerance, are finally removed.

Three Years of War—Some Reflections.

BY "A JOURNALIST."

IT is related of the Speaker of one of Queen Elizabeth's subservient Parliaments that, being asked by her what had recently transpired in the House, made reply: "Your Majesty, five weeks." A war-weary world may be excused if it refuses to regard the happenings of the war since August 1914 as anything more than three years of warfare—a period of continuous slaughter, of enormous waste of wealth laying strong the foundations of bankruptcy for the belligerents and of the complete dislocation of industry and the vast edifice of international commerce. A rough calculation would put the number of killed alone in this war at little short of five millions. It is easy to gather, when to this are added the disabled, that the drain on the manhood of Europe has been terrific. Equally enormous has been the waste of wealth involved. The combined total war expenditure of the belligerents must be nearing twenty-thousand millions and this unfolds a vista of crushing taxation, to meet the interest, upon generations yet unborn. These are concrete facts that he who runs may read. They represent the cost to Europe of three years of warfare. When the man in the street turns to the credit-side he

is faced by blank columns. If he enquires, how far are we nearer the end of the war, nearer that victory for which we have paid so much, he is met by the entire absence of any decisive achievement on either side so far. The war continues and the tale of the dead grows ever longer but so far he can see no prospect of any other ending to the war than that of the famous duel between the Kilkenny cats, which fought each other till only their tails were left. The stoutest heart may well blanch at such a prospect. It is no wonder that war-weariness should have reached such a pitch that counsels of peace fall on willing ears in an increasingly large section of the people of the belligerent countries.

Such an estimate of the course of the war would, however, be entirely erroneous. While it is true that nothing decisive has happened yet which would assure victory to one side or the other, it must not be forgotten that in a war of this magnitude no single decisive event is possible. The time is gone by when victory or defeat could be decided by the issue of a single battle. Perhaps the most crushing defeat sustained by either side in the war was that inflicted by Hindenburg on the Russians at Tannenberg. And yet

it meant no more to the Russians than a retreat of a few miles and the loss of so many thousand men and so many guns. Perhaps the only single battle that could be called decisive was the Battle of the Marne. Even that battle was decisive only in the negative sense. It was the death-blow to the German strategy of over-coming France before the Russian mobilisation was completed and then turning on the latter. By foiling that strategy it rendered victory in the war impossible for Germany.

No estimate of the war situation can be correct which takes no account of the essential factor herein involved. Time fights against the Central Powers. Germany lost her chance of victory when her advance was stayed at the gates of Paris and her armies flung back to the Aisne. Since then she has played for a draw, with infinite patience and skill, hoping that her opponents would weary of the war before she did, knowing all the time that the odds were against her and were increasing as one neutral country after another threw in its lot with her opponents.

Mr. Churchill has stated that this is a war of tendencies, by which cryptic phrase he meant that the deciding factors making for success or defeat were not at any given moment to be found on the surface but under it. Broadly speaking the two vital factors essential for victory, are first, the will to war and secondly the ability to war. Put into terms more familiar, victory depends firstly upon morale and secondly upon resources.

A war of this magnitude cannot be continued except upon the basis of the concentrated efforts of all the peoples of the belligerent countries. The side in which such effort is lacking is doomed to defeat. The Dynasty started the war, but even the vast preparations made by Germany for a European war did not suffice to carry the war beyond the first few months. It was only by appealing to the people, by representing the war as Germany's fight for freedom, that her rulers have been able to continue the war so

long. It is a striking tribute to the powers of persuasion of the German militarists or to the capacity for self-deception of the German people that, in spite of the clearest evidence that the war was prepared for and forced upon Europe at their chosen moment by the German rulers, the people of Germany should have been so long content to accept without question what they have been told regarding the origin and meaning of the war. For, it is essential for the morale of a nation to be kept up that it should have a firm belief in the justice of its own cause. Without such conviction the spirit of self-questioning comes into play and wreaks havoc on the national will to war. Now in a comparison on this question of morale between the Central Powers and the *Entente* group there cannot be any doubt that the balance of advantage lies with the *Entente*. We have no means of knowing the exact state of opinion in Germany and Austria, but what information does leak out, making all allowances for the natural tendency towards exaggeration of the enemy's difficulties on the part of our own purveyors of news, undoubtedly points to a steady disillusionment of the German people as to the righteousness of the cause for which they have suffered so much. That some such feeling lies at the bottom of the recent political crises in the two countries, though by a clever *coup d'état* they have been taken advantage of by the militarists to strengthen their own hands, cannot be gainsaid. There is no parallel to this feeling among the *Entente* countries. In France, Britain and Italy, with the exception of a small minority of pacifists the people as a whole are firm in their support of the war. In Russia it is true the morale underwent considerable deterioration and by its reaction upon the army exposed the latter to defeat and nearly brought about a disaster. The causes for the deterioration in Russia's morale are far apart from those in the Central Empires. The former had no connection with the justice of the cause. They had reference rather to the futility

and wickedness of war in general, as well as to a natural desire that the fruits of the revolution should not be thrown away by giving an opportunity to autoeracy to raise its head again. If anything were wanted to convince the *Entente* peoples of the justice of their cause, they have found ample argument in the adhesion to their side of one important neutral after another, notably the United States.

Apart from belief in the righteousness of their cause another important determinant of the morale of a people is their belief in the victory of their own side. Now, it is obvious that no group of human beings can, after three years warfare on such a colossal scale, retain unimpaired their original confidence as to ultimate victory. From this point of view it must be acknowledged that both sides have suffered a deterioration in morale. That this war-weariness, however, is much more pronounced in the Central Empires than in the *Entente* countries is capable of easy proof. The vigour of the blockade imposed by the British Navy has raised the spectre of starvation and the spectre is rapidly materialising. The only answer to this that the German leaders have been able to make viz. the submarine campaign, is now acknowledged even by them to touch barely more than the fringe of the problem it was meant to solve, viz., to so reduce the shipping resources of the Allies as to seriously affect their military power while at the same time cutting off their overseas supplies of food. A decisive victory in the field the Germans have long since ceased to hope for. The German people have found that in spite of resounding and sedulously advertised victories, they are no nearer towards convincing the *Entente* peoples that they have been beaten. The great campaign against Russia in 1915 did not succeed in inducing the Russian people to acknowledge defeat by a separate peace any more than the crushing of Serbia and Rumania succeeded in crushing the war spirit of these two peoples.

It cannot be denied that the *Entente* peoples have had disappointments to bear too. These disappointments have mainly centred around Russia whose tendency constantly to get into trouble seems to be rivalled only by the powers of reconstruction she displays. The Russian collapse in 1915 was a great disappointment. The hopes raised by the concerted offensives of 1916 under which the enemy front was beginning to erect were dispelled by the Russian Revolution and the debacle in Galicia. Thus Russia is even yet an incalculable quantity, though at present there is a fair hope that she will emerge from her troubles to take her part in next year's campaign. The entry of America, however, has helped to sustain the spirits of the *Entente* peoples and it can confidently be asserted that at the present moment the morale of the *Entente* peoples is vastly superior to that of the Central Empires.

Coming to the second of our two factors, the ability to war, this as we have explained resolves itself into a question of resources. It is an obvious fact that the resources of the Allies are much greater than those of the Central Empires. The latter however had the advantage of a good start in the utilisation of these resources, which enabled them to secure some initial successes and very nearly to achieve victory. At the beginning of the war they had the advantage both in numbers and material and it took the Allies two years of war to overtake and outpace the enemy in both these respects. The accession of America has deepened the odds greatly in favour of the Allies and the latter now await the recovery of Russia before bringing to bear upon the enemy their whole strength with a pressure that shall be irresistible. Meanwhile, by vigorous attacks at definite periods they are keeping the enemy busy, adding to his losses and preventing him from taking advantage of the helplessness of Russia. The important points to bear in mind here are that the Germans are in a distinct position of inferiority both as regards men and munitions; secondly that this disproportion tends to increase because the German losses are remarkably larger than those of the Allies; and lastly that the accession of America will next year convert the superiority of the Allies, which is now considerable in both directions into an absolutely overwhelming one. That this is not a state of things which justifies pessimism will, we think, be readily granted by the most ardent of pacifists.

Lord Hardinge's Trust in India

BY MR. RUSTAM B. PAYMASTER, B.A., LL.B.

"I have trusted India, I have believed in India, I have hoped with India, I have feared with India, I have wept with India, I have rejoiced with India, and, in a word, I have identified myself with India. India's response has been a wonderful revelation to me and sometimes I feel as if she had in return confided her very heart to my keeping."
 —(Lord Hardinge on the eve of his retirement from India.)

O! grateful Indians, let me now declare
 My views to you entrusted to my care.
 How well I've trusted Ind thro' thick and thin,
 Believed in her, with faith to love akin.
 With her I've hoped, and feared with her as well,
 On varying fortunes one could scarce foretell.
 I've wept with Ind, all sorrows hers I knew,
 Rejoiced with her in her rejoicing true!
 She, in return, did make my sorrows hers,
 Dispelled my grief and made its clouds disperse.
 Aye, in a word, I made her cause my own,
 Her life my life, her comfort mine I've known.
 My heart-strings bound with hers as if from birth,
 My land of hope, my paradise on earth!
 I knew not my existence save in her,
 I drew not breath save with her own to stir.
 To her with thread of gold myself did bind
 In her did my true salvation find.
 The kind response she 'as made so cheerfully,
 What wondrous revelation 't was to me!
 I've seen with pride, how grateful, in return,
 For me ev'n now, her weeping soul doth burn;
 Confiding ev'n her inmost heart to me,
 Unasked, ungrudging and un-stingingly
 How I have ruled her, time alone can tell,
 But sympathy hath won her heart full well.
 There is the key, in it the secret lies,
 Of my success, my guerdon and my pride!



Taken on the occasion of the recent Imperial War Conference in London



MR. A. HENDERSON
Who has resigned the Cabinet.

EUROPEAN ARTISTS IN INDIA.

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• BY THE REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER. •

ILLUSTRATED papers and magazines have done much in recent years to popularise Indian scenery and customs in the West; innumerable descriptive books finely illustrated are finding their way on to the market; the amateur photography of the many visitors to this country has served to give the people of the West such an account of the Picturesque East as was not possible when the artist had to depend solely on his pen for conveying impressions. Before the advent of those pictorial aids, most important of which is the half-tone process of printing, the number of illustrated volumes on India was very small. The heavy expense involved in their production also precluded other than wealthy individuals from purchasing them. But the few artists who visited India, and produced their work in those volumes which are now very rare rendered a splendid service in educating the people of England in the very varied and interesting features of India. India has never attracted to any serious extent, the artist or the writer, though several outstanding instances may come to the mind, and creditable though much of the work done, was, few of their productions can be laid to rank in the first class. Unfortunately many of these who came from Europe, devoted themselves to portraiture work for the simple reason that it was by far the most lucrative. They were welcomed at the courts of the Native Princes, who commissioned them to paint the members of the Royal Family, and if satisfied, were ready to give them an adequate return for their labour. Had there been an opportunity of disposing satisfactorily of paintings descriptive of Indian scenery and customs, there is little doubt that more attention would have been given to the subject. But it was not an attractive prospect to devote several years of one's life to labour in a country which was then a much more trying and dangerous clime than it is

now to the European, and at the end to receive only a small pittance in return. While it is true that the majority of those European artists who came to India toward the end of the eighteenth century, and the beginning of the nineteenth, devoted their energies to the more lucrative pursuit, the painting of portraits, there were several who found their inspiration in the Indian life and its setting.

The names of several of these painters have become well-known through the books they have published. Perhaps the best known is that of Daniell, several members of which family, after residing in India for a term of years, returned to England, to give to the public in books of engravings, the fruits of the labours. Thomas Daniell was the son of an inn-keeper at Chertsey, and in company with his nephew, William Daniell, he started for India in 1784. Previous to this he had gained distinction in England with his work in flower pieces and landscapes. The uncle and the nephew published views of Calcutta in that city, and some idea of the prices charged for engravings, may be obtained from an advertisement which offers "Views of Calcutta, 15 inches by 11 inches in size, printed from copper plates, at twenty-five rupees each view, or eighty rupees for a set of nine views." The uncle and nephew visited various parts of North India, including Agra, Lucknow, Elephanta, and the Ellora Caves. After spending ten years in India they returned to England where they continued to paint pictures dealing with oriental subjects. The great work associated with their names is the splendid publication of six volumes which goes by the title, 'Oriental Scenery' which comprised one hundred and forty views. William applied himself with great earnestness to the production of this work and it is said that out of the six volumes, five were engraved in mezz-tint

by his own hand or under his immediate superintendence. There were twenty-four plates of the excavations at Ellora, and the picturesque voyage to India. William later painted a panoramic view of Madras, and another of an elephant fight at Lucknow. But William is probably known to a wider public by his work in a series of volumes published between 1834 and 1838, called the *Oriental Annual*, a series of books which stood out for the beauty of their finish and workmanship. Occasionally copies of these are seen offered for sale in second-hand catalogues, but they are now becoming rare. Samuel Daniell, the brother of William, also found his way to the East after several exciting adventures in the wilds of Africa. He made Ceylon his headquarters, and from that place made journeys to India, the most important being an extensive tour in Bhutan. He was only thirty-six when he succumbed to fever in Ceylon, but his brother has preserved some of his best work in a publication he brought out after his death.

The name of John Zoffany is probably the most notable of the European artists who came to India. He came with a considerable reputation, for he had received early recognition from the Royal Academy of which he was a member. His early career was one of hardship, but he set himself with determination to his task. He succeeded in attracting the attention of Sir Joshua Reynolds, then the most famous painter in England, and, as a result of his encouragement, he gained Royal patronage. He travelled on the Continent for a few years, after which he sailed for India, arriving in Calcutta in 1780. From Calcutta he went to Lucknow, where he lived for three or four years, using his time in making pictures of the court life. "The Cock-fight at Lucknow" is an interesting picture, containing twenty-four clear portraits of the important officials present. They include Asoph-ud-Daula, the Nawab Vizier of Oudh; Mr. Edward Wheeler, a member of Coun-

cil, Captain Mordaunt, whose cocks were matched against those of the Nawab; General Claude Martin, and other celebrities who were present in Lucknow at the time. His largest piece of work was "The Embassy of Hyder Beg Khan to Warren Hastings" a canvas containing over one hundred figures. The name of Zoffany is kept alive in India by the fact that one of his finest paintings still hangs in the Calcutta Cathedral. It is an admirable altar-piece representing the Lord's Supper. The artist is said to have painted each of the twelve apostles from living models, prominent men in Calcutta, Tulloch, the auctioneer, sitting for Judas, while he was allowed to believe he was sitting for the Apostle John. The authorities were anxious to make him a substantial gift for his work which he had presented, but, had to content themselves with a testimonial which set forth their appreciation of the favour he "had conferred on the settlement by presenting their first place of worship so capital a painting that it would adorn the first Church in Europe, and should excite in the breasts of its spectators those sentiments of virtue and piety so happily portrayed in the figures." While in Agra, Zoffany painted the picture of Mahdajee Scindia, and it is of interest to note this portrait became the object of worship. In an account of his visit to Poona, Sir James Mackintosh says, "Near the monument which is being erected in the memory of Mahdajee Scindia is a sorry hut where the ashes of this powerful chieftain were deposited for a time, and where they may now lie long undisturbed. It is a small Pagoda where, in the usual place of the principal deity, is a picture of Scindia by Zoffany, very like that in Government House in Bombay. Before the picture lights are kept constantly burning, and offerings daily made by an old servant of the Maharajah, whose fidelity rather pleased me, even though I was told that the little pagoda was endowed with lands which yielded a small income,

sufficient for the worship and the priest." Zoffany painted a number of portraits of the officers of the Company, and on his return to England in 1790 had amassed a considerable fortune from the money received. After his return his hand seems to have lost its cunning, and though he continued to paint, his work had lost its quality. He died in Kew near London in 1810."

While the Daniells and Zoffany were making their names by painting Indian scenes, the eminent miniature painter, Ozias Humphrey was on a visit to Bengal. He was born in Devonshire in 1742, and at the age of 43 set out for India. As a painter of miniatures he was most successful, and executed several commissions for the Royal Family, but he decided to try higher works. He attempted several large canvases; but his efforts were received rather coldly, and it is said, that, through this disappointment he determined to try his fortune in India. He visited Calcutta, Moorshebadul, Benares and Lucknow, and devoted himself to that branch of art in which he had gained such signal success in England. He executed miniatures of the native princes and the persons of eminence in these cities, his work being marked by excellent drawing and sweet colour, all being signed by a Roman O with an H inside it. He remained only three years in India when ill health forced him to return to his native land where he continued that kind of work for which he is justly famous.

Arthur William Devis, is another of the artists who came to India, but in his case, not with the object of painting, but because, as the result of a shipwreck, he was forced to land at Calcutta. He too, was in India, about 1790. His fame rests chiefly on a number of paintings depicting the important events connected with the taking of Seringapatam. Though his name is associated with these events he does not appear to have been an eyewitness, but rather to have painted from


material given to him by an officer who took part. The storming of the Fort of Bangalore on the night of March 21st, 1791 was the first of the series; three years later he painted "The Reception of the Hostage Princes," a scene representing the handing over of Tipu's two sons, Abdul Kalick and Mooza ud-deen as hostages for the due performance of the treaty made on the 26th of February, 1792. The picture is thus described;—"The two young princes have long white muslin robes, red turbans, several rows of large pearls round their necks, their manner imitating the reserve and politeness of the age. In the background are their attendants, howdahed elephants, camel haccaras, and standard bearers, carrying small green flags suspended from rockets, besides pikemen and the guard of British sepoy, all depicted with great care and precision even to the caste marks. Lord Cornwallis is shown full of grace and good nature, receiving the Princes, who are being introduced to him by the head Vakil, Gullam Ally. Among the other figures are Sir John Kennaway, the Political Officer, and Colonel John Floyd, 19th Light Dragoons, commanding the Cavalry. The artist Devis has painted himself in the left hand corner of the picture with a portfolio under his arm, contemplating the scene which he subsequently represented exactly as described in the graphic account given by Major Dirom in his narrative." Thirty pictures stand to the credit of Devis, twenty of which represent Indian trades and manufactures. His pictures were better known than many of his abler confreres because the subjects he dealt with, notably Tipu Sultan, were familiar to the people of England. He had a great reputation in his lifetime, not only for his Indian subjects but for a number of vivid and interesting historical events in connection with English history which he portrayed on large canvases. The name of Mr. Hicky, who resided in the Madras Presidency, is also associated with several pictures

connected with the Mysore Wars. "The storming of the Breach at Seringapatam," "The Interview with the Prince in the Palace," "The finding of Tipu's Body," "The First Interview of the Commissioners of Mysore with the family of the Rajah," "The Funeral of Tipu," "The Reception of Lieutenant Harris with the Colours of Tipu in Fort St. George," "The placing of the Rajah on the Musnad of Mysore" are the chief of his pictures, most of which were later engraved, copies of which are still occasionally to be seen. He executed a full-length portrait of the Earl of Mornington on the anniversary of the capture of Seringapatam. This work was done at the request of the principal people of Madras, and in the background is seen the steeple and flag-staff of Fort St. George, with the English Union Jack flying over the standard of the late Sultan. The name of Smart is also associated with Madras. John Smart landed there in 1788, and spent a part of his five years' sojourn in India in that city.

He visited Lucknow and Calcutta where he executed some very valuable mininatures. His son, also called John, tried his fortune in Madras as a painter. Here he died in 1809. The names of William Hodges, Tilly Kettle, Robert Home, (who also painted several scenes relating to Tipu) George Chinnery, are also found among these European artists, but there is very little of their work that is known. These men had a splendid field for their activities, for India was an unknown country in those days. There was a romance which greatly appealed to the Westerner, and it is a matter for regret that these early artists did not put on record some of the striking incidents they witnessed. But they came to India to make their fortunes, and that object seems to have been before most of them during their limited stay. It is difficult to blame them, yet at the same time, one cannot but regret that more examples of their skill in the painting of important historic events, have not been left to us.

British Empire or The Commonwealth of Nations?

BY PROF. S. G. PANANDIKAR, M.A.

 HE World War has brought in its wake a whole series of revelations of the deepest significance, in rapid succession, and not the least remarkable of them has been the supreme and vital need of re-organising the British Empire. All political thinkers, who are not utter separatists, now seem to be agreed in holding that the Empire requires re-organisation and development along lines that will be more conducive to its safety, and that will afford its component units, richer, quicker, and more favourable opportunities of resorting to a common concerted action on matters of common interest. But while there appears to be little difference of opinion as regards the object to be achieved, there is considerable divergence of views as to the methods to be adopted to

accomplish the common purpose. Broadly speaking, two schools of thought may be distinguished, and the issue between them, in General Smut's terse and highly suggestive words, is whether the Post-War Imperial reconstruction should be directed to the formation of a Federal Empire or of a Commonwealth of Nations. One set of thinkers, deeply influenced by the examples and analogies of history, and profoundly impressed by the remarkable success of the German Empire and the United States of America, pin their faith on a system of federation which will bind together the various parts of the British Empire by explicit ties. With this object in view, they advocate that while each unit should be left to itself to direct its own internal affairs according to its own choice without any let or hindrance,

the problems which affect the Empire as a whole, and in which all units are directly concerned, ought, in justice to all of them, to be solved only after common deliberation in which all units should possess a voice. This is especially true of the momentous questions connected with Imperial defence, finance, commerce, citizenship, and foreign affairs. It is difficult to exaggerate the supreme importance of organising a powerful, efficient, and well equipped Army and Navy so that the Empire may be saved in the future from the terrible danger of being forced to plunge into the greatest war in the world's history, although totally unprepared ; and such Army and Navy cannot be thought of unless they are adequately financed by means of an equitable distribution of the burden of their maintenance among the component units of the Empire. There is no less need of close co-operation and cordial harmony among the various parts, for the development of the resources of the Empire, and of inter-imperial commerce, so that the Empire may become self-contained and self-sufficing, and may not be exploited by and rendered dependent upon the Central Powers in the future, as it was in the past. It is equally urgent that if the units are to be dragged into a war, the inevitable Nemesis of European political complications, they should have an adequate share in directing the policy of foreign diplomacy, so that in the future they may not be forced into a terrible war, the circumstances leading to which are shaped by a foreign policy, over which they have not the slightest control. There is need also for a clear, consistent, and statesman-like determination of the rights, duties, and status of Imperial citizenship, of the status for instance of an Indian citizen in the Self-Governing Dominions. For the solution of all these manifold, intricate, and far-reaching problems, and for the continuous, consistent, systematic, and yet broad-minded control of all the affairs constantly cropping up therefrom, the

first set of thinkers advocate a definite, clear-cut system of federation based on the establishment of an Imperial Cabinet, responsible to an Imperial Parliament or Council, consisting of representatives periodically elected by the popular assemblies of the component units of the Empire.

This scheme is not accepted by the second group of thinkers, who hold that such an explicit tie is neither desirable nor possible, and contend that the aims and objects of the first set of thinkers with which they have no quarrel, can only be attained by methods savouring more of diplomatic than of political connection. General Smuts, one of the most brilliant representatives of this school of thought, recently delivered a number of characteristic speeches in England clearly setting forth the views of his school, which maintains that the self-governing units must be bound by ties rather of alliance than unity. In support of this view, it is argued that the history of the development of the British Empire has rendered impossible, the adoption of any other course. In bestowing self-government upon her Colonies, England completely neglected to provide for an identity of economic interests by means of commercial ties, such as in other cases have led to political union. It was the establishment of the Zollverein or the Customs Union in Germany in the early years of the last century that firmly laid the foundation of the Modern German Empire. The close commercial connection between the Colonies of North America contributed materially to the political solidarity of the United States of America. Again this complete commercial independence of the British Colonies was combined with their complete dependence upon England in matters of defence and foreign policy over which they had no control whatever and about which the Mother Country was bound, by no definite responsibility towards her colonies. The natural result has been strengthened neither by profit on the one side nor by responsibility on the other. These circumstances have not

only prevented the growth in the colonies of a sense of identity with the Mother Country, but on the other hand have fostered the growth of a separate nationality, with separate tradition, character, and corporate existence in each self-governing dominion.

The question, then, that naturally arises is whether these different nationalities can be induced to accept all the discipline and loss of separate national existence, which are involved in the organisation of a common central government, even though it be for external matters only. The second group of thinkers give the answer that it is not possible to harmonise Federation with the national genius of the Dominions at their present advanced stage of development. They maintain that while the ideal of Federation is to produce a single homogeneous state, the self-governing dominions have already grown beyond the possibility of conforming to such an ideal. "This British Commonwealth of nations," says General Smuts, "does not stand for standardisation or for conventionalisation, but for the fuller, richer and more various life of all the nations comprised in it." This view naturally raises the objection that if the individual interests of the nationalities forming the Commonwealth are refractory to the control of some form of central government, the continued existence of the Commonwealth would be rendered impossible. General Smuts does not consider this difficulty to be insuperable. "For too much stress" he says, "had been laid in the past on the instrument of government. People were inclined to forget that the world was growing more democratic and that public opinion was going to be far more powerful than in the past. Where they built up a common patriotism and a common ideal, the instrument of government would not be a thing that mattered so much as the spirit which actuated the whole."

This is, indeed, a startling innovation in the recognised principles of political science. But

before it is accepted, we must enquire whether the close harmony of purpose and the cordial co-operation of action engendered by the stress of war between the units of the Empire can be preserved permanently and secured for the future, even if some definite central machinery of government is not established to grant to the Dominions a share in the management of Imperial affairs, from which they were hitherto excluded, but which their unstinted sacrifices in the war have richly deserved. The natural answer is that it is hard to imagine that the units which have freely poured out their blood and wealth in the vigorous prosecution of the war will not demand, when this colossal struggle is ended, share in those decisions, which are to yield the fruit of the present memorable sacrifices, and which will in the future determine the conditions under which war itself arises and is prosecuted. And yet it is difficult to conceive how such decisions could be arrived at if a central machinery of government is not established, or how such a central government can conform to the ideal of democracy, unless it directly represents and is responsible to the peoples of the various parts of the Empire. Imperial citizenship and democracy are indeed incomplete so long as the Imperial affairs continue to be managed only by England. The most that is proposed to solve this difficulty is that the Imperial Conference should continue to meet once in every year. But this suggestion is obviously incomplete, because for many imperial affairs mere annual consultations cannot suffice, and continuous deliberations and quick decisions are necessary. However it would be extremely unwise to set aside lightly these views of the second school of thought, which holds some of the most distinguished statesmen among its ranks. They must be carefully weighed, and the judgment of the Dominions themselves must be secured when the work of Imperial reorganisation is taken up at the close of this war, especially as

the Imperial War Conference recently held in London seems to attach, so far as can be ascertained from its resolutions, no inconsiderable importance to these views.

However, although the exact form which the reconstruction of the Empire would assume after the war is a subject of much controversy and therefore of pure speculation, it appears certain that when accomplished the form will be conspicuously different from that of any Empire existing now, or recorded in history, at least in three important aspects. Firstly, while in these Empires the component units are politically homogeneous, in the British Commonwealth, the United Kingdom, the Dominions, India, Crown Colonies, and Protectorates differ radically in political capacity, and have reached different milestones on the path of democratic development. Thus the development of India must proceed on its own lines which will be quite different from those of Canada, Australia or South Africa. Again the British possessions in Africa except South Africa must remain at least for some generations in a condition of dependence. Secondly the component units of any other Empire do not possess that fiscal autonomy which is the most jealously guarded privilege of the Dominions, and towards the possession of which India hopes to make a rapid advance after the war. The limitation of this privilege that is involved in the system of inter-imperial preferential tariffs, that has been recently proposed, is possible only with the free consent of the Dominions. Thirdly the units of the British Empire are almost the only ones in history, with the possible exception of those of mediæval Switzerland, to possess their own colonies and dependencies. New Guinea belongs to Australia, and South West Africa will probably be held by the Union of South Africa after the war. Thus the re-organisation of the British Empire will proceed along altogether new lines, hitherto unknown in the constitutional history


of the world, and will mark a bold departure in the theory of government. The time for its political re-organisation, however, has not yet arrived. The Imperial War Conference referred to above, refused to commit itself on the matter, and merely recommended that a special Imperial Conference should be held to deal exclusively with this subject.

Something, however, may be done, and urgently requires to be done, for its better economic organisation. There are not a few peace-loving citizens who really believe that after this war the various parts of the Empire can afford to turn their swords into ploughshares and enter on an era of profound peace. They could commit no greater error. Whatever the result of this war may be, it is sure to lead to an equally intense economic war. All the Powers will struggle for new and greater markets for their goods. The aggressive Powers ready for war may even use force to capture the markets, and the coveted lands will be exposed to danger far more terrible than armed attack, namely a condition of commercial subordination established through the threat of attack which they are powerless to resist. Hence even a child can easily understand that if the future of the British Empire is to be progressive and prosperous, it is a matter of the highest moment, that not only the Empire as a whole, but every part of it should be fully prepared to play its full part in the difficult task of organising quick and effective defense. The recent development of submarinism has disturbed the very foundations of sea-supremacy and it is not certain that the Power which possesses the most powerful fleet would necessarily remain supreme at sea. This situation clearly demands that not only the Empire as a whole but also each of its component units should so develop its latent resources as to become self-contained and self-sufficing to the highest degree possible. It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that the

TUKARAM.*

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*BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

UKARAM was born in 1608 at a little village called Dehu, not far from Poona, on the banks of the river Indrayani. By caste, he was a Sudra; his ancestors were *Wanis* or shop-keepers by trade. But they were all pious men, given to devout exercises and charity. They were also good servants of the Fatherland for which two of the family at least had devoted their lives in battle. They were devotees of God Vithoba.

HIS MISFORTUNES.

In 1629, when Tukaram was growing into manhood, the Deccan was swept bare by one of those great famines which have, from time immemorial, visited it at uncertain intervals. Tukaram's parents, wife and child died therein. His elder brother's wife—the husband having already taken the robe of a *sanyasi* and disappeared from the sight of his kin—also perished and the poet's cup of sorrow was well-nigh filled. To crown all, the little store of grain failed. Grain was at high prices, and the villagers, starving and famine-stricken, no longer bought his goods. In despair at his ruined heart and shattered ties, Tukaram turned for consolation to religion. One of his songs tells the story:—

By caste I was a Sudra, I became a trader; this God from the first had been worshipped by my family. I ought not to talk of this, but since you have asked the question, I respect your speech, O saints! When my father and mother had finished their course, I was grievously harassed by the world. A famine used up my money, and took away my good name; one wife of mine died crying for food. I grew ashamed and was tormented by this grief; I saw that I was losing by my business. The temple of God which we had was in ruins; I resolved to do what occurred to me. I began by preaching and singing on the eleventh day; but at first my mind was not in practice. So I learned by heart some speeches of the saints, being full of resource and faith in them. When others sang first, I took up the refrain, purifying my mind by faith. I counted holy the water wherein the feet of the saints had been washed; I suffered no

shame to enter my mind. I served others when the chance was given me, wearying out my own body. I paid no heed to friends who loved me, I was heartily sick of the world. I bade my own mind testify to the true and the false, I paid no heed to the voice of the crowd. I honoured the instruction my teacher gave me in a dream, I believed firmly in God's name. After this the impulse of poetry came upon me; I embraced in my spirit the feet of Vithoba. A blow fell upon me; I was forbidden to write; thus for a while my spirit was grieved. My pages were sunk in the river; I sat down like a creditor; Narayana comforted me. If I told all the story, the tale would be long; it would grow too late, so enough of it now. You see now my present purpose; my future course God knows. God never neglects his worshipper; I have learned that he is merciful. *Tuku* says, This is all my capital, I utter the verses which Panduranga bids me utter.*

Tukaram continued steadfast in his devotions, washing the feet of holy men, singing at *kathas* and *bhajans* and above all things, "toiling hard to do good to others." He sings, "God, the merciful, despises not the believer. This I came to realise. All my riches are now the verses which God hath put into my heart."

NEGLECT OF THE WORLD.

Tukaram hereafter began to neglect his trade and even his family. With the passing away of the famine, the prosperity of the Deccan was in some measure restored and Tukaram married again. But as time went on, religion took a more and more absorbing hold on him. Day after day, rising at sunrise, and performing his morning devotions to Vithoba, he would make his way to a little hill called Bhandra and there remain in deep meditation. House and family were neglected, and his wife, who was a worldly-minded woman, was vastly irate at this. Tukaram, however, looked on his domestic worries with a quiet patience, not unmixed with humour. He even extracted some spiritual consolation from them:—

* The rendering of the poems are taken, with one or two exceptions, from the translation of Tukaram's poems by Messrs. J. Nelson Fraser and K. B. Marathe, published by the Christian Literature Society for India. We acknowledge our obligations to the same.

* Condensed from a sketch written for G. A. Natesan & Co's "Saints of India Series." Price Annas 8 four.

Now, my son, what will you eat? My husband is grown a devotee of the temple. He wears garlands on his head, he does not care to be a shop-keeper as he was. He has made arrangements to feed himself. He has no interest in us. He goes about with cymbals and open mouth, he sings before God in the temple. What are we to do now? He is gone off to the jungle. Tuka says, Show some patience now, if you never did before.

It is well, O God, that I became bankrupt, and was crushed by the famine; this is how I repented and turned to Thee, so that the world became odious to me. It is well that my wife was a scold, that I was dishonoured, and lost my good name, my wealth and my cattle; it is well that I did not fear people's opinion, but sought Thy protection, O God; it is well that I built up Thy temple, and neglected my wife and children. Tuka says, It is well that I fasted on the eleventh day, for so I kept myself awake."

COMPOSING POEMS.

It was about this time that Tukaram received in a dream the command to sing of God and his love for Him.

Namadeva came with Panduranga, and roused me in a dream. "I appoint you a task, write poetry, do not talk of vain affairs." Namadeva counted his own verses, Vithoba kept the tally; he told me the total he arrived at, a hundred crores. "What is left undone, you must finish, O Tuka."

In spite of this stanza, there is reason to think that he did not compose so great a number. The poems seem to number in all from six to eight thousand of which some four thousand and five hundred have been translated recently by Messrs. Nelson Fraser and K. B. Marathi.

HIS ENEMIES AND THEIR CONVERSION.

Tukaram was not allowed to pursue his life of religion and poetry uninterrupted. He had already a number of disciples, and the proud and priestly family of the Deos of Chinchwad, who traced their descent to Ganapathi himself, had actually dined with him. This incensed the Brahmins. One Mambaji seized Tukaram, threw him into a prickly pear hedge and beat him. Tukaram, it should be said, freely forgave his cruel foe who afterwards became his devoted follower. It is sad to think that, in spite of the martyrdom of the great saints that had gone before Tukaram—of Dnyandev, of Chokamela, whom priestly persecution followed all his life,—

society in Maharashtra still treated with cruelty men whose only sin was their devotion and love for all.

A more cruel blow was struck by one Rameshwara Bhatta who caused Tukaram to be arrested and brought before him. How did he, a Sudra, he asked, dare to expound the secrets of the Vedas to his audience? Tukaram replied that whatsoever he taught was put into his heart by Vithoba, but that he was willing to abide by the Brahmin's decision. Rameshwara bade him cast his poems into the river. Tukaram did so, and then stricken with exceeding grief, he lay for days, without food or water, at the temple-door 'like a creditor at the debtor's threshold.' At last, says the legend, the God heard him, and the poems appeared floating on the waters of the Indrayani and were restored to the poet. Rameshwara was likewise converted and became Tukaram's disciple.

TUKARAM AND SIVAJI.

It was about this time that the great Sivaji, having freed the country from Mahomedan bondage, had made the Deccan once more a Hindu Kingdom. We have already spoken of his piety and his deep devotion to the saints of the land. Hearing of the poet and holy man, Tukaram, Sivaji, then at Lohagaon, sent an invitation to him and a deputation of his officers and soldiers to escort him in pomp to his court. Tukaram refused to visit the prince: Here is his reply:—

What would it profit me to enter your presence? The fatigue of the journey would be wasted. If I must need beg my food, there are many whom I may ask for alms; in the lanes are rags to furnish me with shelter. The rock is an excellent bed to sleep on; I have the sky above me for a cloak. With such a provision made, why need I fix my hopes on any one? It would be a waste of my days. Should I come to your palace seeking honour, what peace of mind should I find there? In a king's palace the wealthy are respected; the common herd meet with no respect. If I saw there fine apparel and men wearing jewels, it would at once be the death of me. If you are disgusted when you hear this, still, God will not scorn me. Let me tell you this surprising news, there is no happiness like the beggar's. Austerity and renunciation are the greatest things; wealthy men fettered by desire live miserably. Tuka says, You are opulent and honoured: but the devotees of Hari are more fortunate.

Now there is one expedient y^ou should make sure of; do not grow disgusted with the good. Do not put forth efforts which will bring guilt on you. There may be censorious and evil persons round you, do not encourage their views. Search out carefully men who will protect the state, using all discrimination. There is nothing I need tell you, you know everything. O King, help the cause of the defenceless. On hearing this you should be satisfied, there is no more to be gained by an interview. What pleasure would it give me to meet you? The days of my life are spent. There are but one or two rules of life; if we recognize their meaning, we shall not lose our self-respect. There is one that brings a blessing, and its purport is this, learn to see one spirit in all created things. Fix your thoughts on the joyous self, see yourself in Ramdas. Blessed is your birth on earth, O King, renowned is your name in the three worlds.

* TUKARAM'S MODE OF LIFE.

His life was spent daily in prayer and meditation, in holding *bhajans* or performing *kathas* wherein were given short expositions of religious doctrine or story interspersed with devout songs and prayers. He often went about from village to village, but mostly his days were spent at Pandharpur, the holy city even as the other great holy men and women of the age did. The following incident described by Mahipathi, the Marathi chronicler, is highly interesting for the light it throws on Tukaram's character and doings, and also for the light it throws on the character of the new movement and the men who took part in it. There was a large assemblage at Pandharpur. Sivaji had honoured the meeting with his august presence, and after the manner of the Hindu kings of old ministered to the comforts and convenience of the assembled *Sadhus* and *Sannyasis*. Some women saints also had joined in that memorable meeting. Aka Bai, a disciple of Ramdas Swami, was one of them. We have the authority of Mahipathi in stating that it was she who read out to the glorious assemblage the Swamiji's work styled *Dashodh* (knowledge of man as servant of God). Benu Bai was another disciple of Ramdas. At the Parligarh assemblage also, which took place sometime after, these two women, along with some others of their sex, were present and

took part in its proceedings. But in both these meetings Tukaram was the most prominent figure. In the hill-fort of the Parligarh Sivaji had built a temple and consecrated it to Ram Chandra. The aforesaid meeting had been called by the king himself. Tukaram by his *Sankirtan* and *Katha* pleased all. Sivaji himself along with some others took active part in the religious observances. After the *Utsava* was over, he proceeded to do *pooja* to the assembled Brahmins, Pandits and Sadhus, and made some presents to them. Similarly, gold coins and other valuables were brought in for the propitiation of Tukaram. But this saint of saints, understanding the Raja's intent and purpose, all of a sudden disappeared from the place much to the wonder of all present. Sivaji had also intended to make a gift of four villages to the saint, but, in consequence of his sudden disappearance, his intention could not be fulfilled. On Sivaji's expressing deep regret at the conduct of Tukaram, his *Guru*, Ramdas Swami, who very well knew the noble self-sacrificing character of the man, consoled him with the words:—"My son, to the truly religious, even the wealth of all the three worlds is but light as air. Tukaram having, as it were, kicked at *Mahasulhi* (accomplishment in *eccelsis*) itself, is deeply engaged in the worship of Vithoba, free from all desires and aspirations. The four kinds of *Mukti* are of very little avail to him. That being so, can the common things of this world have any value in his eyes?" Mahipathi says that Ramdas Swami was much impressed with this very striking instance of Tukaram's indifference to worldly concerns.

HIS DEATH.

The time for Tukaram's departure from the shows and unrealities of life was drawing near. Some of his poems seem to be prophetic of the approaching end. Full of strange forebodings, yet not without a deep spirit of hope and tender

trust in God, these poems are so striking that we can hardly refrain from quoting them :—

I will go now to my mother's house; the saints have sent for me. He has heard the story of my joys and sorrows; his mind is moved to pity. Some messenger, it seems, prepared with food and raiment, is coming to take me. My heart is drawn towards the road, I see continually the path to my mother's house. Tuka says, Now my mother and father will come, themselves to take me back.

Patiently I am waiting, I cannot endure a wrangling uproar. My heart is drawn thither; I ask every new comer the way. I grind and pound like other people, but my thoughts are elsewhere. Tuka says, I have grown senseless here; perchance I shall be so there too.

Through experience in this world I am deeply convinced that there is one soul, in both places, that he feels pity for me. Hunger is appeased by eating hunger; there is no appetite for food left. Tuka says, I am delighted; my heart is satisfied by this experience.

Yonder Hari is come, his hands adorned with the shell and the wheel. Garuda comes with whirring wings crying eagerly "Fear not, fear not." The splendour of Hari's crown and ear-rings hides the lustre of the Sun; his hue is that of the purple cloud, lovely is his form to see. Four arms has he; a wreath of basil hangs swaying round his neck. The lustre of his yellow robe lights up the ten quarters of the sky. Tuka is fully satisfied; the throne of Vaikuntha has come to visit his house.

Give me now a send-off; return to your own homes all of you. Be happy in all your deeds and duties; take my words for a blessing. You reared me up and gave me into the hands of one who frees me from all care. Now I shall go with the Lord of life, whom I follow with my whole heart. If I should cherish further my love for you I shall stay here too long; let no one move beyond this point. I have put my hand in his; we are one in duty, desire and purpose. Tuka says, Now that I have met him, other topics I have left for others to talk about.

Peace be to you, members of my house and others, salutation to the saints. The bee returns to the honey; the torn rope cannot be mended. When the river-water has flowed into the ocean, it comes not back. Listen to my word! Tukaram has gone, he returneth not again.

Of his end, we know no more than what is recorded in a note attached to the little old volume of his poems still worshipped at the village of Dehu. It is said to be the actual volume which Tukaram cast into the waters of the Indrayani at the Brahmin's bidding. The note runs thus; "In the Saka year 1571 (1649 A. D.), the name of the year being *Virodhi*, on the second day of the dark half of the month of *Shingra*, the day being Monday, in the morning, *Tukaram started on his pilgrimage. Farewell.*" What this means, we shall perhaps never know:

The Marathas believe that Vithoba himself carried him to Varkunta. Others hold that, taking the robe of a *sanyasi*, Tukaram wandered forth into the great world where, undisturbed even by the adoration of his disciples, he might snap the last ties which bound him to earth and remain utterly alone with God till death should take him.

HIS DESCENDANTS.

Tukaram died leaving some issue of his body. At the time when he disappeared from earth, his wife was in an interesting condition. Tukaram had directed her to name the child Bhageban, as he would turn out a great devotee. The good man had left in all two sons and three daughters. All these children bore sacred names, i. e., names of gods and goddesses. The two sons were called Mahadeva and Vithoba, respectively, while the three daughters were severally called Kasi, Bhagirathi and Ganga. All the daughters were married on the same day. The nuptials took place with three boys of his own caste, who were found playing on the public road. On this strange circumstance coming to the notice of the boys' parents the next day, the latter so far from being displeased, expressed great joy at having had alliances made with Tukaram's family. Indeed, the saint was held in high esteem by all from the highest to the lowest. We have already noticed Sivaji's high regard for him on several occasions. This regard was so deep and sincere that it did not cease with his life, but was, after his demise, converted to favour towards his family. It is stated that a few years after Tukaram had left earth for good, the King came to Dehu, and on being informed that his children were not in a well-to-do condition, granted some villages as jagir for their maintenance and support. These villages are still in the possession and enjoyment of his descendants.

TUKARAM'S RELIGION AND POETRY.

It may be remarked at the outset that Tukaram was no philosopher or preacher. He

set himself not to preach any new doctrine or to found any sect or school. On the other hand, he pours ridicule on philosophers and systems. He was a man trying to discern spiritual things, to live the life of the spirit. All his poetry and effort are directed to one end—to realise God, to live in God. And judging by his poetry, we cannot deny that his spiritual intuition was very high, that his efforts to live the life of the spirit were amply rewarded. Though Tukaram is not in spirit a philosopher or preacher of doctrines, his poems show the influence of, and embody, the new Vaishnavite faith that was spreading over the whole of North India during these centuries. He imbibed it even as the kindred spirits of the age did. Tukaram was acquainted with the poetry and utterances of the saints and poets of his own land; and these had liberated the new tendencies of thought, and, above all, made current the new Vaishnavite faith with its burden of Love and Brotherhood.

THE NEW RELIGION.

This new Vaishnavite creed had been propagated in South India by the great reformer Ramanuja. It was the outcome, partly of the severe intellectualism of Sankara's system and partly also of that religion of the heart, which makes itself felt at some stage or other of spiritual culture and which priests and systems are powerless to kill. It travelled to the North India through a number of monks and preachers. The new philosophy may be defined as one which effected a reconciliation of the finite and absolute conceptions of God. God is at once personal and impersonal. He is at once the great and Omnipotent Being and the friend and inhabitant of each soul. God is the fount of energy, the All-Pervading Spirit, the source of Love and Life and the unique end of all men's desires. He ought to be adored in all faith and love. Thus the merciful and protective aspects of the Divine were

emphasised. Religion, it was declared, consisted not in the passionless mergence of the soul in the infinite but a devout and whole-hearted adoration of God.

This philosophy further implied the distinction of god and soul. Though essentially one, god and soul are yet distinct. This doctrine of union-in-separateness is the great feature of this medieval faith. As an English critic of Kabir has said "For the thorough-going Monist, the soul, in so far as it is real, is substantially identical with God; and the true object of existence is the making patent of this latent identity, the realisation which finds expression in the Vedantist formula 'That art thou.' But Kabir says that Brahma and the creature are 'ever distinct yet ever united,' that the wise man knows the spiritual as well as the material world 'to be no more than His footstool.' The soul's union with Him is a Love-union, a mutual inhabitation; that essentially dualistic relation which all mystical religion expresses, not a self-mergence which leaves no place for personality. This eternal distinction, the mysterious union-in-separateness of God and the soul, is a necessary doctrine of all sane mysticism; for no scheme which fails to find a place for it can represent more than a fragment of that soul's intercourse with the spiritual world. Its affirmation was one of the distinctive features of the Vaishnavite reformation preached by Ramanuja." This doctrine was shared not only by Kabir, but also by the other great mystics and poets of this epoch, among whom Tukaram was one. Having its basis in the longings of man's heart, its capacity for devotion, prayer, repentance, this doctrine fell in profoundly with the mysticism and yearning of the medieval Indian mind. The heart of India, long pent up in the darkness and formalism of the Middle Ages, burst forth in streams of prayer, love and ecstasy. Nowhere do we see the workings of these new and

mystic modes of thought, of these new visions of the Absolute, more beautifully expressed than in the poems of Tukaram.

Numerous are the poems of Tukaram, descriptive of the nature of God—His All-Pervading nature, His Omnipotence and Love. Some of these poems are full of the old light reflected from the Sanskrit classics—the Puranas and the Scriptures; while others are more mystical and original in their thought and poetry.

I will extol Kosava, Mukunda, Murari, Rama, Krishna, mighty names that annihilate all sin. O Life at once and Death of the world, who art at once the Dwarf and the Universe of manifold glory; Thou who severest mortal ties, who bearest the disc and the mace. Strong Hero that didst overthrow the demons! O Warrior that weardest the jewelled Crown, O Generous Master, that givest the world to men, O Image of Madana, entrancing the spirit, in whom the cowherds and the damsels delighted. O Kanta, master of dramatic skill, endowed with every perfection, possessed of every attribute, beyond all attributes, who beholdest and knowest all things; Thou who hast created the sun and other lights, yet dost allow no sense of pride to approach Thee, how can I serve this God? What little can I offer Him? Without faith, He cannot be comprehended. Tuka suffers not his soul to quit His feet.

O Vasudeva, Lord of the humble, Lotus-eyed, Glorious Eternity! O Thou who givest happiness to Thy worshippers, there is nothing void of Thee! O Infinite One, Master of the world, most Noble form, Image of Vamana! creator of Brahma, Lord of Vaikunta, inaccessible to the Vedas and Shastras! (O All-Pervading One, Whose arm is everywhere, unfathomable! Eye of the world, God of the World, Ancient Father of Brahma! O Panduranga, servant of Thy worshippers! Thou that dost crush their fears, O Best of Beings! Infinite one that dost fill the minds of all, that dwellest apart from association and solitude! O Lord of the senses, Thy noble form is unknown to Thy simple worshippers; assume Thy embodied shape and set them to adore Thee, says Tuka.

The doctrine of the soul's distinction from God—a cardinal doctrine of the mediæval mystics—often supplies a most beautiful theme to Tukaram.

Cursed be that knowledge which makes me one with thee; I love to have precepts from thee and prohibitions. I am thy servant; thou art my lord; let there be still between us the difference of high and low; let this wonderful truth be established, destroy it not. Water cannot taste itself, nor trees taste their own fruit; the worshipper must be separate, thus alone pleasure arises from distinction. The diamond looks beautiful in its setting; gold when it is fashioned into an ornament; if there were no difference, how could you contrast the one with the other? After heat one enjoys shade; at the sight of her child the milk comes into the mother's breast—what delight there is when they meet each other! Tuka says, This is a great thing gained and so I view it; I am thoroughly resolved to desire liberation no more.

Had I not been a sinner, how could there have been a Saviour? So my name is the source, and hence, O sea of mercy, comes thy purifying power. Iron is the glory of the Parisa, also had it been but an ordinary stone? Tuka says, Through the petitioner's faith comes the honour of the tree of wishes.

If you and I should become one and the same, how then could the service of My Lord exist as a graceful ornament for me to wear? There would be no room for love. If utterance should cease, how could this joy exist? Tuka says, As it is, we dance before thee with fond delight.

We know the secret of thy mind: whence comes the worshipper? Whence comes God? If there is no such thing as the seed, how can it bear fruit in the end? Thou hast played many parts; whence comes merit and whence comes guilt? We were non-existent; it is thou that hast beheld thyself. If within one house, unperceived, a theft took place, there is an end of coming and going elsewhere for the goods stolen. Tuka says, He has taken us by the hand, and thereafter he has made us distinct from himself; in lonely and in crowded places there is a ceremony of comfort between God and his worshippers.

Of the new religion, the Love-aspect appealed most to Tukaram. He figures the nature of the Absolute Love in a number of ways, most stirring and profound. Many are the metaphors he uses to describe this Supreme love—those of friend, of bride and bridegroom, but chiefly that of mother and child.

Who asks a mother to love her child? It is her infant that creates love in her. It is the yearning of her heart that makes her protect him. O, thou that art dark as a cloud, we compare thee to mortal parents, but we see that it adds no grace to thee. The mother guards her child here on earth, but in the next world she is not near him; not so is it with thee. O Infinite One, thou art master of Time! Tuka says, O Narayana, thy compassion is greater than hers.

The yearnings of love are something that comes from the heart; there is nothing like them. A mother will not let her child cry much; when he is fretful, she is not slow to move. When her face breaks into smiles, the child understands it. Tuka, with all his ignorance, possesses this knowledge; he is not like the run of men.

A child may be unkind to his mother, yet still she loves him. She forgets that she is weary; she lifts him on her hip and lays his body against hers. She weeps at his distress; she is ready to give away her life for him. She jumps up when he calls her name, she flings away her life, says Tuka.

And such Love belongs to the very nature of the Absolute:—

If the Ganges went to the sea, and he refused to give her a place, where could she go? Is the water vexed with creatures that live in the water? Does a mother refuse to shelter her children? Tuka says, I have come to seek your protection; why are you silent?

A God, then, who is all love ought to be worshipped in love and faith alone. In a characteristic poem, he tells us :—

I practised neither meditation nor penance, I used no violence to my mind, I laid no restraints on it. Standing where I was, I cried to Thee to rescue me in my strait. I brought and offered Thee no water; by meditation alone I served Thee; what I spent was spent alone. Says Tuka, My generous master accepted it in all sincerity.

What do we know about divorce from the world? We know but the name of Vithoba; among the crowd of his worshippers we dance rejoicing and beat the cymbals. What do I know about peace and mercy and love? except what I find in the name and praises of Govinda. Why should I practise neglect of the body, when I am immersed in the sea of nectar? Why should I serve him alone in the waste, when I have this joy among men? Tuka says, Right well I know; Vithoba goes by my side.

Let us offer the worship which is best, the worship of the heart; then what do we want with outward preparations? God ought to know the heart and he knows it; in the heart of the true worshipper is the truth which He accepts. In the last hour, the spirit shall reap gain or loss according to the seed it has sown. Tuka says, that worship which keeps us in peace secures its end.

Such a worship—a worship of the heart in love and in faith—is accessible to all, the high and the low, the learned and the ignorant. It could know no distinctions of caste or birth. Says Tukaram :

Our Lord knows nothing of high or lowly birth, He stops wherever He sees devotion and faith. He ate the pounded grain that Vidura, the slave's son, offered Him; He protected Prahlada in the demon's house. He worked with Rohidas in tanning hides; He wove scarfs on Kabir's loom. He sold goat's flesh with the butcher Sajana; He mowed the grass in Savata's field. He blew the fire with the goldsmith Narahari; with Chokamela He dragged away dead cows. With Nama's slave Jani, He lifted up cowdung; at Dharma's house He carried the water and swept the floors. He became a charioteer and drove the horses of Arjuna's car; He relished the cakes that Sudama's love presented Him. At the cowherd's house, He tended kine, He kept the door for Bali. For the sake of Mira Bai, He drained the poison cup; He became a Mahar in the service of Damaji. He carried clay for Gora the potter. He paid off the bills of Narsi Mehta. For Pandulika's sake He still stands there (at Pandharpur); blessed, says Tuka, is His story.

The king of generous princes dwells at Pandhari, with uplifted arms he beckons to all. He desires the ignorant more than the learned, it is they that he embraces fondly. He takes away anxious care and bestows love in return; he thinks not of his own gain or loss. Tuka says, We are feeble and helpless; Panduranga watches over us.

There are in Tukaram also great moods of ecstasy, of eager devotion, of profound, tender trust or sometimes of spiritual despair :—

They call you a sea of mercy; then why do you delay, O Panduranga? why have you no pity yet? I cry like

the fawn for its mother, when it is wearied by thirst and hunger in the jungle. Suckle me, O mother, with the milk of love, run towards me with swollen breast. Tuka says, Who but you, O Panduranga, will drive away my pangs?

I turn no more to look behind me; I am thoroughly sick of the world. Come and meet me, O Generous One; I cannot bear the call of death; with Thy support I shall beat peace then, I shall be content with my part in the game of life. My throat, says Tuka, is choked with this earnest desire, how is it this comfort visits me not?

What indecision vexes my soul! Make me Thy own after any sort: be resolved upon this. Other gains seem vile to me; I have learned from experience their good and evil. Let me fall, says Tuka, into a trance unbroken; let me sink into Thy Loving spirit.

My words are not figures of rhetoric; I beseech Thee in accents of true misery. Let no delay intervene in our task; Thou art a self-made image of mercy. I have turned my face towards Thee, says Tuka; I will hug Thy feet when I see them.

I am much afraid of Learning; may it never interfere with me, O Narayana. I will drink the milk of Love, wisely choosing the joy of devotion. There is nothing in the three worlds like it. There are homes for the liberated soul but the peace they give is a poor thing. Tuka says, Grant me this that I said Thou may never pass away; I delight not in that loss of difference whereof I spoke.

I have called on Thee till my throat is parched; my life is ebbing, my patience is gone. Why hast Thou not yet noticed this, O mother's home of the wretched? I look on wealth as though it were a stone, on pleasures as poison. Pardon me my faults, embrace me and give me Thy love. A longing for Thy form lingers in my heart; within and without I never cease to feel it. All I have to help me now is Thy feet, says Tuka.

There is a beautiful legend which tells us how Tukaram once being ill could not go on his usual pilgrimage to Pandharpur for the autumn festivals and, therefore, wrote a number of songs to form a message to the God of Pandharpur and sent them by the hand of the pilgrims entreating them to bring back to him the reply which the God was sure to give. The pilgrims went off carrying the message; and Tukaram, so the legend says, lay waiting on the spot by the roadside where he first met the pilgrims till they returned. This incident narrated by the Marathi biographer, Mahipathi, is probably true: it is in perfect keeping with the profoundly mystical and devotional temperament of Tukaram. The poems themselves which formed the message are extant and are full of deep poetry and pathos. The following are taken from them :—

I will be patient no more, I will send Him a message; if He resents it, He is welcome to do so. If He resents it,

at least He will answer me; in some way or other He will send me the feather back. It matters not to him if He loses one child; I have no other parent's home.

It is not my lot to make a humble prayer, I approach Thy feet with a pressing request. In my love, I have written a bold letter, I cannot fathom Thy Nature, my intelligence is too weak. If I cannot fathom Thy Nature, how can my feebleness describe Thee? Accept my speech such as it is; I glorify Thee in faltering accents. Says Tukaram, I place my head where Thy feet stand on the brick.

Before concluding, we may quote two beautiful poems—anecdotes mystical and charming in their poetry—descriptive of God's love.

Here is a little secret of your love, O Lord of the world I remember the tale and will tell it to you. A deer and two fawns were grazing blithely in the wood, when suddenly there came a hunter with two dogs. He spread his nets on one side, he stationed his dogs on the other he fired the grass on one side and waited himself on the other. The deer were beset on all sides; they began to remember your name. "O Ramkrishna, God of Gods, come at once! who will save us in this strait, but thou, O father, Lord of the world?" You heard their words and your pitiful heart was troubled; you ordered the rain to quench the fire speedily. You roused up a hare and the dogs pursued it; the deer joyfully bounded off, crying "Govinda has saved us!" Thou art thus full of mercy beloved of thy worshippers; they delight heartily in thy praise. O spouse of Rakhumai, says Tuka.

Weak as I am, how can I describe thy greatness? Thou art a mine of mercy, a sea of compassion. Some birds laid their eggs on the field of Kurukshetra; they built their nest in the grass. Suddenly there was a pillar of war raised thereon; the spot was chosen for a battle. The hosts of the Pandavas and the Kauravas came thither to meet in strife. In that hour the birds remembered thee; "Help us," they cried, "O husband of Lakshmi! Elephants, chariots and horses will run about here; the rocks will be crushed to dust. In such a peril how can we be saved? How can we forsake our little ones and flee?" In that hour thy heart was moved with pity. There was a bell on an elephant's neck; it fell upon them when they looked not for it. Eighteen days did the battle rage; neither wind nor heat did them any harm. When the battle was over they were pointed out to Arjuna; thou didst show him the birds, O Narayana! "Lo! I have saved my servants from death Else how could they have lived through the battle!" Such mercy dost thou show to thy worshippers; thou art indeed our mother, says Tuka.

An English critic and admirer of Tukaram has said "To those who have read Tukaram's *Abhangas*, it is useless to speak in praise of Christian Ethics." Tukaram's poems contain, as all religious poetry should, a great deal of ethical and moral teaching.

For Tukaram, it should be remembered, was no mere dreamer or composer of poems; he is above all a practical mystic. He everywhere insists upon individual experience as the true test of

religious life. Poetry itself, he says, is "a thing dry, fruitless and external" unless it is "moist with the moisture from the innermost being."

Mere professions lead to nothing; what we want is a running spring of truth within. As a last resource, a case is decided by fire; we see who can grasp a hot iron without injury. Tuka says, Swerve not from this rule; call that only genuine which is genuine.

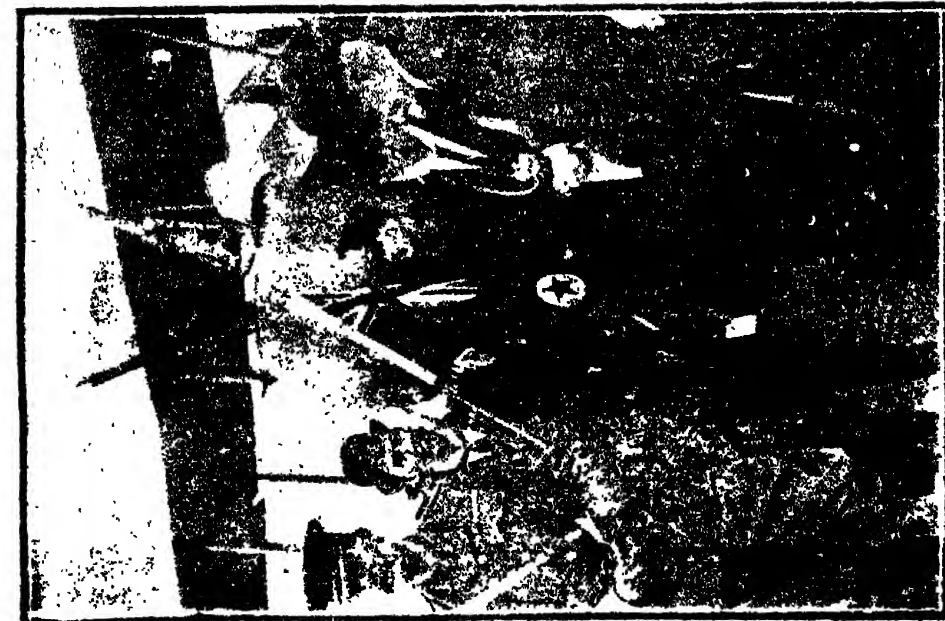
What avails preaching? It is wasted unless our daily walk agree with it. The name of nectar on the lips is a mockery when a man is tortured by hunger.

If you love not Hari, all knowledge is vain, it is futile ostentation; you have merely opened a shop and cheated people to make a living. It is in vain you have studied the Vedas, unless you feel soba of love rise in your heart when you hear God preached. Thus the *Puranas* proclaim, says Tuka, thus spoke the noble spirits of yore.

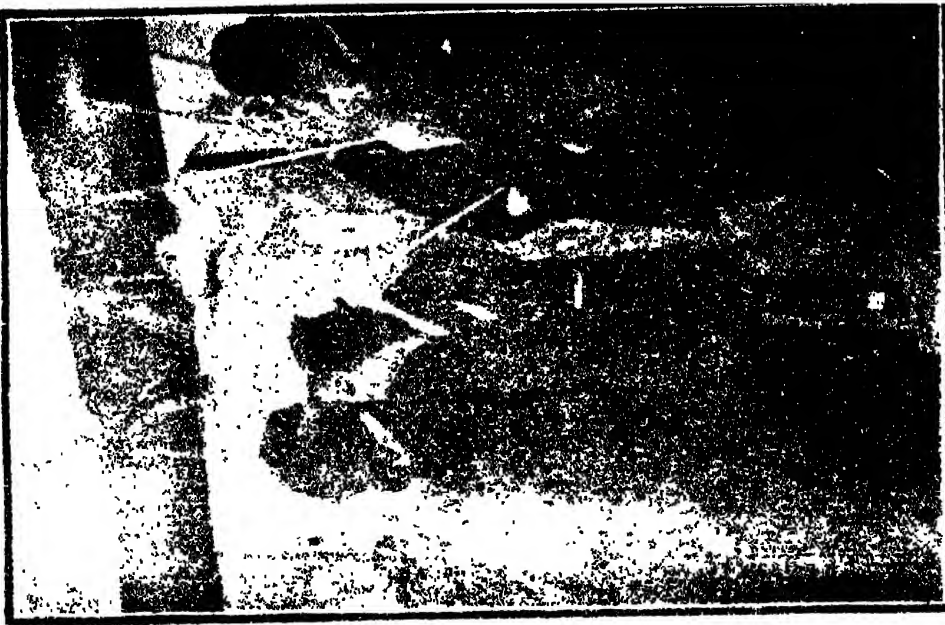
Fire does not summon any one through a determined purpose of its own; if a man is cold, he comes and warms himself. Does water say 'come, drink me up'? A thirsty man runs to quench his thirst. Do clothes say 'come and put us on'? Men wear them of their own accord. Does Tuka's Lord say, Remember Me'? You should remember Him to save yourselves.

You must pass along the road if you mean to reach the spot; it is no use listening to mere tales of it. Listen to me, I humbly entreat you; inactive faith will not carry you forward. A virgin and a matron alike have gained their knowledge from experience; it is not acquired by hearsay. Tuka says, Here is needed one immersed in the subject; when the source is cleared, light will proceed from it.

These poems of Tukaram are highly popular throughout the Deccan. Brahmin and Sudra alike are familiar with them. They are sung by the shepherds tending the flock on the hills as well as by the numerous pilgrims that daily make their journey to Pandharpur or Dehu. The popularity of these poems is well deserved. We find in them glimpses, deep and sustained, of the Divine Presence, intimate and beautiful revelations of Divine Love and Beauty. Everywhere they proclaim the need of man for God's grace, the power of God to bestow it and the peace and happiness which it brings. The simplicity and earnestness of the poetry make their appeal irresistible. Not so intrepid and piercing as Dnyandev, not so learned as Eknath, yet full of a great sincerity and deep poetic intuition and power, Tukaram remains *par excellence* the chief poet of the Vaishnava movement and of Maharashtra.



Lord Desborough on behalf of the City of Leeds present as battleplane to Lord Islington, on behalf of India.




Lord Islington, Under Secretary of State for India, accepting the battleplane on behalf of the Government of India.



SAHIBZADA AI TAB AHMAD KHAN
The New Mahomedan Member of the India Council.

Lord Hardinge and the Mesopotamia Commission

BY MR. S. SATYAMURTI, B.A., B.L.

 HE report of the Mesopotamia Enquiry Commission was issued on the 26th of June. The members of the Commission which was appointed by Act of Parliament in August 1916 were Lord George Hamilton (Chairman), the Earl of Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, M. P., Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lytton, and Commander J. C. Wedgwood, M. P. The report which is signed by all except the last named, deals with every aspect of the operations up to the fall of Kut in April, 1916; and among the matters discussed are the blunder of the original advance to Baghdad, with an insufficiently armed and equipped force, the bad Commissariat, the failure to supply effective reinforcements, the wholly inadequate transport arrangements, and the disgraceful breakdown in the Medical Service, which resulted in much avoidable suffering to both British and Indian wounded. Severe censure is passed on all who were in control of the expedition, and practically every high official who was concerned with it comes in for blame, from the Viceroy downwards. But the heaviest blame falls on Sir John Nixon, Sir Beauchamp Duff, the Commander-in-Chief in India, and Surgeon-General H. G. Hathaway, C. B., the Senior Medical Officer of the force.

There is one aspect of the report which should be dealt with first. As Lord Hardinge put it in the House of Lords :—

The publication of the report in India may create a feeling that the efforts and sacrifices of India have been inadequately appreciated at home. The report scarcely refers to the greatest military effort ever made in the history of India, in the despatch of expeditions to France, Egypt, and East Africa, before the expedition to Mesopotamia was even under contemplation, nor is any account taken of the fact that, owing to the readiness of India to assist by giving with an open hand all she had, in the initial stages of the three expeditions I have already mentioned, her military resources and reserves of equipment and stores of all kinds were already seriously depleted, and in fact, almost exhausted, before even the inception of the idea of a Campaign in Mesopotamia.

And yet the Commission says :—

With the knowledge of the facts which we now possess and the extent and scope of the preparations of the War Office since they undertook the management of the Campaign, it is impossible to refrain from serious censure of the Indian Government for the lack of knowledge and foresight shown in the inadequacy of their preparations and for the lack of readiness to recognise and supply deficiencies. They ought to have known, and with proper touch with

the expedition they could have known, what were its wants and requirements.

Let Lord Hardinge answer, in his own powerful and eloquent words :—

A comparison between the ordinary establishment of the army in India and of the units sent overseas in connection with various expeditions, shows in a striking manner the military effort made by India to assist the Empire.

Of the British establishment in India, seven regiments of British cavalry out of nine were sent overseas; 44 British battalions of infantry out of 52, and 43 batteries of Royal Artillery out of 56; while of the Indian establishment, 20 regiments of Indian cavalry out of 39 and 89 battalions of Indian infantry out of 138 were sent abroad.

In return for these troops, India received, many months after the outbreak of war and the despatch of Indian divisions overseas, 29 Territorial batteries and 31 Territorial battalions, but these were unfit for immediate employment on the frontier or in Mesopotamia until they had been entirely equipped and their training completed. Many of them were sent later to Mesopotamia whether as units or drafts for Regular regiments and all did splendid service. It is, however, a fact that for the space of some weeks before the arrival of the Territorials the British garrison in India was reduced to about 15,000 men. The safety of India was thus imperilled in the interests of the Empire as a whole. In such a cause I was naturally prepared to take risks, and I took them confidently because I trusted the people of India, and I am proud to say they fully justified my confidence in them.

From the moment of the outbreak of war and after, it was the steady policy of the Government of India to give readily to the Home Government of everything it possessed, whether troops or war material. In the summer of 1914 India was absolutely ready for war in the light of what was then accepted as the requisite standard of preparation of her military forces and equipment. The army was at war strength, the magazines were full and the equipment was complete. Thanks to these facts India was able, not merely to send her divisions to France and elsewhere, but also to supply to England within the first few weeks of the war, 70,000,000 rounds of small arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, and more than 550 guns, of the latest pattern and type. In the first week of the war some 530 officers of the army in India, who could all be spared were handed over to the War Office, and nearly 3,000 additional combatant officers have been sent overseas since the war began.

It would be out of place to give here in detail the enormous quantities of material supplied to the Home Government, such as tents, boots, saddlery, clothing, etc., but every effort was made to meet the ever-increasing demands made by the War Office, and it may be stated without exaggeration that India was bled absolutely white during the first few weeks of the war. At that time there was no question of an expedition to Mesopotamia and the Government of India's sole pre-occupation was to make every possible sacrifice in order to secure a successful prosecution of the war in France. Then came a moment, after the commencement of

operations in Mesopotamia, when India's own needs became pressing, and the results of her previous readiness to make sacrifices began to be severely felt.

As mentioned already, the Commissioners find that the short comings in armament and equipment were the natural results of a policy of indiscriminate retrenchment. Here again Lord Hardinge comes to the rescue of India and gives a complete and effective answer.

It is within Your Lordships' remembrance that in 1912 a Committee was appointed in India under the chairmanship of that distinguished soldier, Field-Marshal Lord Nicholson, which carried out a thorough investigation into the organisation and administration of the Army in India and reported in 1913. The Government of India accepted the recommendations of the majority of that Committee, which contemplated the maintenance of seven and one-third divisions of infantry, five cavalry brigades and army troops in a state of readiness to mobilise at the shortest possible notice, and the decision was approved by the Secretary of State. The despatch of any of these infantry divisions and cavalry brigades to Europe or elsewhere overseas was not even contemplated by the Committee; nevertheless, within six months of the outbreak of war, the Government of India had mobilised 10 divisions, instead of seven and one-third, of which no less than seven were sent overseas, and eight brigades of cavalry, instead of five, of which six went to France.

A further opinion was given that the military budget should not exceed £19½ millions which was to be regarded as a maximum figure. As a matter of fact, of the last 13 military budgets, in only two cases has the maximum figure of 19½ millions not been exceeded, while of the five budgets for which I and my Government could be held responsible, every one exceeded the maximum fixed by Lord Nicholson's Committee the last budget showing a considerable increase to more than 22 millions. It must be remembered that the net revenue of India varied during that period between 48 and 58 millions except in one year, when it reached 60 millions, so that the proportion for military expenditure is high.

These figures show the attitude of the Government of India towards military expenditure, but it seems hardly necessary for me to labour the point, since in spite of allegations of undue economy in military administration, the Commission state in their report (page 107) that they have no evidence to show that any urgent demand put forward by the military authorities was definitely refused by the Finance Department of the Government of India. This is confirmed by General Duff's evidence before the Commission.

A further impression created by the report is pointed out by Lord Hardinge. The Commissioners seem to have thought that the Mesopotamian Campaign was the sole pre-occupation of the Government of India. In a report of 132 closely printed pages, the situation on the frontier and in the interior is dealt with in eight lines, and yet this situation had a very close relation to the military resources of India and at times was one of anxiety and danger. Although during the previous three years there had been no operations of any importance on the North-West

Frontier, still between the 29th November 1914 and the 5th September 1915, no less than seven serious attacks were made, all of which were effectively dealt with. And such severe defeats were inflicted on them, that, it may be said that, during the most critical period of the war, India successfully carried out the greatest military operations on the frontier, since the Frontier Campaign of 1897. At the same time the internal situation in India gave cause for anxiety and for great vigilance on the part of both the civil and military authorities. In Lord Hardinge's words: "In addition to the Mesopotamian Campaign, the Government of India had heavy pre-occupations at home, although the loyalty of the people as a whole was the greatest safe-guard against the success of any such (internal) outbreaks."

It is with regard to the advance from Kut to Baghdad that the Commission devote a not inconsiderable portion of their report. As the Commissioners themselves find, "From quite early in the history of the expedition, the possibility of an ultimate advance on Baghdad was in the minds of the authorities in India, Mesopotamia, and England." Sir John Nixon had taken with him to Mesopotamia orders by the Commander-in-Chief in India to submit a plan for an advance on Baghdad. This plan was forwarded to Simla on the 30th August 1915, but it was not communicated to the Viceroy or the Secretary of State. On the 3rd October, General Nixon wired to the Secretary of State "I consider I am strong enough to open road to Baghdad." The Home Government were not prepared at the moment to sanction the adventure. But on the 4th October, the very day on which Mr. Chamberlain had telegraphed to stop General Nixon, the Cabinet met, and resolved on the advance on Baghdad, largely influenced thereto, by political considerations. Mr. Chamberlain wired to General Nixon on the 8th October, asking what additional forces would be necessary to occupy and hold Baghdad. General Nixon replied that he did not want any additional forces to occupy Baghdad, but required an additional division and one cavalry regiment to enable him to permanently occupy Baghdad.

The views of the Government of India upon this proposed advance on Baghdad were that, unless an Indian division was despatched from France, an advance on Baghdad could not be carried out, and that, consequently, no advance in strength should be made beyond Kut. These

views were communicated to the Secretary of State on the 6th October. On the same date, Lord Hardinge sent a private telegram to the Secretary of State, in which he said, "These (referring to the effects of the capture of Baghdad) are considerations to which I attach great importance, but I put them forward to be weighed by you and His Majesty's Government; for I fully realise that it is for His Majesty's Government to decide where and how our forces can be used with the best possible effect."

Lord Hardinge was, therefore, telling the bare truth, when he said :

Your Lordships will thus perceive that, although the Government of India were fully alive to the political and military advantages to be obtained from the capture of Baghdad we were absolutely opposed to an advance without the reinforcement of General Nixon by an additional division, and we made it clear that even those advantages and the condition upon which the advance was to depend were to be subordinated to military needs elsewhere. I, therefore, consider that I am justified in stating that, had the later telegrams from the Secretary of State of the 18th October to General Nixon and myself not been despatched, the expeditionary forces would have remained at Kut-el-Amara.

The Commission refer to Lord Hardinge's telegram of the 9th October in which the Viceroy expressed his pleasure at the Cabinet's decision and his concurrence of Nixon's estimate of reinforcements required, and added that these should reach Baghdad not later than one month after the capture of the city. Lord Hardinge could not have easily done otherwise. For,

under the circumstances of the moment, the Government of India would have placed themselves in an invidious position, and would have exposed themselves to the criticism of having ignored the demands of the Empire, if at a critical moment they had overridden the opinion of the general in command in the field, and had vetoed the advance on Baghdad. It would have been a case of civilian interference with military plans.

Meanwhile, the Government in England referred the question of the advance on Baghdad to the general staff at the War Office, to the joint naval and military staffs, and to a special Committee. All those authorities agreed that the capture of Baghdad by Sir John Nixon's existing forces presented no difficulties. And on the 23rd October, Mr. Chamberlain authorised the advance on Baghdad in the following terms. "If Nixon is satisfied that the force he has available is sufficient for the operation, he may march on Baghdad." Thus it is clear that the Commissioners were wrong in attributing any share of the responsibility for the advance on Baghdad to Lord Hardinge.

With regard to the medical arrangements, the Commissioners say that Lord Hardinge

showed throughout the utmost good will, but considering the paramount authority of his office, his action was not sufficiently strenuous and peremptory. Lord Hardinge freely admits that there were serious shortcomings in the provision made by the medical services and says that his sympathy with the sufferers and their relations is deeper than any words of his can express. But he very pertinently points out that the heavy demands made upon India for the provision of ambulances and hospitals and their personnel in England, France, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and East Africa, soon exhausted an organisation which had never been intended or prepared for operations out of India.

As regards the Viceroy's responsibility in the matter, here is his answer :

The Viceroy is theoretically responsible for everything that happens in India and outside India where Indian interests are affected, but he has to trust to his Lieutenants and advisers for information and guidance. I have no desire to shirk any responsibility that is my due, but it is not easy to know what further strenuous and peremptory action I could have taken without exposing myself to the charge of excessive civilian interference in military matters. Private rumour said things were going badly, official report said things were going well. It was my first duty to ascertain the truth. But even before the despatch of the Vincent-Bingley mission, I took every possible measure to improve the medical situation. It may be difficult for people in England to realise the inherent difficulties in the personal supervision by the Viceroy of medical arrangement on a river 3,000 miles away in the midst of his other heavy labours of governing a country bigger than Europe and with more than 300,000,000 inhabitants.

As regards the question of the Viceroy's executive council whose functions were, in the opinion of the Commission, to a certain extent abrogated by the fact that many questions relating to the prosecution of the campaign were decided by the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief without reference to them, it has to be remembered that according to Sec. 2 of paragraph 39, of the Government of India Act, the Governor-General and one Member of Council may exercise all the functions of the Governor-General in Council. Consequently, in questions affecting the army and in purely military matters, there was nothing unconstitutional in the procedure followed. The same system was followed in dealing with matters belonging to other Government departments. But it must be stated, in fairness to Lord Hardinge, that he re-established Council Government in India and that his Council met regularly.

On the subject of private letters and telegrams between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, which the Commission criticise, this is Lord Hardinge's answer :

I inherited and carried on with three successive Secretaries of State a system which I found established, and which I saw no reason to change as I found it both convenient and expeditious. The system has grown up ever since the electric telegraph reached India. Lord Northbrook left India in 1876, but his biographer comments on Lord Salisbury's disregard for precedent and his preference for settling questions of policy by means of private communications with the Viceroy. I am told that the same charges were brought against Lord Wolverhampton and Lord Elgin in regard to the Chitral Expedition, but I am unable to vouch for this. Copies of private telegrams and extracts of private letters on political or administrative matters were always issued to the Departments concerned, and I never heard any complaint of the system in force. In fact I was often asked by members of Council and Government Departments to send private telegrams, to the Secretary of State.

Commander Wedgwood has appended a Minority Report in which he holds Lord Hardinge and Sir Beauchamp Duff alone responsible for all the defects and failures in the expedition. It is perhaps enough to mention, as an answer to his preposterous charge, that his colleagues on the Commission felt themselves bound to go out of their way, and criticise Commander Wedgwood's conclusion by saying, "We do not think that the evidence before us justifies attaching to Lord Hardinge and Sir Beauchamp Duff alone the blame for the mistakes and shortcomings connected with the Mesopotamia expedition."

And Commander Wedgwood's conclusion about Lord Hardinge is subject to this further infirmity, as pointed out by Lord Hardinge himself :

I must, however, call Your Lordships' attention to the paragraph of section 11 on p 123 of the Minority Report. It is there stated :—

"Although I had the advantage of being able to cross-examine Sir Beauchamp Duff and the other Anglo-Indian officials that came before the Commission, I was unable to be present when Lord Hardinge himself came under examination. My colleagues examined him on none of the passages which I extract. He may be able to give satisfactory explanations for all of them ; he may deny the implication I give to them in every case." Commander Wedgwood must have known that I am to be found every day at the Foreign Office, not a quarter of a mile from where the Commission was sitting ; that I would always be willing, in fact, that it would be my duty, to appear before the Commission to answer any questions that might be put to me, and yet he never made the slightest attempt to invite me to come before the Commission, on an occasion when he would be present, to answer the serious accusations he has been fit to make against me, nor even to put question on paper which I might have had the opportunity of answering. In so far as the report of Commander Wedgwood is concerned, I am condemned without having been heard. (Cheers.) I leave Your Lordships to draw your own conclusions.

On the general conclusions of the Commission, Lord Hardinge's eloquent peroration in the House of Lords is a complete vindication of the part

he played in the Mesopotamian expedition and deserves respectful reading by every Indian.

I must confess it has been painful for me to have to meet after 37 years of honourable service under the Crown. But I recognise that the fact of being a member of Your Lordships' House has given me an opportunity of meeting them which might not have been open to another public servant similarly attacked. I trust that you will agree that some weight attaches to the explanations I have laid before you regarding the charges in the Majority Report. In so far as the personal imputations in the Minority Report are concerned, I believe my past record of service to be the best and only reply. During this service it has been my privilege to hold two of the highest offices in the State. My tenure of the Viceroyalty I prolonged at the request of His Majesty's Government purely from a sense of public duty, in spite of my own personal inclinations. It was throughout my constant endeavour to do my duty with single purpose during a period of exceptional strain and in the face of abnormal difficulties.

I may have failed in my endeavour, but such a verdict should only be given in the light of India's military effort taken as a whole and of the internal situation in that vast Empire, and it should be endorsed, not only by my fellow-countrymen here but my fellow-subjects in India, to whose continued confidence and good opinion I attach the highest value. It is in the light of this wider outlook that my administration should be judged.

India has been watching closely the progress of this enquiry, for it concerned one of her most popular Viceroys : India cannot understand why so much fuss should be made about a campaign which, judged by its results, has been one of the most successful in the war, for, as the Commissioners themselves find :

Expect for a few months during which there were serious setbacks the success of the campaign as a whole has been remarkable.

Up to the date of the advance on Baghdad continuous victory had been achieved. During the last few months the force has resumed its career of victory. We are of opinion—reviewing the operations as a whole—that it may now be truly asserted that, in the many parts of the world in which the Allied forces have been engaged, no more substantial results or more solid victories have been achieved than those won by the gallantry of the British and Indian armies on the stricken plains of Mesopotamia.

So far as Lord Hardinge is concerned, Indians keenly resent the attacks made on him and his administration of India. So many of the critics who were foremost in clamouring for Lord Hardinge's head were either those who are constantly imploring us to trust the soldiers, which is exactly what he did, with most unfortunate results, or those who wish to take their revenge on him for his excessive sympathy towards Indian aspirations. It is a tribute to the common-sense of England that such critics have not triumphed and that the Empire is not to be deprived of the services of a statesman who

has rendered more signal service to it than perhaps any other living statesman.

Lord Hardinge's reference to the good opinion of India has found a warm echo in Indian hearts, as will be apparent from the numerous telegrams from influential and representative associations, expressing unabated confidence in Lord Hardinge, and demanding a potent voice in any judgment which may be passed on his administration, which have been sent to the Premier. All India is grateful to Mr. Balfour for his spirited defence of Lord Hardinge. He said that he was perfectly certain that Lord Hardinge would be completely cleared, if he were tried by an impartial tribunal under the ordinary rules of evidence. India has so tried and honourably acquitted Lord Hardinge. India endorses every word of Mr. Balfour's when he says, "It would be scandalous to make Lord Hardinge the scapegoat. It makes my blood boil to think that he should be sacrificed, while we go free." The Mesopotamia Commission report notwithstanding, India will continue to regard Lord Hardinge as the greatest Viceroy, India has had since Lord Ripon.

But out of evil cometh good. As a result of all this it is possible that the defects of the Indian bureaucracy may be recognised in Great Britain, as they have all along been recognised in India and that such knowledge may lead to the conferring of a large measure of Self Government on India.

Commander Wedgwood says in his Minority Report :

In one of the papers put before us by the Indian Government, in order to justify the contrast between the attitude of India and the attitude of the self-governing Dominions, they write : "The self-governing Dominions deny to India the free privileges of citizenship. India, again, though not of her own volition, is practically a free market for the trade of the Empire, whereas the Colonies impose upon her trade . . . a heavy handicap in the shape of protective tariffs: and are at liberty, as it would be urged, to equip themselves for an increased outlay on Imperial defence by means from which India is debarred."

My last recommendation is that we should no longer deny to Indians "the full privileges of citizenship," but should allow them a large share in the government of their own country and in the control of that bureaucracy which in this war, uncontrolled by public opinion, has failed to rise to British standards. Lord Kitchener said that it would be better to lose India than the war. It would certainly be better to lose India than to lose that for which we are fighting the war—the glorious traditions of a people in liberty.

The evidence before the Commission exposed mercilessly the defects of the Indian bureaucracy. Referring to the way in which the expedition was managed the *Globe* says.

We do not know which is the more astonishing exposure, of the incapacity of the typical bureaucrat to

grasp anything whatever outside the sphere of his official traditions or to realise that there may occasionally arise something in the world which is of more importance than their preservation unimpaired. We are tempted by this report to say that of all the forms of government under which men have ever lived, that of an uncontrolled bureaucracy must be the very worst.

When Major Carter, shocked by the horrible conditions under which the wounded were being brought down from the front tried to bring the facts to the notice, he was called "a meddling, interfering faddist," and was so obnoxious to these little twin gods on wheels that it is said those who depended on their favour hardly dared to be seen speaking to him. That is the bureaucrat all over. It is a sin to doubt his omniscience, and blasphemy to correct his mistakes. Arrogant incompetence is the badge of his tribe, and if the Mesopotamia Report does not stir the people of Britain to a firm resolve to keep him under strict and vigilant control they will richly deserve to perish beneath his blighting rule.

The remedy for all this is well pointed out by Mr. H. E. A. Cotton in the following words, which will find an echo in every Indian heart:—

Surely anything would be better than a continuance of the most perfect system of administration which the world has ever seen," but which, nevertheless, has emerged from this latest ordeal as a sorry wreck. In every sense of the word it has been proved to be top-heavy, hidebound by precedent and theory, detached from practical conditions, mechanical and doctrinaire, impatient of advice and control, absorbed in the contemplation of its own infallibility. Is it not time, and more than time, that an end was made of it all, and that India should be given the opportunity to work out its own salvation which has been given to Ireland, and even to Greece?

The feeling of India, about the report and its sequel is that all's well that ends well. For the report is sure to, bring the day nearer when India shall have Self-Government. Meantime the only regret of India will be that the fair name of her beloved Viceroy Lord Hardinge should have been attempted to be besmirched by ill-informed critics.

IN MORNING

BY MR. BALINDRALAL DAS, B.Sc.

The light that wakes in glimmering dawn,
Over the hill-tops blue with night;
I salute the immaculate light,
And all the world there yet unborn!

The ruddy sun, a spider, spreads—
His webs of light in sky immense;
And weaving, has bewitched my sense,
With brilliant-coloured dancing threads!

Yet how long will my fancy weave,
Webs in dream-land of my life:—
A gilded screen across the strife,
Of death with all the boast to live!

How long with the songs of love,
Drown the silence of the sky,
—Till with piercing anguish-cry
Of Death, the world will cease to move;

'SHANTINIKETAN'

BY MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

HIS valuable work gives us an excellent account of the educational *Ashram* started at Bolpur by our great poet-saint Sir Rabindranath Tagore, and contains also a translation of a beautiful idyll about the Ashramas of old by Satis Chandra Roy, a poet and teacher of great gifts who died at Bolpur in his twentieth year. Tagore's introduction to the book is full of noble and uplifting thoughts. Tagore's clear vision as to the great race-ideas of our people and as to the supreme need of fruitful lines of work in modern India is quite apparent in his valuable foreword. He says: "The truth became clear to me that India had cut her path and broadened it for ages, the path that leads to a life reaching beyond death, rising high above the idealisation of political selfishness and the insatiable lust for accumulation of materials. . . . I determined to do what I could to bring to the surface, for our daily use and purification, the stream of ideals that originated in the summit of our past, flowing underground in the depth of India's soil,—the ideals of simplicity of life, charity, of spiritual vision, purity of heart, harmony with the universe and consciousness of the infinite personality in all creation." He says again: "I seemed choked for breath in the hideous nightmare of the present time, meaningless in its petty ambitions of poverty, and felt in me the struggle of my Motherland for awakening in spiritual emancipation. Our endeavours after political agitation seemed to me unreal to the core and pitifully feeble in their utter helplessness. I felt that it is a blessing of Providence that begging should be an unprofitable profession and that only to him who hath shall be given. I said to myself that we must seek for our own inheritance and with it buy our true place in the world." Tagore has realised and shown in his practical work that educational reformation and uplift are at the base of all our efforts for the achievement of national regeneration and that the education given should be in harmony with the methods and ideals of India's memorable past while it is brought into line with all our modern needs. His foreword contains also a touching tribute to the genius of Satis Chandra Roy.

Mr. Pearson's sketch of the daily life in the Bolpur school is informing and illuminating and though it does not give us a full insight into the forces of the time that have fructified into that

school, it shows us vividly wherein lies its fascination and its regenerative power. The first aspect that deserves prominent mention is the high and noble conception of the scope and ideal of education that is understood and practised there. Mr. Pearson says: "Education assists, not in giving information which the boys will forget as soon as they conveniently can without danger of failing in their examinations, but in allowing the boys to develop their own characters in the way which is natural to them." His indictment of the system of examinations is as just as it is severe. He says: "The younger the boys are the more original they show themselves to be. It is only when the shadow of a university examination begins to loom over them that they lose their natural freshness and originality, and become candidates for matriculation. When the small boys take up an idea and try to put it into practice, there is always a freshness about it which is spontaneous and full of the joy of real creation." The second aspect that deserves our attention is the idea that the spread of education and the bringing of higher influences into human lives are of infinitely greater importance than following the fad of efficient and expensive equipment which is now raised to the rank of a fetish and which, in its conjoint action with our loveless and soulless system of instruction, has been an enemy of light and love and progress in our beloved Motherland. Mr. Pearson says: "The emphasis on efficient and expensive equipment which is a characteristic feature of institutions of learning in the West has never been accepted in India, where simplicity of living is regarded as one of the most important factors in true education." We must also remember always the truly democratic spirit and the constant encouragement of self-help, self-confidence, and self-respect that are such noteworthy features of this noble educational institution. It is not possible to describe in this brief sketch the daily routine of the school life at Bolpur, but I must not omit to mention the fact that the classes are held in the open air, the fact that there are only annual examinations, the fact that there are frequent excursions arranged by teachers and pupils, the fact that the Bengali is the medium of instruction while English is taught as a second language, the fact that the boys are allowed to punish all transgressions by holding a juvenile court, and the general atmosphere of trust and happiness that makes education a love-bringer and a joy-bringer as well as a light-

* *Shantiniketan*. By W. W. Pearson. Tagore's "The Cycle of Spring." (Published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., London.)

bringer to the mind. Two facts that deserve a more than passing mention are the prominence given to music and the general spiritual atmosphere at Bolpur. The boys are awakened each morning by boys choristers singing the supremely beautiful devotional songs by Tagore, and go to sleep each night after the band of boy-singers go round singing his songs. Mr. Pearson says: "I say religious atmosphere because there is no definite dogmatic teaching, and for the development of the spiritual side of 'the boys' natures the ideal has always been to leave that to the natural instinct of each individual boy. In this considerable help is expected from the personal influence of the teachers, and from the silent but constant influence of close touch with nature herself, which in India is the most wonderful teacher of spiritual truth."

The beautiful idyll that follows this description of the Bolpur school by Mr. Pearson is a translation of Satis Chandra Roy's *The Gift To the Gurne*. This idyll narrates the well known story of Utanka and makes that an occasion for reconstructing imaginatively the *Ashram* life of India's great past. I shall quote here only Utanka's words to his *guru*. Would that it were possible for each of us to say the same when leaving our educational institutions!: "To-day my time of discipline is finished. I have by your love gained strength. *My body has become strong and my mind bright and happy*. I have seen the glory of the sun and the moon and have felt a Power in the glowing fire. I have tasted the joys of the six seasons of the year. The peace and tranquillity of the forests have taken up their abode in me and the fresh living spirit of the birds and beasts, of the trees and creepers, has entered my heart. I have come to understand that the food which we eat and the wood of the trees which we burn in the fire are to be deemed sacred because they do us good. Air, water, sky, and light are sacred also, and all are filled with Divine sweetness and goodness."

The book concludes with two exquisite discourses by Tagore on *Paradise* and on *Parting*. Let us always treasure up in our hearts the exquisite wisdom contained in these words of Tagore's: "One thing is truly needed to be a Teacher of children,—it is to be like children; to forget that you are wise or have come to the end of knowledge. . . . This is the only advice I can offer you on this occasion,—to cultivate the spirit of the eternal child if you must take up the task of training the children of Man."

There is a peculiar appositeness in taking up Tagore's *The Cycle of Spring* along with *Shantiniketan*

as it is dedicated "To my boys of the *Shantiniketan* who have freed the fountain of youth hidden in the heart of this old poet." The story of the play is as follows: A king is in great distress of mind on finding that age, the enemy whose forces can never be defeated, has invaded him. He asks Sruthibhoosan, a holy man, to help him in his path of renunciation. The duties of the State are left uncared for, and a terrible famine sweeps over the land. Then comes the poet who brings music into the land and work and zest in life. He does so by his drama of *Phalguni*, consisting of four scenes:—Outburst, Search, Doubt, and Discovery. The first scene depicts a band of youths seeking adventure. Then enters their leader, Immortal youth, and they agree to bring the Old Man, Winter captive for their spring festival. Then they set forth to find the Old Man. They question the Ferryman and the Watchman about him but only learn that he is always to be seen only from behind and never in front. In scene III we see them sitting tired and with wavering faith in their leader who had disappeared from their sight. Then Chandra brings a blind minstrel who can see with his soul and who shows the cave of the Old Man. Then Chandra goes into the cave and comes out and says that the Captive will follow soon. To the astonishment of all the youths, their leader himself comes out of the cave and the Old Man is nowhere. Tagore himself acted as the poet and as the blind beggar in the performance of the play. The central idea of the play is the immortality of the soul and of the eternal verities shining through the shows of life and death. It brings to our minds the story in Tennyson's *Gareth and Lynette* where it is narrated that when Sir Gareth clove the dismal-looking helmet of the Knight of Death he saw that

" Over from this
Issued the bright face of a blooming boy
Fresh as a flower new born."

Let us all lay to our hearts the golden lesson contained in the closing song in this wonderful play:

"Come and rejoice! for April is awake,
Eling yourselves into the flood of being,
bursting the bondage of the past.

April is awake.

Life's shoreless sea is heaving in the sun before
you

All the losses are lost and death is drowned in
its waves,

Plunge into the deep without fear, with the
gladness of April in your heart."

American Help for Indian Students

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.

AN Indian student planning to enter a college in America has many questions to ask. He wants to know: What university shall I choose for my education? How many years will it take me to get my degree? Where shall I find suitable accommodation? These and many other questions, which confront a prospective student, are cheerfully answered by the Hindusthan Association of America.

The Association is a voluntary organization with branches at most of the leading centres of education in America. The President of the Society, who has an intimate knowledge of the conditions of life in different parts of the Republic, conducts an unofficial bureau of information. He, with the assistance of other officers, makes it his business to collect data from various colleges and universities concerning their educational facilities. And when a student applies for advice or information, the President helps him the best he knows how.

A notable instance of the desire of the Association to render efficient service to Indian students is seen in the founding of a Loan Fund. Since the resources of a student may sometimes run short towards the end of the college year, or his allowances may fail to reach him from home in time, the society tries to tide him over a hard period by a little advance of money. For lack of proper financial support this phase of the work, however, is not so well developed as it might be.

No one need imagine from this that the Hindusthan Association is a charitable organization engaged in giving away money to needy people. It has no money to give, although it has some to loan. The Association is only prepared to furnish gratis all the information that *bonafide* students in India may desire. The cost of living is now so high in the United States that no one should think of coming here without a steady allowance from home of, at least, a hundred rupees a month. The days when a student could earn his way through college are gone. Under the new Immigration Laws, no student from India will be allowed to land in America who has not a visible source of income from Hindusthan.

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that the Association is most emphatically an educational, not a political, organization whatsoever. From my personal knowledge of the workings of the Association as its first Ex-President, I can affirm with utmost certainty that the ends and objects of the leaders of the movement are simply and

solely to look after the interests of the Indian students, and that the Hindusthan Association with its score or more of branches is strictly a non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-political body.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Association was the International Hindusthanee Students' convention held under the auspices of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915. The convention, which had a three-day session, met right in the famous Festival Hall of the Exposition. It is also a matter of patriotic pride to note that the Hindusthan Association was instrumental in securing an Indian booth in the Palace of Varied Industries on the Exposition grounds. Here were exhibited works of high class Indian arts and industries. Never before in the history of international expositions had Hindusthan taken such an independent part among the nations of the world. To be sure, India had some share in the World's Fairs at Paris and at St. Louis; but on those occasions India was not represented by the Indians and for the Indians. India was made to appear as a tail to somebody else's dog. In the Panama-Pacific Exposition India appeared on her own account. And as a fitting recognition of the rôle played in this great festival of nations, the Hindusthan Association was presented by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition with a commemorative bronze medal. Indians in America can now lift their heads high in pride and greet the world as men.

Such, in brief, are some of the activities of the Hindusthan Association. It is now peculiarly fortunate in having Doctor Rafiddin Ahmed as its President. Doctor Ahmed, who is employed in the responsible position of a dentist in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary of Boston, is a tireless worker for the welfare of Indians in America. He places the services of the Association unreservedly at the disposal of those who may need them. They are yours for the mere asking. "The Hindusthan Association," said President Ahmed to me the other day, "is simply another phase of the cosmopolitan instinct of the Indian students. They look upon the whole world as a granary of knowledge to be ransacked in order to usher in the India of to-morrow. To accomplish this we need the active help of our people at home. Send out students, more students, and yet more students; there is room for them all in American universities."

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It may be mentioned in parenthesis that the Association is most emphatically an educational, not a political, organization whatsoever. From my personal knowledge of the workings of the Association as its first Ex-President, I can affirm with utmost certainty that the ends and objects of the leaders of the movement are simply and

solely to look after the interests of the Indian students, and that the Hindusthan Association with its score or more of branches is strictly a non-sectarian, non-partisan, and non-political body.

Perhaps the greatest single achievement of the Association was the International Hindusthanee Students' convention held under the auspices of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, 1915. The convention, which had a three-day session, met right in the famous Festival Hall of the Exposition. It is also a matter of patriotic pride to note that the Hindusthan Association was instrumental in securing an Indian booth in the Palace of Varied Industries on the Exposition grounds. Here were exhibited works of high class Indian arts and industries. Never before in the history of international expositions had Hindusthan taken such an independent part among the nations of the world. To be sure, India had some share in the World's Fairs at Paris and at St. Louis; but on those occasions India was not represented by the Indians and for the Indians. India was made to appear as a tail to somebody else's dog. In the Panama-Pacific Exposition India appeared on her own account. And as a fitting recognition of the rôle played in this great festival of nations, the Hindusthan Association was presented by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition with a commemorative bronze medal. Indians in America can now lift their heads high in pride and greet the world as men.

Such, in brief, are some of the activities of the Hindusthan Association. It is now peculiarly fortunate in having Doctor Rafiddin Ahmed as its President. Doctor Ahmed, who is employed in the responsible position of a dentist in the Forsyth Dental Infirmary of Boston, is a tireless worker for the welfare of Indians in America. He places the services of the Association unreservedly at the disposal of those who may need them. They are yours for the mere asking. "The Hindusthan Association," said President Ahmed to me the other day, "is simply another phase of the cosmopolitan instinct of the Indian students. They look upon the whole world as a granary of knowledge to be ransacked in order to usher in the India of to-morrow. To accomplish this we need the active help of our people at home. Send out students, more students, and yet more students; there is room for them all in American universities."

A Manifesto Against Passive Resistance*

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[Mr. N. Subba Rao, *Joint General Secretary to the Indian National Congress*, the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Hon. Mr. B. Venkatapathi Razu, the Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao, Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao, C.I.E., Hon. Mr. P. Siva Rao, and Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer have issued the following manifesto: Since the publication of this manifesto the Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Hon. Pundit Motilal Nehru, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, and the Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani have expressed their opinion that it is undesirable to adopt Passive Resistance in view of the existing circumstances and of Mr. Montagu's visit to India. Ed. I.R.]

The announcement that the Secretary of State will soon visit India to conduct an enquiry into its political and other conditions is of the greatest significance. That he is Mr. E. S. Montagu adds an element of hope. If the people of the country had a voice in the matter, they would prefer a different agency and a different mode of enquiry. But, they cannot yet order things as they like and must make the most of the situation.

It is essential, if the enquiry is to yield the best results, that it must be conducted in a political atmosphere as calm as may be possible in the circumstances of the time. Men's minds must not be distracted by strong political excitement or smarting under a sense of wrong.

The first condition of the success of Mr. Montagu's mission is the release of Mrs. Besant and other persons who are interned for political activities. The Irish precedent of giving freedom to all political prisoners, including Sinn Feiners as a necessary preliminary to the Convention of all parties may be followed by the Government of India without fear of loss of prestige. The necessity of this step must be pressed on the Government from all influential quarters. Individuals and associations must early make their views known to the authorities. Public meetings may even adopt resolutions in this behalf and forward thereto the Secretary of State as well as to the Government of India and of Madras.

On the side of the people there is a corresponding obligation. They must cease to advocate the withdrawal of their representatives from honorary

*The Special Madras Provincial Conference which met on the 25th Aug. passed the following Resolution: "That in the opinion of this Conference it is advisable to adopt the policy of Passive Resistance in so far as it involves opposition to all unjust and unconstitutional orders against the carrying on of constitutional agitation, and also against the prohibiting of public meetings peacefully and constitutionally conducted to protest against the unjust and unconstitutional orders of internment and against the repressive policy of Government."

The question of Passive Resistance was also taken up, at the meeting of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee, Allahabad, on the 27th instant. There was a very lively discussion on it, but eventually the proposition moving for the adoption of the policy of Passive Resistance was withdrawn in view of the existing circumstances and Mr. Montagu's proposed visit to India to consider the claim of Indians for a system of more responsible government.

association with Government and other forms of political boycott. Also the proposal to start passive resistance in any form must be laid aside for the time being. Perhaps the idea of a small preliminary deputation to England during this year will likewise have to be abandoned. When the All-India Congress Committee meet in October next along with the Committee of the All-India Muslim League, their principal business will be to consider how best the aspiration of the people may be made known to the authorities, who should be their spokesmen at the enquiry and other similar arrangements to the enquiry. It would be a misfortune if Government did not cease the political tension by the release of political prisoners. Anyhow the leaders of the people should be able to say at the end that for their part they did nothing to prejudice the enquiry. For this reason, if for no other, the idea of passive resistance, we repeat, must be dropped.

Some people, however, may not be convinced of the propriety of this course till the general question of passive resistance is examined with a view to the other circumstances of the present situation.

Passive resistance is constitutional. Modern history affords a classical instance in the refusal of Dr. Clifford and his Non-Conformist followers to pay education rates when the present Education Act was passed in 1902. The Indian National Congress has, time after time, commended the passive resistance movement of our countrymen in South Africa. The countenance of the Government of India may be inferred not only from the well known attitude of Lord Hardinge, but from the award of a Kaiser-i-Hind Medal to Mr. Gandhi and his appointment to the Commission of Enquiry at Champaran soon after he had offered passive resistance to an order of the District Magistrate of the place.

Sticklers for legal propriety stumble at the word "law-abiding" which occurs in a Congress Resolution of last year by which the duty of carrying on educative propaganda is cast on political associations which seek to attain Self-Government for India by "law-abiding" and constitutional means." The word does not occur in the first article of the Congress Constitution, and it would be legal pedantry to rule out passive

resistance, if it was otherwise deemed expedient and necessary, on the ground that a mere resolution of the Congress contained the word "law-abiding."

To say that passive resistance is constitutional is not to say that it is wise or right at this juncture, even apart from the dominating feature of the situation, namely, the coming enquiry under the auspices of the Secretary of State.

Its conduct requires great prudence on the part of leaders and great self-restraint on the part of the followers. When considerable numbers are engaged in it, a designing policeman may easily provoke eager youths into crossing the line that divides passive from active resistance. Whether it succeeds or not in embarrassing the administration and making tyranny ashamed of itself, it will certainly result in great suffering to the resisters and their families. It is the sharpest weapon at our disposal and its use, therefore, can only be justified by overpowering necessity.

By the side of the sufferings depicted in English constitutional struggles or in the modern history of Russia and the great miseries that our countrymen in South Africa had suffered before adopting passive resistance, what we have had to bear in India, painful as it is, must be considered slight.

There has hardly been time for a long story of suffering. The Congress-League Scheme is not fully eight months old. The internments which have caused such widespread indignation in India, took place only two months and a few days ago.

Other means not so strong as passive resistance still remain to be tried. Debates in Indian and Provincial Legislative Councils, deputations to England, petitions to Parliament are in contemplation, and they must have been proved useless before passive resistance becomes necessary. In South Africa resolutions of mass meetings, petitions and deputations to local and Imperial authorities had all been exhausted before the oath of passive resistance was taken in September, 1906. The Suffragettes in England, though they must have known the futility, as a rule of petitions and meetings and deputations, went through them all, right enough, before they had recourse to hunger-strike and adopted militant tactics. The case for passive resistance in India is still far from being established.

Our one element of hope is the friendly feeling of influential English politicians for India and their sympathy with her political aspirations. It is our duty to nurse this friendly feeling and sympathy and profit by them. A policy of passive resistance with the express object of embarrassing

the administration during the war is likely to lose us these allies, and we shall be making it difficult for champions like Sir William Wedderburn to help us.

The simple and natural case of passive resistance is that offered to an unjust law or order to which conscience forbids obedience. One's duty is then clear and definite. It is to disobey the law and patiently suffer the penalty. The Indian political reformer of the day, if he should decide on passive resistance, would not easily know his duty. Which law is he to disobey? What penalties is he to court? Shall he refuse to pay the income-tax or the land assessment or the local cesses and rates? The late Mr. Gokhale once pointed out that this form of passive resistance, while it is the most striking and most effective, is at the same time the most difficult and the least likely to spread.

Curiously enough some people regard abstention from honorary office as a form of passive resistance. It is a phase of the boycott of Government and has little to do with passive resistance. There is no law unjustly compelling one to enter the Legislative Council or a local self-governing body and to withdraw from these is no penalty or suffering inflicted by authority. In so far as harm is done by such withdrawal, if it becomes general, it is to the community, whose loss is proportionate to the number and quality of those that resign from honorary civic office.

An exception should be made in cases where the Executive arbitrarily prohibit peaceful and constitutional meetings. When the prohibition is by an over-zealous and indiscreet underling, a simpler remedy will do than passive resistance. If, however, a Local Government unjustly deprive the people of the elementary right of free speech by a persistent use of the power to prohibit meetings, passive resistance will become not only legitimate but unavoidable for the maintenance of citizenship. It must be acknowledged, however, that, after the revision by Lord Ronaldshay's Government of their Order prohibiting a public meeting in Calcutta for the purpose of protesting against the internment of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale, there has been two cases of the kind in the country, and perhaps there will be none hereafter.

We know the strength of the desire to start passive resistance in certain parts of the country, and we respect the patriotism and the moral fervour that are behind it. Still, we have considered it our duty to point out, at the risk of some misunderstanding, the grave inexpediency of passive resistance in the present situation.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA.

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I. The Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu*

The machinery of Government in this country, (Great Britain and Ireland) with its unwritten constitution, and the machinery of Government in our Dominions has proved itself sufficiently elastic, sufficiently capable of modification, to turn a peace-pursuing instrument, into a war-making instrument. It is the Government of India alone which does not seem capable of transformation, and I regard that as based upon the fact that the machinery is statute, written machinery. The Government of India is too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian, to be any use for the modern purposes we have in view. I do not believe that anybody could ever support the Government of India from the point of view of modern requirements. But it would do, nothing serious had happened since the Indian Mutiny, the public was not interested in Indian affairs, and it required a crisis to direct attention to the fact that the Indian Government is an indefensible system of Government. I remember when I first came to the House, when my Hon. friend opposite he will perhaps forgive me reminding him of the fact--and I were members of one of those Committees which Members of Parliament form themselves into and he spent, the whole of his time in trying to direct his colleagues' attention to the necessity of thinking about India. He urged people to go to the Debates about it. I was one of those whom he got to go to the early debates, when Lord Morley took charge of its affairs. Was he successful? Does anybody remember the Indian Budget Debates before the War. Upon that day the House was always empty. India did not matter and the Debates were left to people on the one side whom their enemies sometimes called "bureaucrats," and on the other side to people whom their enemies sometimes called "seditionists," until it almost came to be disreputable to take part in Indian Debates. It required a crisis of this kind to realise how important Indian affairs were. After all, is the House of Commons to be blamed for that? What was the Indian Budget Debate? It was a purely academic discussion which had no effect whatever upon events in India, conducted after the events that were being discussed had taken place. How can you now defend the fact that the Secretaries of State for India alone of all the occupants of the Front Bench, with the possible exception of the Chancellor of the Duchy

of Lancaster, are not responsible to this House for their salaries, and do not come here with their Estimates in order that the House of Commons may express its opinion

One of those Debates was unreal, unsubstantial and ineffective. If Estimates for India like Estimates for the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonial Secretary were to be discussed on the floor of the House of Commons, Debates on India would be as good as the Debates on Foreign Affairs. After all, what is the difference? Has it ever been suggested to the people of Australia that they should pay the salary of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Why should the whole cost of that building in Charles Street, including the building itself, be an item of the Indian taxpayer's burden rather than of this House of Commons and the people of the country. . . .

It has been sometimes questioned whether a democracy can rule an Empire. I say that in this instance the democracy has never had the opportunity of trying. But even if the House of Commons were to give orders to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of State is not his own master. In matters vitally affecting India, he can be overruled by a majority of his Council. I may be told that the cases are very rare in which the Council has differed from the Secretary of State for India. I know one case anyhow, where it was a very new thing, and where the action of the Council might, without remedy, have involved the Government of India in a policy out of harmony with the declared policy of the House of Commons and the Cabinet. And these gentlemen are appointed for seven years, and can only be controlled from the Houses of Parliament by a resolution, carried in both Houses, calling on them for their resignations. The whole system of the India Office is designed to prevent control by the House of Commons for fear that there might be too advanced a Secretary of State. I do not say that it is possible to govern India through the intervention of the Secretary of State with no expert advice, but what I do say is that in this epoch, now after the Mesopotamia Report, he must get his expert advice in some other way than by this Council of men, great men though, no doubt, they always are, who come home after lengthy service in India to spend the first years of their retirement as members of the Council of India. No wonder that the practice of telegrams backward and forward and of private telegram, commented upon by the Mesopotamia Report, has come into existence. . . .

*Speech in the House of Commons on the Mesopotamia Report.

Does any member of this House know much about procedure in the India Office, how the Council sits in Committees, how there is interposed between the Civil servant and the political chiefs the Committees of the India Council, and how the draft on some simple question comes up through the Civil servant to the Under-Secretary of State and may be referred back to the Committee which sends it back to him, and it then goes to the Secretary of State, who then sends it to the India Council, which may refer it back to the Committee, and two or three times in its history may go backwards and forwards. I say that that is a system so cumbrous, so designed to prevent efficiency and change that in the light of these revelations it cannot continue to exist

My only desire then, as it is now, was to try and find something which had some semblance of speedy action. Government offices are often accused of circumlocution and red tape. I have been to the India Office and to other offices. I tell this House that the statutory organisation of the India Office produces an apotheosis of circumlocution and red tape beyond the dreams of any ordinary citizen.

I think that the control of this House over the Secretary of State ought to be more real, and I would say further that the independence of the Viceroy from the Secretary of State ought to be much greater. You cannot govern a great country by the despatch of telegrams. . . . Your executive system in India has broken down, because it is not constituted for the complicated duties of modern government. But you cannot re-organise the Executive Government of India, remodel the Viceroyalty, and give the Executive Government more freedom from this House of Commons and the Secretary of State unless you make it more responsible to the people of India. Really the whole system has got to be explored in the light of the Mesopotamian Commission. It has proved to be of too much rigidity. My hon. and gallant friend opposite, in his Minority Report, I think—certainly in the questions he has asked in this House—seems to advocate a complete Home Rule for India. I do not believe there is any demand for that in India on a large scale. I do not believe it will be possible, or certainly be a cure for these evils.

Commander Wedgewood: I want that to be the goal towards which we are driving.

Mr. Montagu: As a goal I see a different picture! I see the great Self-Governing Dominions and Provinces of India organised and co-

ordinated with the great Principalities, the existing Principalities—and perhaps new ones—not one great Home Rule country, but a series of Self-Governing Provinces and Principalities, federated by one Central Government. But whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demand of those Indians whom I have met and corresponded with is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive—that affords you the opportunity of giving the Executive more liberty from home, because you cannot leave your harassed officials responsible to two sets of people. Responsibility here at home was intended to replace or to be a substitute for responsibility in India. As you increase responsibility in India you can lessen that responsibility at home.

But I am positive of this, that your great claim to continue the illogical system of Government by which we have governed India in the past is that it was efficient. *It has been proved to be not efficient.* It has been proved to be not sufficiently elastic to express the will of the Indian people; to make them into a warring Nation as they wanted to be. The history of this War shows that you can rely upon the loyalty of the Indian people to the British Empire—if you ever before doubted it! If you want to use that loyalty, you must take advantage of that love of country which is a religion in India, and you must give them that bigger opportunity of controlling their own destinies, not merely by Councils which cannot act, but by control, by growing control, of the Executive itself. Then in your next War—if we ever have War—in your next crisis, through times of peace, you will have a contented India, an India equipped to help. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, it is not a question of expediency, it is not a question of desirability. Unless you are prepared to remodel in the light of modern experience, this century-old and cumbrous machine, then, I believe, I verily believe, that you will lose your right to control the destinies of the Indian Empire.

Montagu's Indian Speeches.—A comprehensive and up-to-date collection of his Speeches on Indian Affairs. Price Re. 1-8. To subscribers of the "I.R." Re. 1-4.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkutama Chetty Street, Madras

II. Sir Rabindranath Tagore *

To-day all the world is praying to be relieved from subservience to the dictates of masters and super-men. Awakened by the modern spirit, we are yearning to join in the universal chorus of democracy. It would have been our eternal shame had we failed to do so, had we proved our undying yearning for some master's voice. It is of happy augury that we have caught a glimpse of the truth and are still able to respond to it.

I know that we are open to the same retort, which the Brahmin gave to the Sudra of old that this fundamental principle of British policy does not apply to us. But, for all that, let us not refuse to believe in humanity and human justice. Let us continue to behave as though power is not the only thing great in the British regime, but that the principles on which it is based are even greater. When the Sudra joined his palms in submission to the Brahminical decree of inferiority, on that very day was dug the pit for the Brahmin's downfall. The weak can be no less enemies of the strong than the strong of the weak. We shall not do the British the disservice of weakly assisting them to believe their own greatness.

That the people are most concerned in their own Government is a truth greater than the Government itself. This is the truth which gives strength to the British people. This is the truth which is also our strength. If we fail to hold on to this truth, the Government will lose sight of it likewise. If we do not believe and trust in the British ideal of Self-Government then the police must need tyrannise over us and the efforts of the magistrate to protect us will be unavailing; then will the God of Prestige continue to demand its human victims and British rule in India give the lie to historic British ideals.

After a hundred and fifty years of British rule we hear to-day that Bengal is not even to be allowed to sigh over the troubles of her sister Province of Madras. Up to now we had been led to believe that the fact that under the same British sovereignty the Provinces of Bengal, Punjab, Madras and Bombay were all being welded into a uniformity of ideal and aspiration as one of the brightest jewels of the British Crown. We are told in the West that Britain entered this war and faced death accounting the sorrows of Belgium and France as her own; and are we to be told in the same breath in the East that

Bengal must not bother her head about the troubles of Madras? Is this a command to which we are prepared to bow the heads? Do we not know for certain, in spite of the vehemence of its utterance, of the load of shame which lurks behind?

England came to India as representing European civilisation. The ideal of that civilisation is the word she has pledged to us. We must hold her to that word.

The Englishman may point to his own history and say "This great ideal of the Government of the people by the people was evolved by us through many a struggle and at the cost of much striving and sacrifice." I admit it. All pioneer peoples of the world in the pursuit of their several quests, have had to pass through much error and sorrow and strife. But when they have gained the truth, they sought it has become available to others without their having to tread the same long road of error and sacrifice.

In America I have seen Bengali youths becoming experts in the manufacture of machines without their having had to retrace the whole history of the steam engine beginning from the boiling kettle. What it took centuries for Europe to evolve it took but little time for Japan to transplant, roots and all, to her own soil. So, far from being convinced of any reason for delay, we may on the contrary urge that it is just because we are deficient in the qualities which are necessary for Self Government, that practice in governing ourselves is all the sooner necessary. What of the democracies which are the beast of the West? Can we not take up enough of sin and crime and every kind of enormity from amidst the European peoples? Had there been any overlord to say that till all these continue to exist, Europe shall not have Self Government, then, not only would all these have remained as they are, but all possibility of their cure would have departed.

I do not deny that we have our weaknesses in our individual characters and in our social system. Still we want Self Government. In the great democratic festival of the world no one people have all their lights burning—yet the festival goes on. If for some time our light has gone out, may we not ask for it to be lit at the wick of England's lamp without thereby raising a howl of indignation? It will not detract from England's light but surely add to the brightness of the world's illumination.

* Speech at the Albert Théâtre, Calcutta, 14th Aug. 1917.

III. Commander Wedgwood*

Two new facts have brought Indian Home Rule into practical politics. The first is the wonderful result of giving Home Rule to the Boers of South Africa; the second is the Russian Revolution, with the inspiration that it gives to all subject people, with its hint to England that if we would remain the leading exponents of democracy, we too must do our part and subordinate old selfish aims.

The objections that the Bureaucracy raise are these. They say that the Colonial Home Rule would lead to corruption, and to inefficiency. The Report of the Mesopotamia Commission destroys the "efficiency" excuse; no uncontrolled Bureaucracy can ever be efficient. Public criticism and control alone can keep a Bureaucracy in check. As for "corruption,"—why, it is better to be even corrupt than to be servile.

What I have suggested is that the British Government should lay it down that Colonial Home Rule is the end they have in view though it may take even 50 years to complete the process. They should lay down the stages and the dates when each successive stage will become operative, provided that the previous stage works satisfactorily. The stages might be of the following nature: the power of imposing certain taxes for purposes desired by India or the provinces then complete control of the purse; free direct election and some representation; then full representative Government; lastly full Responsible Government;—all combined with real popular education. Whether the Province or the Nation be taken as the unit seems to me to be immaterial, provided you in India create and preserve the national spirit as a driving power.

Any man who sets himself up to oppose absolute Government incurs great risks. The loss of employment and promotion, petty persecution, even the loss of fortune and freedom; all these you may have to face. In proportion as your sacrifices are great so will your reward be. But keep your hands clean of murder and you will have the respect and honour of all that is best in this country and of millions throughout the world who believe in liberty. I hope the struggle need not be very long. My nation, which supported the Italian against the Austrian, the Pole against the Russian, which has fought with a single mind in this War, will not long allow itself to remain the oppressor of a nation that can make sacrifices.

* Letter to the Home Rule League, Madras.

But you must not trust others alone: it rests with you to make the sacrifices.

In any case I salute you, the newest soldiers in an old fight; and I hope that a common cause may make us no longer aliens but brothers. We may not in our time achieve success (for there is no real end), but we can hand on the torch, burning brightly, to the next generation—and believe me, it is some satisfaction to do it in so goodly a company.

IV. The Lord Bishop of Calcutta*

It is not only against the German method of conducting war that we are fighting. We are fighting against the German principle that the strongest nation ought to subdue and enslave weaker ones. If this principle were accepted, there would be no end to wars and the strongest nation might always plead the excuse of Germany that it was making these conquests with the object of spreading its own superior civilization. We stand for the right of nations to live and grow according to their own God given nature whether they be great or small. Here again we must keep our own consciences clear. We have become, the paramount power in India by a series of conquests in which we have used Indian soldiers and had Indian allies. We have remained the paramount power in India because the Indian peoples needed our protection against foreign foes and against internal disorder. We must now look at our paramount position in the light of our own war-ideals. The British rule in India must aim at giving India opportunities of self-development according to the natural bent of its peoples. With this in view, the first object of its rulers must be to train Indians in Self-Government. If we turn away from any such application of our principles to this country, it is but hypocrisy to come before God with the plea that our cause is the cause of liberty.

But while our cause has remained the same as we have professed it since the war began, recent events have given it a new meaning. The adhesion of the United States to our side and the revolution in Russia have added a new element to the idea that we are fighting for liberty. We have hitherto been fighting for the liberty of nations from enslavement by other nations. Now we realise that we are also fighting for the liberty of the masses of the people within each nation. We are fighting for the democratic idea.

* Sermon at the St. Paul's Cathedral on the War Anniversary Day.

V. The Hon. Mr. B. N. Basu*

I recognise and appreciate that while a great war is going on, our energies must all be devoted to its successful prosecution, but it need not take us away from pressing the question of reforms in India which may largely affect the issues of the war. The Irish Convention is sitting amidst the din of battle and administrative changes are in contemplation everywhere and are being considered by representative committees. Recent utterances of responsible Ministers of the Crown show that Indian questions of great magnitude are also receiving serious attention. In their generous solution lies the future of India, and may I add also of England. We must move on, not, as some would wish, like the blind man who feels every inch of his ground with his sounding stick, before he gropes forward to the next step. We must move on with our eyes open, with the road in view, alive to the difficulties of the way but not deterred by them. Gentlemen, I have faith in England for the true spirit of freedom is there. The English people do not suffer from lack of faith in the future of India. They are not a people to be deterred by the dangers of the road, they will not allow the realisation of Indian aspirations being put off to an indefinite and indeterminate future merely because classifications

* Speech at the Public Dinner in the Calcutta Town Hall, on 18th August, 1917.

and strata exist in Indian society, and signs are not wanting to show that England is fully alive to her duty.

Our goal, briefly put, is a self-governing India, not exclusive as it might be in the past, but bearing an impress of her composite life of the present and forming part of the great British Empire linked to it by ties of closer union with England. It is not separation that we want but closer and more intimate incorporation with the Empire. An appeal to the British democracy based on the indubitable facts of loyal co-operation and trust will never fail, and now the moment is opportune.

. This is a time above all when we have need of the highest statesmanship in our counsels and should exercise the greatest restraint on ourselves. And may I also address to you a word of caution. Do not be impatient or lose heart if progress seems slow. A fresh adjustment in a country like India of her national and political life must take time, for many factors enter into it. Only see that we are moving onwards. Let us quicken the pace as much as we can and a great deal lies in our hands, and see that we do not tumble in the way by over-much hurry. Let us press our claims manfully, but not with any show of force or compulsion. And I see that we must move rapidly onward with the goodwill of England to support and guide us towards the early realisation of our aspirations.

THE LATE MR. GOKHALE'S SCHEME*

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY.

The grant of Provincial Autonomy foreshadowed in the Delhi Despatch, would be a fitting concession to make to the people of India at the close of the war. This will involve the two-fold operation of freeing the Provincial Governments on one side from the greater part of the control which is at present exercised over them by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in connection with the internal administration of the country and substituting on the other, in place of the control so removed, the control of the representatives of tax-payers through Provincial Legislative Councils. I indicate below in brief outline the form of ad-

* With reference to this Scheme the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri states in a communication to the Press, that it was only a draft prepared by Mr. Gokhale at the instance of H. E. Lord Willingdon as a Scheme of Reforms to be inaugurated by Government of their own accord, to avoid the then growing discontent of the country.

ministration that should be set up in different Provinces to carry out this idea.

Each Province should have :—

1. A Governor appointed from England at the head of the administration.
2. A Cabinet or Executive Council of six members three of whom should be Englishmen and three Indians with the following portfolio :—
 - (a) Home (including Law and Justice).
 - (b) Finance.
 - (c) Agriculture, Irrigation and Public Works.
 - (d) Education.
 - (e) Local Self Government (including Sanitation and Medical Relief).
 - (f) Industries and Commerce.

While members of the Indian Civil Service should be eligible for appointment to the Executive Council, no place in the Council should be reserved for them, the best men available being taken both English and Indian.

(3). A Legislative Council of between 75 and 100 Members of whom not less than four-fifths should be

elected by different constituencies and interests. Thus in the Bombay Presidency, roughly speaking, each District should return two members, one representing Municipalities and the other District and Taluk Boards. The City of Bombay should have about ten members allotted to it. Bodies in the Mofussil like the Karachi Chamber, Ahmedabad mill-owners, Deccan Sardars should have a member each. Then there would be the special representation of Mohomedans and here and there a member may have to be given to communities like the Lingayats, where they are strong. There should be no nominated non-official members, except as experts. A few official members may be added by the Governor as experts or to assist in representing the Executive Government.

4. The relations between the Executive Government and the Legislative Council so constituted should be roughly similar to those between the Imperial Government and the Reichstag in Germany. The Council will have to pass all Provincial legislation and its assent will be necessary to additions to or changes in Provincial taxation. The Budget too will have to come to it for discussion and its resolutions in connection with it, as also on questions of general administration will have to be given effect to, unless vetoed by the Governor. More frequent meetings or longer continuous sittings will also have to be provided for. But the members of the Executive Government shall not depend, individually or collectively, on the support of a majority of the Council, for holding their offices.

5. The Provincial Government, so reconstituted and working under the control of the Legislative Council as outlined above should have complete charge of the internal administration of the Province and it should have virtually independent financial powers, the present financial relations between it and the Government of India being largely revised, and to some extent even reversed. The revenue under Salt, Customs, Tributes, Railway, Post, Telegraph and Mint should belong exclusively to the Government of India, the services being Imperial. While that under Land Revenue, including Irrigation, Excise, Forests, Assessed taxes, Stamps and Registration should belong to the Provincial Government the services being Provincial. As under this division, the revenue falling to the Provincial Government will be in excess of its existing requirements and that assigned to the Government of India will fall short of its present expenditure, the Provincial Government should be required to make an annual contribution to the Government of India, fixed for periods of five years at a time. Subject to this arrangement the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should develop their separate systems of finance, the Provincial Governments being given powers of taxation and borrowing within certain limits.

Such a scheme of Provincial Autonomy will be incomplete unless it is accompanied by (a) liberalizing of the present form of District administration and (b) a great extension of Local Self-Government. For (a) it will be necessary to abolish the Commissionerships of Divisions except where special reasons may exist for their being maintained as in Sind, and to associate small District Councils, partly elected and partly nominated, with the Collector for whom most of the present powers of the Commissioners could then be transferred,—the functions of the Councils being advisory to begin with. For (b) Village Panchayats, partly elected and partly nominated, should be created for villages and groups of villages and Municipal Boards in towns and Taluk Boards in

Talukas should be made wholly elected bodies, the Provincial Government reserving to itself and exercising stringent powers of control. A portion of the excise revenue should be made over to those bodies so that they may have adequate resources at their disposal for the due performance of their duties. The District being too large an area for efficient Local Self-Government by an honorary agency, the functions of the District Boards should be strictly limited and the Collector should continue to be its ex-officio President.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1. The Provinces being thus rendered practically autonomous, the Constitution of the Executive Council or the Cabinet of the Viceroy will have to be correspondingly altered. At present there are four members in that Council with portfolios which concern the internal administration of the country—namely, Home, Agriculture, Education and Industries and Commerce. As all internal administration will now be made over to Provincial Governments and the Government of India will only retain in its hands nominal control to be exercised on very rare occasions, one member to be called member for the Interior should suffice in place of these four. It will, however, be necessary to create certain other portfolios and I would have the Council consist of the following six members (at least two of whom shall always be Indians).

(a) Interior, (b) Finance, (c) Law, (d) Defence, (e) Communications (Railways, Post and Telegraph), and (f) Foreign.

(a) The Legislative Council, of the Viceroy should be styled the Legislative Assembly of India. Its members should be raised to about one hundred to begin with and its power enlarged, but the principle of an official majority (for which perhaps it will suffice to substitute a nominated majority) should for the present be maintained, until sufficient experience has been gathered of the working of autonomous arrangements for Provinces. This will give the Government of India a reserve power in connection with Provincial administration to be exercised in emergencies. Thus if a Provincial Legislative Council persistently decline to pass legislation which the Government regard to be essential in the vital interests of the Province it could be passed by the Government of India in its Legislative Assembly over the head of the Province. Such occasions would be extremely rare, but the reserve power will give a sense of security to the authorities and will induce them to enter on the great experiment of Provincial Autonomy with greater readiness. Subject to this principle of an official or nominated majority being for the present maintained, the Assembly should have increased opportunities of influencing the policy of the Government by discussion, questions connected with the Army and Navy (to be now created) being placed on a level with other questions. In fiscal matters the Government of India so constituted should be freed from the control of the Secretary of State whose control in other matters too should be largely reduced, his Council being abolished and his position steadily approximated to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Commissions in the Army and Navy must now be given to Indians, with proper facilities for Military and Naval instruction.

German East Africa, if conquered from the Germans, should be reserved for Indian colonization and should be handed over to the Government of India.

The Remuneration of Women's Services

Among the chief problems of reconstruction after the War, the position of women in skilled industry will have to be regarded and tackled with as one of the most important. Eleanor Rathbone, writing in the *Economic Journal* (for June 1917), describes her own views as to what form the solution of this problem should take. The barriers that have kept women out of skilled trades have been broken down during the course of the war, though by no means completely. And if these barriers should again be re-created, they will have to be based frankly upon the desire of the male to protect himself from competition, and no longer upon the so-called incapacity of the female to compete. The women themselves, ill-organized and voteless, with the sentiment in favour of the returning soldiers not only strong against them, but strong among them, could not put up much of a fight. But they will have two powerful allies, first, in the employers who having tasted the advantages of a great reserve of cheap, docile and very effective labour, are obviously not going to let themselves be deprived of it without a struggle, and, secondly, in the growing public sense of the necessity on national grounds of making the most of our economic resources.

The question of the possibility of women competing freely with men, without under-cutting their standards of pay and so under-mining their standards of life, is assured promptly and unhesitatingly by the women themselves. But the difficulty is that even where both quality and quantity of work are identical, it does not necessarily follow that the woman is an equally valuable or at least an equally acceptable employee. There are, in the eyes of most employers, certain standing disadvantages of women's labour which have to be reckoned with; but there are counter-

acting advantages like their greater docility, their greater willingness to be kept at routine work, and their less liability to absence on drinking bouts, to strikes and other disabilities of the economic routine. If women are to secure a fair field of competition with men, their work being accepted or rejected on its merits then, to secure this object, it seems necessary that any permanent recognised disadvantage that adheres to women workers as such, should be allowed for by a *pro-rata* rate reduction in their standard rates.

The causes of the low rates of women's wages may be outlined, and the reasons for their inferiority may be roughly scheduled as (a) lack of trades organisation; (b) pocket money or supplementary wage-earning; (c) a low standard of comfort; and (d) a wage-requirement based on individual subsistence. The first three are easily understood, and their weight is apt to be over-estimated. The last is this: that the wages of women workers are not based on the assumption that they have families to keep; and in so far as these wages are determined by the standard of life of the workers it is a standard based on the cost of individual subsistence and not on family subsistence. This argument seems to point to an *impasse*. Other solutions like the establishment of free competition without the attempt to equalise wages, are also doubtful and difficult, and open up unpleasant possibilities of class-antagonism and sex-antagonism.

The final solution that the writer projects is that the state should take upon itself the grant of allowance for the up-keep of individual homes, so that the wife and children should receive their share; and the main reason for the differentiation in wages between the two sexes would have disappeared.

Lawyer Politicians

There are people in every country who never tire of flinging scurrilous epithets at barristers, writes Babu Lal Sud in a recent issue of *India*, the organ of the British Congress Committee in London.

"To them the mere name is like a red rag to a bull. I confess that, like many of the principal professions, the Bar is over-crowded; that in no other profession is mediocrity more thoroughly doomed to failure than in the legal profession, and that no one who cannot afford at least five years of waiting should think of training for the Bar. Not only is advance very slow and uncertain, but years may sometimes elapse before a single brief is obtained. Therefore, unless a man has followed Gilbert's advice and married a solicitor's daughter, or has private means, or unless his mental faculties are far above the average, he should give the Bar a wide berth."

So far Babu Lal Sud agrees with those who are hard on barristers. But they go further in their animosity. Who has not heard of the term "lawyer politician?" How this expression came to carry a sinister import is strange. The writer says:—

"Barristers, taken as a whole, are the best politicians and statesmen in the world. And why? Because they have in the highest degree that peculiar sense, tact and resource which fit men for dealing with others in the affairs of ordinary life. In this respect they are infinitely superior to men in other professions. Take, for instance, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Carson, Lord Haldane, and Lord Milner. They are all barristers by profession, with the exception of Mr. Lloyd George, who is a solicitor. All of these have manifest talents for oratory, leadership, and statesmanship. They are born Empire-builders and leaders of men, and their words carry weight wherever English is spoken."

"The same is the case in India. The men who have done more than others for the real and la-

ing good of India have been and are barristers. Take the case of Sir Satyendra Sinha, Sir Syed Ali Imam, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Mr. Womesh Chunder Bonnerjee, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque, Mr. Harkishan Lal, and many others. There is no denying the truth of the statement that the majority of Indian barristers are also politicians. But their critics do not pause to consider that they are not firebrands, but moderate, constitutional, and loyal politicians, who have done and are doing their best to advance the cause of their country. They are men held in affectionate and reverent regard not only by their own countrymen, but also by people of other nationalities who happen to come in contact with them. They possess foresight, initiative, energy, and balanced judgment so essential to a statesman. It is only ingrates who speak slightly of them. People, with the interest and the welfare of their country at heart, should have only words of praise for these men who are giving them of their best.

"Even in England people generally speak ill of barristers where they are compared to the devils according to a familiar country saying. While, in this country, barristers are considered as extra beings because they "make money out of trouble and make trouble out of money." This is true, and yet it hardly explains what is meant. It does not mean that barristers are necessarily a bad lot, but it simply means that they are too clever and that they know what they are about. Moreover, they know how to mind their own business, and are also able to mind other people's business (for a fee). Their carpers and belittlers are evidently unable to see reason, but at least they could learn the elementary principle of good manners, namely, to mind their own business."

Current Japanese Thought

The Editor of the *Japan Magazine*, in its July issue, gives prominence to the conflicting views and policies that prevail among the national leaders of Japan, regarding their relations with America. One school maintains that America is the principal potential enemy, guarding against whom will be Japan's greatest task in the immediate future. Count Otani, a mouthpiece of this school, writes as follows :—

The powers which Japan must take carefully into consideration are Russia, China, America and Great Britain, as well as France; but of these, no anxiety need be felt save about America and China. From the United States the Japanese are barred while America is preparing a great army and navy which will be used for the intimidation of Japan. America took the Philippines so as to keep an eye on Japan; and she will not consent to Japan possessing the German islands taken in the South Seas. If Japan allows America to have her own way for the next ten years it will be impossible to escape invasion, invasion by diplomacy if not by the sword. The danger will be enhanced if America should insist on helping China in her independent attitude toward Japan. What Japan needs, therefore, is not more religion or education but greater and mightier armaments.

On the other hand, Count Terauchi, the Premier, is anxious to keep Americans and Japanese united through honest and correct knowledge and understanding. And, speaking at the inauguration of the American-Japan Society, he made the following observations:—

It is a conspicuous fact in history that Japan owes the greatest debt of gratitude to the United States in formulating her national policy of energetic progress and international intercourse, a fact which our countrymen are cherishing to-day. The United States and Japan are not the same in their political constitution, but both nations are at one in their reverence of humanity, in their love of peace, and their heritage of a chivalrous spirit. Therefore, though some international questions have arisen between the two countries during the past fifty years, they have ever been amicably solved through their mutual good will and concession. Never once in the history of the two nations did they come to such a path as might endanger the cordial relationship. To-day, the wonderful progress made in the various organs of communication has so narrowed the distance of the great Pacific Ocean that we are like closest neighbours on either side of a little river. Moreover, by the participation of the United States in the present world war, our ties have been strengthened by a community of interest; and we are on the eve of an attempt to drive a wedge of evil with the sinister object of creating an impassable gulf. We want to narrow that gulf and we intend to fill in that gulf, before it becomes wider.

There is a further danger noted by the Editor of the *Japan Magazine* which has bred two great national evils, contempt of weaker nations and unmanly humiliation, and which has to be completely rooted out. That danger is expressed thereby by a member of the Imperial Japanese Diet as follows :—

The Japanese people of to-day are afflicted with two diseases. One is the fear of foreign nations, and the other is the contempt of Oriental nations. For the strong nations of Europe they entertain unbounded respect and fear, and towards the weaker nations of the Orient they are haughty and insolent. The result is that the European nations make nothing of treating the Japanese with contumely, while other Orientals do not repose such confidence in the Japanese as they might be expected to do. These two diseases have been fostered by Bureaucrats and their rule. For they are the men who had long experience of being bullied by superior foreign nations in their diplomatic intercourse. Like the cowardly fighting cock which has once been defeated in a contest by a stronger cock, they cannot meet their old adversaries without shrinking and sneaky fear. Europe and America have become in their eyes the watchwords for fear and trembling. On the other hand they are so lacking in wisdom as to look down on weaker nations of the Orient. Before such weaklings the Japanese boast of being the leader of Asia, etc. But which nation is ready to treat Japan as a champion of Pan-Asianism or leader of the Orient? The Japanese fear of Europe and America has begotten unmanly humiliation; their contempt of weaker nations has engendered vanity and indolence.

Indian Reforms

In the course of a review of the leading events of the world, the Editor of the *Philippine Review* quotes with approval His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir's plea for constitutional reforms, in India :—

His recent utterances are marked not only by a spirit of patriotism and broad sympathy but by a message of love and co-operation between the English people and the Indians. By his personal influence, timely and wise speeches and official letters, the recent Congress by a resolution asked for an *authoritative declaration of the aim of British policy in India*. His wisdom in this matter can be shown by quoting a letter to the *Times* as follows : . . . "For", he says, "the advances to be made should be considered with the breadth and generosity of view that have marked British policy in so many other parts of the world, and which the history of the British colonial expansion has shown that Britain has never had an occasion to regret." As for the reforms, the Maharajah continued : "Sentiment counts for a very great deal in India, and the changes should be such as to strike the imagination. Excessive caution would be an error almost as great as the acceptance of rash and ill-considered proposals".

Some Aspects of Railway Policy in India

Mr. D. A. Barker, of the Indian Civil Service, in an article which he contributed to a recent number of the *Indian Journal of Economics*, gives us a brief history of railway development in India and discusses shortly the main tendencies at work in the past. At first private enterprise in the construction and management of railways was favoured by the authorities, but capital was very shy, with the consequence that Government had to guarantee interest on all capital called up, and their difficulties were increased by the fact that the interest was payable in sterling, and, therefore, owing to the fall in exchange, represented an ever-increasing sum, soon a reaction began in favour of direct state action, but in 1879, the Commons recommended that railway construction by private enterprise should again be encouraged, and accordingly a new system of guarantees was begun. Part of the capital was provided by the state, and part raised by companies, on which interest was guaranteed at 4 per cent. This guarantee interest together with the interest on the capital provided by the state was to be a first charge on the net receipts, and the state was to have a fixed share of any surplus. From 1879 onwards there has been a gradually increasing tendency to substitute company construction and management for direct state action, though the reaction from state management and construction was often slow and interrupted. Since the purchase of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway in 1889, the area of State management has not been largely extended. And as the Mackay Committee remarked in 1907, "the consistent policy of the Government of India for many years has been to arrange for the railways in India, while remaining State property, to be leased, to companies which worked them on behalf of Government on a profit sharing basis. Railway practice, so far as India is concerned, would seem to favour company management,—a conclusion which is

supported to some extent by existing practice in England and the United States of America.

The burning question of railway management in India is the question of rates. The complex nature of railway expenses, and the large expenditure which must be met independently of the actual running of trains e.g., the payment of interval to debenture holders, of dividends to share-holders, of money for repairs of buildings and permanent way, must be taken into consideration. Whether railways are managed by the state or by private companies, discrimination has to be made necessarily in the rates by the following conditions of working: (1) Variations in length of haul, (2) variations in the value of freight, (3) variations in the conditions of traffic, and (4) competition. Competing companies usually fix upon a lucrative rate of charge and usually refrain altogether from competition in respect of rates. Such an understanding is usually effected wherever there is direct competition between railways. But in cases of indirect competition it is often difficult to arrive at any compromise and the result is a continuously favourable rate of freight between competitive points. That state management would eliminate competition and would so do away with at least one cause of discrimination, is true; but this statement has only a very limited application.

Mr. Barker promises another article which would deal with these other evils.

India After the War

A Christian missionary, writing in the *Christian World*, about "Native Views on the War" remarks:—

And when that time [of peace] comes, India hopes that in consideration for help given and services rendered England will grant it the boon of greater Self-Government. The Indian National Congress has given audible expression to that hope. The goal which the majority of Indian leaders have in view is that ultimately India shall become a Self-Governing country like the Australian Colonies and Canada. Whether that goal is feasible of immediate attainment need not be considered here. Suffice it to note that after the War India is expecting to receive some noteworthy political boon.

Higher Education of Indian Women

Miss Eleanor Mc Dougall, Principal of the Christian College for Women, Madras, writing in the current number of the *International Review of Missions*, makes some acute observations about the higher education of Indian women and tries to show the hollowness of the objections made against the existing system. The protests against our common habit of regarding the ideals of domestic efficiency and of trained intelligence as definitely opposed to each other; and declares that the antithesis is doubly false, first because the two things are closely related, and domestic efficiency of the highest type cannot be attained without intellectual training, and secondly because the same woman needs both. Again, she says that the ideal education for girls who leave school at the age of 13 or 14 to enter on domestic life has not yet been discovered. The vernacular education of elementary schools does not go far enough to give them an independent mental life; and the so-called English education is not very successful if it ends at this stage. An intelligent girl leaving school at 14, if well-educated in the vernacular, will have strong interest in many things, but no means of carrying her education further. An equally intelligent girl whose chief study for the last few years has been English, will have the key of knowledge in her hand; but she may not have grasped enough of the subject matter of her lessons to care to carry her own education further.

She next combats the desire to lessen the intellectual and increase the domestic training of women and the desire to carry on higher education in the vernaculars. These ends, increase of domestic efficiency, and higher education in the vernaculars, can be attained without sacrificing the intellectual training which is indeed necessary for these very ends. A thorough knowledge of English, seems at present to be essential to higher education. At present the intellectual and

national life of India is carried on in English, and to refuse this language to women is to set them at once outside the current of Indian life and aspiration. And it is at present impossible to convey western knowledge and thought in any of the Indian languages without losing a great deal on the way. The universities of Europe could not and did not discard Latin as the medium of instruction, until original and vigorous thought expressed in English, French and German made it superfluous. And most of the advocates of the higher education of women admit that the use of the vernacular would mean an immediate lowering of the standard of that education. And with the curtailment or perhaps abolition of English, comes the abolition of the foreign woman-teachers whose presence in adequate numbers is necessary until there should arise a sufficient number of well-trained women strong enough for the task of education.

The Secret of Government

Prof. J. Y. Simpson, writing in the July number of the *Nineteenth century and After* on "impressions on a recent visit to Russia," observes,

"But it is wrong to blame these people. How can patriotism appear if the crowd is simply considered as an element to supply money to Government and has been given no interest or right in the Government itself? You can have no sense of responsibility if you have been given no share in the work as they (Russians) were never given any. They were pulled by the old regime to one side and now the people are swinging to the other extreme. . . In Britain you have never allowed things to reach the stage of revolution. When you notice danger coming, you invent something, e. g., Home Rule. You see things moving in a certain direction and not wishing revolution, you step in front of the movement and effect a settlement. The great secret of all Governments is to be clever. . ."

—Economic Conditions in Bengal

Mr. F. D. Ascoli, writing in the *Bengal Economic Journal* (Vol I No. 3) describes the economic conditions of the agricultural population in Dacca District where 67 per cent. of the total number of people are supported by agriculture. Of these, a few are landlords' agents and dependents, a few grow vegetables, flowers and betel vines, and some are dependent on the collection of rents, while the great majority depend on ordinary cultivation. It is surprising to note that one person receives rent for every 22 who pay, but this fact, a rarity in Bengal, is accounted for by the large number of petty estates and tenures, and the complexity of sub-infeudation in the district. Of the agricultural workers, only 12 per cent. had subsidiary occupations in addition to their agricultural work, but as a matter of practice, a very large number of cultivators migrate to other districts at the time of the harvesting of the crop.

The population dependent on land may be divided into three main classes, those dependent on rents, those dependent on the produce of the soil, and those dependent on miscellaneous profits, the last class including the bulk of farm labourers, wood-cutters, herdsmen etc. This classification is not meticulously accurate as the landlord is necessarily dependent in part on the produce, some of those dependent on produce will also receive a small amount of rent in cash, while the third class obviously depend entirely on the general prosperity of the district. The district is deltaic, and only 6 per cent. of the land is cultivable, but not cultivated and 17 per cent. is uncultivable. Only one in 25 acres of land capable of bearing crops is left fallow every year and no less than 35 per cent. of the cultivated area is made to bear two or more crops a year. Both these imply an extraordinary pressure on the soil, and denote the very small rest given to land to recuperate itself.

The Dacca cultivator lives in a degree of comfort unknown in the western and the northern districts of Bengal; the sites of the houses are large and well-raised; the houses themselves are ordinarily large and of substantial construction; the majority of the houses have their tanks and gardens attached, and the cleanliness of the site itself is indicative of the true instinct of the people. Seven per cent. of the houses are built of brick, 32·2 per cent. partly or wholly of corrugated iron, and 67·1 per cent. of mat or mud walls and thatched roofs. Of the total number of homesteads, 41 per cent. are classed as good, 36 per cent. as fair, and 23 per cent. as bad.

The cultivating classes, are almost solely dependent on the produce of the soil, and income derived from allied sources. A small proportion of the agriculturists are engaged in fishery, others in boat-building. Weaving increases the income of others, while others again are employed as *chankidars* or labourers. A rise or fall in jute prices would affect greatly agricultural prosperity. The total indebtedness is, however, very large and amounts to rather more than 12 times the actual rental of the land. The rates of interest ordinarily in vogue are 24 to 50 per cent. Agricultural stock has frequently to be borrowed, and the cultivator is compelled to pay 25 per cent. of his net income for the use of agricultural capital. Co-operation and legislation are vigorously combating the evils of this system of things.

The petty landlord class has reached the stage where the income from the land is sufficient to support only with difficulty, the drones of the family. The system has broken down and is incapable of any, but a merely temporary relief. On the other hand the position of the cultivator is one of prosperity. His payments to his landlord form but a small percentage of his gross earnings, and the only danger is the burden on debt, the result of his thriftlessness bringing of the domination of the money-lender.

Second Thoughts of a Moralist-Economist

In the *Social Service Quarterly* for July 1917, Mr. Lallubai Samaldas in reviewing the posthumous work of Dr. Smart, says that though the book does not directly deal with the economics of the present War, its conclusions are largely affected* by the author's views of its probable economic results. His book is permeated with moral issues, and it is Dr. Smart's treatment of sociological questions from the moral standpoint that makes it very valuable to the social servant. Dr. Smart's mind was shaped by Carlyle and Ruskin, and his leading idea is the necessity of room and opportunity for the moral life in the economic life. He furiously attacks the popular conception that one can follow the economic life during business hours, and the moral life or the life that leads to the growth of the soul in other hours. Men should not look on the economic life as practically the whole life, and should not spend all their time as before in providing for our wants, with the result that the economic life has all but crowded out every other kind of life. He does not attach much importance or value to the remedy of taxing the richer men and using the increase in the national revenue towards providing comforts to the poor, who cannot otherwise afford to pay for the same from their small incomes and he brushes this remedy aside, as one of despair. He would have the poor man enjoy a rise in wages rather than any more provisions given him unwillingly by taxation. He suggests as a second remedy, increase in the national wealth, and tries to prove that such an increase will be distributed in a manner that will bring those who are on the poverty-line above it. In his chapter on 'distribution of work,' he says that every man has to make his living in such a way that he keeps back no human being from the same divine right to a free life as himself, and he has to earn it in making things that hurt no human beings physically, intellectually or morally.

Drudgery and Education

In an article under the above title Mr. Edwin Homes offers an enthusiastic defence of the Montessori method of education in the pages of the *Hibbert Journal*. He attacks what he calls the old coercion system of instruction on the ground of its distrust of human nature and points out that the best possible preparation for life is the power to transform drudgery into a pleasant work:

"Now nothing is so vitalising, so inspiring one might almost say, as to be trusted. The education which is based on distrust of human nature if carried out in practice to its logical conclusion, does undoubtedly enfold the child's life in an atmosphere of gloom. But to suppose that in doing so it ~~lets~~ the child to face the gloom of adult life, is to make a fatal miscalculation. The child who has been allowed to develop freely and naturally, and to lead a life of rational and happy activity, and whose consequent sense of well-being has been subconsciously realised by him as joy, will no doubt, when he grows up, have his full share of trials, troubles, disappointments and sorrows. But he will neither anticipate these nor fear to face them. Why should he disquiet himself about them? He will wear an armour which is proof, in the last resort, against their slings and arrows. For there will be a song in his heart as he goes through life which will never die down into silence."

Democratic Methods

In the course of his instructive notes in *East and West* for August, the Editor points out the necessity for democratic methods in modern Indian polity. He says:—

India, speaking correctly, is governed by the British democracy, and yet democratic methods are at a discount in India itself. The policy of the Government of India is never boldly stated. The speeches in the Legislative Council leave an aroma of burnt offerings before idols which the worshippers have forsaken. No Government has ever succeeded in retaining power on the strength of its past record of services. "Elections invariably turn on the promises for the future held out by either side." The Government of India cannot expect to guide and control opinion without declaring its policy and working towards the fulfilment of the promises made,

The End of Indo-Chinese Opium Traffic

In a recent issue of the *East and the West*, the Rev. G. P. Malleson lays up stress on the moral aspects of the complete stoppage of the export of opium from India to China, and gives a short history of the trade and its abolition.

Even in these war days this forms a landmark which should not pass unnoticed. The opium trade, not less than its abolition, was significant of more things than one. It came down to us from the eighteenth century and the East India Company; from the time when the rule over vast millions of Hindus was run as a commercial speculation. It was a great thing when the Governor-General clearly recognised the moral duty of the Company towards the peoples of India. It would have been too much to expect him in those days to consider its foreign customers as well "Opium," said Warren Hastings, "is a pernicious article of luxury, which ought not to be permitted but for the purposes of foreign commerce only." Even in regard to this foreign commerce there was a decent respect for appearances. When it became known that the importation of opium was strongly prohibited by the Chinese Government, the Company found it beneath its dignity to engage "in such a clandestine trade." Instead, they sold it to merchants who would do the smuggling for them. On that ingenuous moral basis the trade continued and developed, until in consequence of the Treaty of Tientsin, which followed the so called opium war of 1858, the Chinese Government was forced to legalize opium—and at the same time Christianity. A little later a solemn appeal from the Chinese to the British Government on the moral aspect of the matter was left entirely unanswered. Silence was doubtless convenient, but to a nation that rates politeness as highly as China does, it can hardly have given a favourable impression of Christian courtesy.

Great Britain has repented. The opium trade has gone. What has been called our greatest contribution to the misery of the world has come to an end.

The writer distinguishes in opium trade three distinct elements of evil. The first and the most obvious is the putting of gain before righteousness. The second was that China was too weak to resist and this enabled us to fasten the opium trade upon her. Thirdly China was not only weak, but she was an Asiatic State and the English diplomatic treatment of China was marked by the white man's contempt for the Asiatic, and his ill-bred and unjustifiable assumption of superiority.

There is danger yet lurking in the air, for, for some years past, British morphia is being smuggled into China, and it lends much more easily than opium to illicit traffic and causes a vast amount of moral and physical devastation.

Ship-Building in India

At one time India was the home of a famous ship-building industry largely of an indigenous origin. At the Bombay Government Dockyard, writes the *Mysore Economic Journal*, many generations of the famous Parsee family of Wadia turned out the wooden walls of India—the splendid old East India-men which as sea going boats had no equals in the period in which they were built. Some of the most celebrated of the East India Company's fleet a century ago were vessels which had been built in Bombay. In Lieut. Keble Chatterton's instructive work, *The Old East India-men*, there is a picture of the East India-man *Earl Balcarres* which was built in Bombay in 1815 and was sold out of the Company's service in 1834. Her tonnage was 1,117, she carried 130 men and was armed with twenty-six 18 pounder guns. There were few vessels of greater size afloat when she was built and even in our time sailing ships of over eleven hundred tons burthen are considered large boats. What killed the old Bombay ship-building industry was the introduction of steam-driven iron vessels. There was neither the raw material nor the skilled labour available for the construction of the new class of craft and the Bombay Dockyard lapsed into a condition of neglect which the Government have had good cause to regret since the great War burst upon the world and demonstrated the supreme importance of well placed constructive establishments under official control.

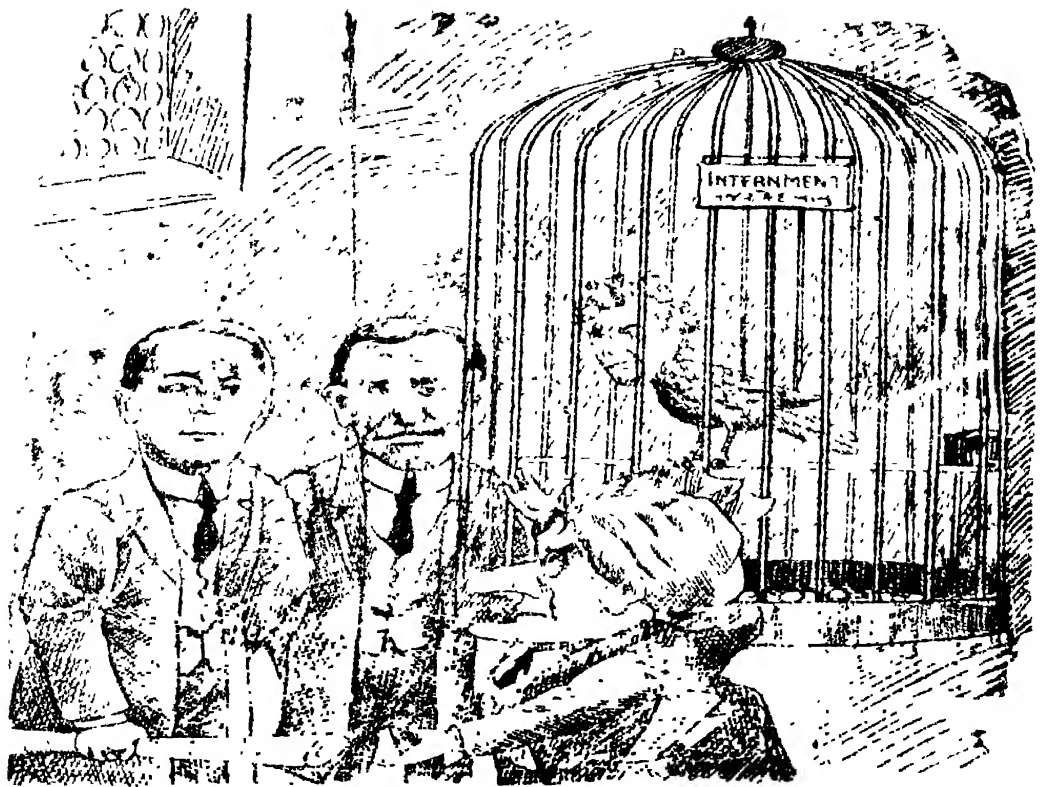
INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

SLAVE TRAFFIC IN BOMBAY. By M. G. Antia, M. A., Bar-at Law. ["The Social Service Quarterly," June 1917.]

THE GREAT PROBLEM OF INDIA—WILL HOME RULE SOLVE IT. By Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose. ["The Hindustan Review," July 1917.]

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSE BUILDING IN SOUTH INDIA. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," July 1917.]

A PRAYER TO THE PRINCES OF INDIA. By Baji Rao. ["East & West," August 1917.]



THE BIRD IN THE CAGE

MR. PUNCH—The aged bird, accustomed to life-long freedom, is getting uncomfortable in the cage. If you set it free, it will be a sheer act of humanity and justice and will redound to your credit, my good sirs!

[Mr. C. Jinarajadasa and Mr P. K. Telang, the editor of "New India," who saw Mrs. Besant at Ooty, say that her health is rapidly declining and she is suffering from a serious nervous break-down. The former gentleman says he has never before seen her in such a bad condition of mental suffering and bodily weakness.]



THE LATE MR. ABDUL RASUL

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Christian Living and Healing:—By Annie Rix Militz: L. N. Fowler & Co. London.

An ideal course of lessons in the Fundamentals of New Thought in relation to Christianity. The Law of healing attributed to Jesus Christ is explained in a simple and attractive manner, and the high level of the instruction maintained ought to prove of great help to those who are inclined to study the book with sufficient faith in the teaching given.

100 Gems of Hindu Religious Thought. By Parary Kunti Chanda. (M. T. A. Sharada Press, Mangalore.)

This is a valuable book containing valuable gems of thought and sentiment contained in the books of wisdom and love by ancient and modern Hindu sages and saints.

The Age of Sankara. By T. S. Narayana Sastri, B. A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras.

This is a valuable work evidencing considerable study and thought and displaying a spirit of original research. To review the whole work properly we will have to await till the complete work is available as the work is being issued in parts. Part I deals with the main incidents of Sankara's life. The book contains a useful appendix dealing with the kings of the Magadha dynasty and a complete and critical study of Hindu Itihasas, Puranas, and other authorities. This will help a great deal in the reconstruction of the history of ancient India on proper lines. The part now under consideration contains eight well-executed half-tone pictures illustrating the main incidents of Sankara's life.

Speeches and Writings:—By Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, Vidya Vinodini Press, Ernakulam.

This is a collection of the more important speeches and writings of Mr. Krishna Menon on subjects of varied interest. They have originally appeared as lectures or magazine articles from time to time in the course of a score of years: and it is only in the fitness of things that Mr. Menon should have brought in book form those that are of more than ephemeral interest. The collection includes a number of literary and historical studies besides a few biographical sketches which are all equally informing and interesting.

A Text Book of Moral Teaching for the use of Schools:—By the Rev. A. W. De Mel, M.A. Colombo.

This booklet contains valuable moral lessons and directions. The author says that it is meant for the use of non-Christian pupils in English schools though it is compiled from Christian sources. Moral teaching is best imparted by religious instruction and practical devotional life and by narration of the lives of the heroes and saints of each race, this booklet gives us the broad dictates of morality in general can be used for School children of all denomination.

Lord Krishna's Message:—By Lala Kannoomal, M.A. The Jain Pustak Pracharak Mandal, Agra.

This is a brief exposition of the teachings of the Gita on the principal aspects of philosophy, the world, the soul, and the Supreme Soul. The author characterises Lord Krishna as "a versatile genius, statesman, warrior, teacher, prophet, all rolled into one." The small pamphlet is worth reading as containing a true exposition of the truths of the Great Gita.

BOOKS RECEIVED

DICTIONARY OF PROVERBS AND MAXIMS. By Brij Mohan Lal, B.A., Balarampur.

AN ESTIMATE OF THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF DR. ISAAC CONRAD KETLER. By W. M. Ramsay, Hodder and Stoughton, London.

OUTPOSTS OF MERCY. By E. V. Lucas. Published for the British Red Cross Society. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

WHERE JASMINE BLOOM: A ROMANCE OF KASHMIR. By Mary Julian. Hodder & Stoughton, London.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF ANCIENT DEKHAN. By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, B.A., M.R.A.S. The Modern Printing Works, Madras.

LEAVES FOR THE DIARY OF A HINDU DEVOTEE. By Zero, Panini Office, Allahabad.

BAIKUNTH AND HIS LETTERS. By P. K. Pujari, Sambalpur.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUSSALMANS OF INDIA. By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 21. Resignation of Prince Lvoff.
M. Kerensky is forming a new ministry.
Lloyd George's great speech at Queen's Hall.
- July 22. Belgian Independence Day.
Kerensky's stirring appeal to Army and Navy.
July 23. Sir James Meston's advice to the Agra Zamindars.
German air-raider destroyed.
- July 24. House of Commons passed a war credit of £650 millions.
Negotiations between the *Entente* powers and U. S. A. on Trans Atlantic rates.
- July 25. The historic Convention on Irish Home Rule met to-day at Trinity College, Dublin.
H. H. the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar is mentioned in Sir Douglas Haig's Despatches.
- July 26. The G. I. P. Railway strike in Bombay.
Sir Horace Plunkett becomes Chairman of the Irish Convention.
- July 27. A resolution on Provincial settlements is issued by the Government of India.
Prohibition of the Calcutta Town Hall meeting on the internments.
A German submarine wrecked west of Calais.
- July 28. Joint Conference of the Congress Committee and the Reform Council of the Moslem League at Bombay.
- July 29. Joint Conference sends a statement to the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and others on the present situation.
- July 30. An exclusion order has been issued on Mr. V. R. Karandikar of the *New India*.
German intrigue in Roumania.
- July 31. The Hon. Mr. A. Rasul, Bar-at-Law, died suddenly at Calcutta this morning of heart failure.
Behar Provincial Conference met to-day.
- August 1. Memorial meeting in London re the death of Dulabhai Naoroji.
A representative Provincial recruiting board has been created in Bombay.
- August 2. The *Times of India* urges a declaration of policy and condemns secret methods of constitution making.
- August 3. Sir William Robertson on the War.
Conscription in Canada.
- August 4. The Premier's speech on the Anniversary Day.
Queen Mary's message to the women of India.
- August 5. Sir Douglas Haig has issued a stirring army order.
Australia's determination and Mr. Hughes' tribute to Belgium and the allied troops.
- August 6. China's declaration of war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- August 7. Kerensky has formed a new Cabinet taking the portfolio of War and Marine in addition to Premiership.
- August 8. Siam has declared war on Germany.
Fate of German sea pirates.
- August 9. Allies Conference at Downing Street
Mr. Venizelos' threat of a Dictatorship.
German machinations in Russia.
- August 10. Labour Conference and Mr. Henderson's triumph.
The United Provinces Special Provincial Conference met to-day at Lucknow with Hon. Pundit Moti Lal Nehru in the chair.
- August 11. The Stockholm controversy and Mr. Henderson's resignation.
King George's message to M. Kerensky.
- August 12. Lord Islington's speech at Oxford on Indian reforms.
Discussion of passive resistance in the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.
- August 13. The Pope sends a note to the belligerents.
- August 14. Bengal Congress Committee cables to the Secretary of State re the Islington scheme of reforms and urges adoption of the Congress Scheme.
- August 15. H. H. The Aga Khan has published in London Mr. Gokhale's Memorandum of Reforms entrusted to him a few days before his death.
Entertainment to the Hon. B. N. Basu at Calcutta
- August 16. Celebrations of the Besant internment day. *New India* security forfeited.
- August 17. Reichstag and the Pope's proposals for peace.
Fighting near Lens and Ypres.
- August 18. Public dinner to the Hon. B. N. Basu at the Calcutta Town Hall.
Enemy held at bay in Moldavia.
- August 19. New battle of Yverdon.
British Labour and the Stockholm Conference.
- August 20. A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* announces that the Secretary of State will be coming to India for making preliminary arrangements regarding Post-War Reforms.
Another issue of the *Gazette* announces that Commissions in the Indian Army will be granted to Indians.
- August 21. Meeting of the Directors of Education at Simla and H. E. the Viceroy's opening speech.

Memorandum of the Joint Conference

AN APPEAL TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

The following resolutions were passed at the Joint Conference of the Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League which met at Bombay on July 28th :—

THE LATE DR. NAOROJI.

(a) The All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the Moslem League record their sense of profound sorrow and irreparable loss the country has sustained by the death of India's Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji. His great services to the Motherland will always enshrine his memory in grateful recollections of his countrymen, while his saintly character, private work and public virtues will, for all time to come, be an example and inspiration to the people of India.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

(b) That the Provincial Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League be requested to consider the advisability of adopting a policy of passive resistance, both as regards its principle and working in carrying on political work and to send their opinion to the General Secretaries of the Indian National Congress within six weeks. Such opinion, when received, will be circulated amongst the members of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League and a joint meeting of the two bodies be held to consider the matter at Allahabad in the first week of October next.

BENGAL ORDER.

(c) That this Joint Session of the Congress and the League records its strong protest against the high-handed action of the Government of Bengal in prohibiting the public meeting which was to be held in Calcutta under the presidency of Sir Rash Behari Ghose to protest against the internment of Mrs. Besant, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia and trust that the people of Bengal will use every lawful means to vindicate their constitutional rights of freedom of speech and the meeting resolves further that the Congress Committee and the Council of the League request the Government of India and the Secretary of State to direct the Government of Bengal to forthwith withdraw the Order in question prohibiting the holding of the meeting above referred to.

LORD HARDINGE.

(d) That this Joint Session of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League desires to place on record the undiminished confidence of their countrymen in Lord Hardinge whose sympathetic and liberal policy won love and esteem of India and enabled the Government of India to send Indian troops for France at a critical juncture. It was Lord Hardinge's courage and sagacity that made this and other contributions by India to war possible. Indian public opinion deeply resents the attempt made to discredit him by attributing to him the responsibilities for failures in Mesopotamia. India claims a determining voice in any judgment to be passed on the administration of any of her Viceroys. Resolved further that the above resolution be cabled to the Prime Minister and Secretary of State.

SPECIAL CONFERENCES.

(e) That this meeting recommends to the Provincial Congress Committees the desirability of holding a special session of the Provincial Conference in the same day to give united and public expression to the feeling of the country on the present political situation.

(f) That this meeting recommends that arrangements be made for holding supplementary Congress meetings in every District on the same day on which the Indian National Congress will meet at Calcutta, at which the translation of the Address of the President in vernacular or vernaculars of the Provinces should be read and the resolution of the last Congress on the scheme for self-government be adopted.

PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

(g) That a petition to Parliament be submitted in support of the Scheme of Reforms adopted by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League to be prepared by the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and Mr. N. M. Samarth.

THE INTERNMENTS.

(h) That this meeting urges upon the Government that no further time be lost in restoring to liberty Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shankat Ali, who have been long kept under confinement under the Defence of India Act arbitrarily without any charges being formulated or proved against them.

(i) That a telegram in the name of the meeting be sent to Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale.

MEMORANDUM TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Resolved that the President be authorised to submit the following representation to the Secretary of State and to H. E. the Viceroy :—

1. The policy foreshadowed in the speeches made in May last by His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and H. E. Lord Pentland, Governor of Madras, followed by orders of Madras Government internment Mrs. Besant and her co-workers, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia under the Defence of India Act and *ipso facto* approval which the Right Hon'ble Austen Chamberlain, as Secretary of State for India thought fit to give to the Madras Government's action have created situation so fraught with anxiety to all who are interested in orderly progress and advancement of the country, that this Joint Session of the All-India Congress Committee and the Council of the All-India Moslem League specially convened to consider the grave situation and held at Bombay on the 28th and 29th of July 1917, deems it a duty both to the Government and the people to submit the following representation to the Secretary of State for his careful consideration :—

CONGRESS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

2. Long before the war the Indian National Congress in written constitution which it framed for itself in 1908 placed before the country as its object the attainment of self-government within the Empire on Colonial lines by steady reform of the existing system of administration by constitutional means. Prior to that the same ideal has been clearly enunciated on the platform of the Congress in the Presidential Address of the late Mr. Gokhale in 1905, and more explicitly still, in that of

the late Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji, in 1906, Self-government for India within the Empire to be attained in the same manner and by the same means was also formally adopted as the ideal by the All-India Moslem League at its session held in 1915.

3. In December 1915 Sir S. P. Sinha, as President of the 30th Indian National Congress at Bombay, earnestly appealed to England to declare her ungrudging approval of India's cherished ideal of Self-Government within the Empire and to take steps to make effective advance towards that goal at the close of the war. It was under his presidency that the Congress passed a resolution authorising the All-India Congress Committee to frame a scheme of substantial measures of reform towards the attainment of that goal and to submit a scheme for approval of the next Congress after conferring with the Committee which the All-India Moslem League was to appoint for the same purpose.

NINETEEN MEMBERS' MEMORANDUM.

4. Accordingly leading members of the Congress at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta sat from day to day for several weeks to frame detailed scheme of reforms. Schemes so prepared were carefully considered clause by clause for three days at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee held at Allahabad on the 22nd 23rd and 24th of April 1916, and the result of the Committee's prolonged deliberations was embodied in a tentative scheme to be further considered in concert with the reform committee appointed by the All-India Moslem League, which also tentatively framed its own scheme in August 1916 more or less on the same lines. On the basis of the schemes so framed, nineteen elected members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council drew up a memorandum in which they embodied the main features of the schemes and submitted it to the Viceroy over their signatures in October 1916.

5. The All-India Congress Committee and the Reform Committee of the All-India Moslem League met at Calcutta in November 1916, and again at Lucknow in December 1916 and conjointly settled detailed scheme of reforms as a definite step towards self-government which they desired the Government to take at the close of the war. The joint scheme was unanimously passed by the National Congress as also by the All-India Moslem League at their sessions held at Lucknow in December last.

6. This scheme does not ask for "full and responsible Self-Government" or "complete autonomy for India" at the close of the war, but asks for certain necessary constitutional reforms, in the existing system of the Government of India which if carried out would only constitute a definite step in the direction of self-government for India within the Empire.

AN EDUCATION PROPAGANDA.

7. In December last the National Congress passed a resolution calling upon its own Congress Committees, Home Rule Leagues and other constitutional associations which have as their object the attainment of self-government for India within the Empire to carry on an educative propaganda throughout the year on law-abiding and constitutional lines in support of the scheme of reforms adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League which they have been doing ever since.

VIOLENT ADVERSE CRITICISMS.

8. Before this educative propaganda could be seriously undertaken in all parts of the country the reforms formulated, after great thought and anxious deliberation, by men of light and leading in India, became the subject of strong adverse criticism in high quarters. His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, made a speech at Calcutta on the eve of the Congress session in December last, in which, referring apparently to the memorandum of the nineteen elected members of His Legislative Council, he deprecated what he was pleased to call "catastrophic changes." About the same time in an article which Lord Sydenham contributed to last year's December number of "The Nineteenth Century and After," and to which he gave sensational heading "Danger in India," he condemned the proposals of nineteen elected members as "revolutionary proposals." In a second article on the same subject in this year's January number of the same magazine he insinuated that German intrigue was at work in India and in the same breath went the length of misrepresenting with special reference to the memorandum which he called the immediate arm of the party called moderate, that some moderates under the influence of extremists are demanding a revolution and concluded by suggesting that repression was inevitable to avert the danger involved in allowing such demands to be made.

RECENT PRONOUNCEMENT.

9. The policy suggested by Lord Sydenham did not take long to be inaugurated in this country. It is generally believed that in March last the Government of India issued a circular to local Governments outlining the policy to be pursued by the latter in connection with the Indian demand for reforms. The terms of that circular are not known to the public. But in May last His Honour Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant-Governor, Punjab, and His Excellency Lord Pentland, Governor, Madras, made pronouncements which betray by their similarity of tenor and phraseology, a common source of inspiration. In those pronouncements taken conjunctively two provincial authorities exaggerate the nature of Indian demands—deprecate them in strong language, enjoin people to abstain from all agitation, while the war was going on, and threaten them with repressive action if they did not do so. Further they declare that, Post-War Reforms which will be granted would be of minor and would fall far short of public expectations. These pronouncements created great unrest in the country. Exaggerated statements of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in particular that changes proposed by the Indian party of reform would be as revolutionary in their character and as subversive of existing constitution as those which Ghadar emissaries endeavour to bring about, transgressed all limits of fair criticism and was not only intemperate but provocative.

"EXTRAVAGANT" EXPECTATIONS.

10. Educated Indians resented being told notwithstanding what was going on in England and in other parts of the Empire not to carry on during the war an educative propaganda for any constitutional reform whatever, but to remain silent on pain of repression while the Government of India were known to have formulated in secret and despatched to the Secretary of State for his approval certain proposals for Post-War Reform which, judging from the speeches of the provincial authorities, referred to above, could only be of a

minor character. It was apparently in view of the nature of these proposals that the people were asked to give up vain hopes and extravagant expectations.

11. Hopes and expectations which the Indian public were told not to entertain, have been ardently cherished by them for more than a generation and were further strengthened by assurances given by responsible British statesmen since the beginning of the war in warm appreciation of India's spontaneous and enthusiastic rally in the cause of the Empire and her unstinted help to England in men, money and munitions, assurances repeated from time to time in language of undoubted sincerity encouraging India to hope that after the war she will have her full share of liberty, justice and political equality for which England and her great Allies were carrying on this titanic struggle.

12. For authors of the pronouncements to tell the Indian public that Post-War Reforms would fall far short of their expectations was tantamount to their pre-judging the issue and trying to force their own conclusion on the people of India in supersession and in defiance of the British Parliament with whom alone rests the final decision of the matter.

13. To tell the Indian public that Post-War Reforms would be but of a minor character as outlined by them in their speeches was more regrettable on account of the obvious implication that the assurances given by responsible British statesmen from the Prime Minister downwards were mere hollow hopes held out by them to the people of India on grounds of political expediency.

14. Any thing said or done which is calculated to create such impression and thus to shake the confidence of the Indian public in the political integrity of the British statesmanship is irritating to educated Indians as a class, striven as they have, for nearly half a century, to inculcate loyalty to British connection in the minds of their countrymen, based on their own reasoned conviction that freedom-loving instincts and sense of honour and justice of British democracy as represented by high-souled British statesmanship may safely be relied on by India for realising her aspirations for political freedom as a self-governing unit of the British Empire.

MADRAS INTERNMENTS.

15. Irritation caused by pronouncements of provincial authorities referred to above became acute when the threats of the Madras Government materialised in the internments of Mrs. Besant and her two associates, Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, under the Defence of India Act in the absence of any evidence placed before the country establishing that any of the persons interned had, in reality, acted or was really about to act in a manner prejudicial to public safety which alone would justify executive action under the drastic provisions of that Act the thinking and independent portion of the Indian public is naturally reluctant to accept the *"ipse dixit"* of the executive in a matter of this kind and is disposed not only to question the justice and propriety of such an extreme measure but to characterise the same taken as arbitrary and unjustifiable and as a great political blunder calculated to produce mischievous consequences of far-reaching character on the public life of the country.

16. There is a consensus of opinion among the Indians throughout the country that the internments

are the result of a policy of repression inaugurated with a view to put down all agitation for constitutional reform while the war was in progress so that the silenced Indian public may be forced to accept such small concessions as the Government of India may be willing to make.

17. The authorities responsible for this policy of repression failed to estimate correctly the real strength of opinion in the country demanding substantial step forward towards Self-Government for India within the Empire at the close of the war. They failed to realise further that India, convinced of the justice of its cause and determined by all constitutional means to see it triumph cannot thus be coerced into submission.

CONGRESS-LEAGUE DEMANDS.

18. These being the main reasons which have created the storm of indignation throughout the country, remedies for allaying it and restoring the confidence of the Indian public are in the hands of the Government and should be resorted to without delay in the interests of peaceful progress.

19. Those remedies are (a) that an authoritative pronouncement be made pledging Imperial Government in unequivocal terms to the policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire and enjoining agents and servants of the Crown in India to make honest and strenuous efforts to achieve the end in view at an early date; (b) that immediate steps be taken to sanction schemes of reforms conjointly framed and adopted by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League with a view to give effect to it at the close of the war; (c) that pursuant to the aforesaid authoritative pronouncement, proposals which the Government of India may frame shall be published for public discussion; (d) complete reversal of the policy of repression inaugurated by the authorities in India and as an earnest thereof, immediate release of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia.

CONCLUSION.

20. These are measures which this Joint Session earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to adopt, before the present political situation in India which is already one of grave anxiety, become deplorably complicated. Statesmen in high office are sometimes apt to withhold for fear of appearing to have yielded to popular clamour what they would otherwise be willing to concede. This Joint Session trusts that no such consideration will deter the Imperial authorities from pursuing the statesmanlike course of assuaging public feeling in India without delay. That feeling which was already acute is being intensified by authorities in India denying even to the most respected citizens of unquestioned loyalty in different parts of the country the right to hold public meetings to criticise actions of the Government in thoroughly lawful and constitutional manner. The Bengal Government have intensely aggravated the situation by issuing orders on Friday last to stop the public meeting which was to have been convened by the Sheriff on requisition at the Town Hall of Calcutta under the Presidency of Sir Rash Behari Ghose to criticise the action of the Madras Government in internment Mrs. Besant and her two associates. Any delay in ordering complete reversal of this repressive policy would be deplorable beyond measure.

Indian Political Reforms

A *Gazette of India Extraordinary* published on August 20th issued the following notification : The following announcement is being made this day by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons and is published for general information :

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of administration and the gradual development of Self-Governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be, that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in

India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided with His Majesty's approval that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India, to consider with the Viceroy the view of local Governments and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others. I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility. Ample opportunity will be afforded for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament."

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

H. E. The Viceroy on Secondary Education.

The following is His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the recent Conference of Directors of Public Instruction in Simla :

You have been asked to meet here, in Simla, to consider certain important questions relating to our educational system and I have come to open your Conference not with any idea of attempting to influence your deliberations, but with the sole purpose of bidding you welcome and of emphasising the importance I attach to the questions which you are about to discuss and first let me repeat at the risk of seeming platitudinous, the principle which I would urge should govern all educational conferences which examine the question which is being laid before you solely from the educational standpoint. I quite appreciate that it may be looked at from other points of view but we are not asking you to do this. What we are asking you to consider is whether, accepting the present policy with regard to English, any improvement can be made in the general arrangements now in force in your schools with reference to the teaching of English and the use of English as a medium of instruction, keep-

ing two desiderata in view ; first, that students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught and, secondly, that they may complete their secondary course with a more adequate knowledge of the English language than at present. Some of you may be aware in this connection that the larger question of making the Indian vernaculars the media of instruction and the study of English as a second language compulsory for Indian pupils in all secondary schools, was brought up in the form of a resolution in the Imperial Council in March 1915 and that the then Educational Member, Sir Harcourt Butler, deprecated any reference to the Local Governments on the subject until after the end of the war. It is not our intention to go back on this decision, but I have thought it well that we should have this small conference in the meantime with a view to clear the ground and to arrive at a better idea of the points which should later on be referred to Local Governments for consideration. You will observe, then, that the scope of your enquiry is strictly limited, but none the less there is important spade-work for you to do and I look forward to valuable conclusions being reached by you. While, however, you will

be forming your conclusion on the working of the present arrangements prevailing in the schools, it may not be amiss if I remind you briefly of the past history of this question in its broader aspects.

As you are all aware we go back for our beginnings to Macaulay's famous Minute of 2nd February 1835. In that Minute Macaulay gave, as has been said, a decisive bias to the course of education in India and decided unhesitatingly in favour of English, but Macaulay was not oblivious of the claims of the vernaculars and looked forward to the formation of a class which should refine the vernacular dialects of the country, enrich these dialects with terms of science borrowed from the western nomenclature, and render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population. From 1835 we pass on chronologically to 1854, when a Despatch was written by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council on the subject of the education of the people of India and from this despatch let me quote certain striking passages. "It is neither our aim nor our desire," the directors say, "to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. In any general system of education the English language should be taught, when there is a demand for it, but such instruction should always be combined with a careful attention to the study of the vernacular language of the district, and with such general instruction as can be conveyed through that language, and while the English language continues to be made use of as by far the most perfect medium for the education of those persons who have acquired sufficient knowledge of it to receive general instruction through it, the vernacular language must be employed to teach the far larger classes who are ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with English. We look, therefore, to the English language and to the vernacular languages of India together as the media for the diffusion of European knowledge." The Education Commission of 1882 did not put forward any definite recommendations on the subject but came to the conclusion that a boy was more intelligent if he had studied through the medium of the vernacular till the highest classes were reached. The Indian Universities Commission of 1902 was strongly in favour of the inclusion of vernaculars as a subject in the higher courses even up to the

M.A. The Government resolution of 1904 laid down that English should not become the medium of instruction earlier than the age of 13, and that no scholar in a secondary school should even then be allowed to abandon the study of the vernacular.

Now these extracts raise some important points. Macaulay decided in favour of the highest education being in English but clearly contemplated an improvement of the vernaculars so as to make them the vehicle of western thought. The despatch of 1854 went further. It distinctly contemplated the encouragement and enriching of the vernaculars, translation from English, the limitation of English education to very few and the propagation of western knowledge through translations. Sixty-three years have elapsed since the date of Sir Charles Wood's Despatch and English education has taken a firm hold upon the country. It is surely out of the question now to talk of going back on the established lines of our educational system. The interest of the educated classes is centred in English. English is on the high road to become, if it has not already become, among the educated classes the *lingua franca* all over India. English is required in all the public administration of the country. While I have much sympathy with those who deplore the neglect of the vernaculars, is it not obvious that the substitution at this time of day of the vernaculars for English is beyond the bounds of practical politics even if the Government were willing to consider such a policy? I would further ask them to remember the great divergence of opinion among the Indian members on this subject which was manifested in the debate in 1915 on the resolution to which I have already alluded. I think that the discussion which then took place affords strong confirmation of what I have just said. Again the very multitude of the vernaculars presents a practical difficulty for which I have never seen a satisfactory solution propounded. Moreover with each generation English will come more and more to be learnt not in the schools but in the every-day intercourse of the home. This larger question is not now before you, but in view of what has been urged elsewhere. I have briefly enumerated some of the patent objections to a reversal of the present policy. Accepting, then, this position what is there that we can do? I believe that a very real advance can be made in the encouragement of the vernaculars both outside and independently of their place in our educational system and within our educational

system. We should carefully consider the present teaching of English. It may be, for instance, that we are concentrating our attention too largely on the teaching of English literature and too little on the acquisition of English as a living language. Whatever the cause I think it is common ground that the teaching of English in our schools is not as satisfactory as we could wish. It will be for you, gentlemen, to help us with your advice in this matter.

Lastly I come to the subject of the media of instruction. As you all know the vernacular and English are both the media of instruction in our schools and it is sometimes overlooked to what a large extent the vernaculars figure at the present time as a medium of instruction, but it is certainly worth our while to examine from the educational standpoint what the relative position of these media should be to each other, having in view the one object, that the pupil should derive the greatest possible advantage from his schooling. This is a matter on which only those who have practical knowledge of the work in the schools are competent to advise, and I can only regret that I have not that first hand knowledge which would entitle me to give an opinion. You, however, have that knowledge and I feel confident that you will be able to give us some sound and practical advice. Do not, I pray you, despise this piece of spade-work which we are asking you to do. From my experience of educational work I would impress on you the importance of these seemingly small points of practical working. The best laid schemes often go stray through the neglect of mishandling of some small detail of which only those at work in the schools realise the importance. I recognise the value of large and generous ideals in the sphere of education but never forget the need from time to time of examining and making sure our foundations, and what is more important, what more practical task in this connection could be laid upon you than the duty of devising means whereby students may be enabled to obtain a better grasp of the subjects which they are taught and to complete their secondary course with a more competent knowledge of the English language than at present.

Lord Willingdon on Dadabhai Naoroji.

At a recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, H. E. the Governor paid the following tribute to the memory of the Grand Old Man :—

Gentlemen,—I am glad to add my word to the touching references which we have listened to in the speeches of honourable members. My tribute of respect and regard is to the memory of a great citizen and a great statesman. I had the privilege of personal acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and I well remember when first I visited him at his home at "Versova," the great impression made on my mind by the keenness of his brain, his knowledge of public affairs and his deep interest in the progress of his country notwithstanding his great age. And none who were present will ever forget that great gathering of citizens of Bombay, who met to do him honour only a few months ago in the University on the dignity of his refined and fragile figure when he rose to receive at my hands the highest honour which it is in the power of the University to bestow. He was a citizen of the Empire in its truest sense, for not only did he devote his life to the service of his native land, but he had the hitherto rare experience for an Indian of using his vote and influence in the Imperial Parliament in England, sent there not by the votes of his own fellow-countrymen, but by the citizens of that part of the Empire to which we Englishmen belong. The hand of death has been heavy indeed during the last few years on the tried and trusted leaders in our public life, Messrs. Gokhale, Phorozeshah Mehta, and now Dadabhai Naoroji have all been taken from us. We can ill-spare them in these anxious and strenuous times, but they have left us the fine example of their public service and I trust that we shall always find in this country, in future years, great leaders as much respected and trusted by the people with an equal sense of fairness, of courage and fearlessness in all their public and political thoughts and actions, who will carry on the work of the great men and will lead this country on by sure and certain progress to the goal of self-government within the Empire which it should be the ideal of every loyal patriot to attain.

DADABHAI NAOROJI'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

This is a new and up-to-date edition. It brings under one cover an exhaustive and comprehensive collection of the speeches and writings of Dadabhai Naoroji. The first Part is a collection of speeches he delivered before the Indian National Congress; all the speeches he delivered in the House of Commons, and a selection of what he delivered from time to time in England and India. The second Part includes his statements to the Welby Commission, and many other vital questions of Indian administration. With Appendices, 800 pages. Price, Rs. 3. To Subscribers of "I.R.," Rs. 2-8.

G. A. NATESAN & CO., 3, SUNKURAMA CHETTY STREET, GEORGE TOWN, MADRAS

A New Laboratory in Gwalior

We learn that Professor Gajjar, M.A., F.C.S., of Bombay has opened a chemical and technical laboratory at Gwalior in which 'he is to give instruction in chemical and technical analysis to post-graduate students or capitalists with sufficient scientific training to enable them to take benefit of the instructions imparted by the regular course. Not more than six students can be accommodated at present. Deserving students will be given facilities and encouragement which may lead them on to technical and industrial research in the special industries they select. The laboratory is prepared to analyse all commercial and food materials and consultations are offered regarding improvements in existing industries or utilisation of by-products, etc. The laboratory is intended to develop the mineral and other resources of the State, develop existing industries and help the State Municipalities, Customs and Abkari, Agricultural and Forest departments. It is equipped for analytical works of all kinds, possesses a library of standard scientific works and is established in the old technical workshop near the railway and State Pottery Works.

Temperance in Bhopal

"All advocates of temperance must have welcomed with the greatest pleasure," writes the *Express*, "the announcement that H. H. the Begum of Bhopal has proclaimed in her territory that any Mahomedan found in a state of intoxication, or carrying liquor in his hand or sitting in a liquor shop should be arrested and prosecuted and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment, if found guilty. It is a pity that her Highness has excluded her Hindu subjects from the operation of the measure. Drinking is as much prohibited by the sacred religion of the Hindus as that of the Mahomedans, and our ruling Princes should set examples for reform in this direction in their States."

Cochin Factory

We understand that Messrs. Tatta & Sons will shortly open a branch of their firm at Ernakulam to run a factory for the manufacture of margarine from cocoanut oil on a large scale. The estimates for the factory amount to Rs. 23 lakhs. The Cochin Durbar has promised to give the site free of cost and also to give every other possible assistance. It is also suggested that there should be in the vicinity another factory for the preparation of all the other products of the cocoa palm.

Travancore Scholarships

The Government of Travancore have sanctioned a scheme of foreign scholarships. Four scholarships will be awarded to candidates willing to undergo training in English universities and Industrial Institutions for a period of three years. The courses of training will be: Weaving and Dyeing at the Leeds University, soap making at the Liverpool University, leather and tanning at the Leather-sellers' Company, London, and chemical industry at the Imperial College of Science and Technology, London.

Baroda Industrial Club

Mr. Khare, the General Secretary of the Indian Guild of Science and Technology at Baroda, in the course of a speech at a recent entertainment in his honour, described in detail how the Indian Guild was keeping up a register of foreign-trained men and gathering useful industrial information; and the meeting debated upon various ways of bringing together skilled Indian labour and Indian capital. It also discussed the methods to be adopted so as to minimise the difficulties of small manufacturers. The president described the various industrial schemes that were being investigated by the State and the difficulties they had to meet with.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Colonies and India

The war has brought about many changes, not the least significant of which is the change in the angle of vision of the statesmen of the self-governing Colonies in relation to India and her people. They had hitherto seen the Indian coolies and their friends. They had not come in contact with the real manhood of our people. They had not seen the Indian soldier, or the Indian politician. And now that they have come face to face with them and have witnessed their performances, a veritable transformation has taken place in their outlook in regard to Indian affairs.

Indian Demands in Canada

We read in a recent issue of the journal *Canada and India* that the Canada-Indian League has presented a petition to Dr. Roche, the Dominion Minister of the Interior, in which the following demands have been formulated :

(1) We ask that reasonable regulations which facilitate the natural restoration of family life to the East Indians now domiciled in Canada be provided and placed in operation immediately. (2) That the officials whose duty it is to permit the entrance of certain classes of East Indians be instructed to extend to such persons the benefits which the law now affords. (3) That the Dominion Government plead with the Provincial Government of British Columbia to the effect that these men be placed on an equality with all other Canadian citizens, and be allowed the full privilege of the franchise. (4) Whereas the East Indian must now comply with the Orders in Council, known respectively as the Continuous Journey and Asiatic Money Orders, in common with all Asiatics not favoured with special statutory regulations, we ask that, being a British subject, the East Indian should be permitted to enjoy at least the more favourable terms now extended to the Japanese.

Passport for Indians

Regulations have been issued by the Government of the Straits Settlements governing the entry into and departure of Indians from the Colony:—No Indian other than a *bona fide* labourer leaving India after the date of the regulations shall enter or attempt to enter the Colony unless he is in possession of a passport. No Indian shall leave or attempt to leave the Colony for a destination other than the Federated Malay States, Johore, North Borneo or Sarawak without a passport issued by the competent authority in the Colony or the Federated Malay States provided that this regulation shall not apply (a) to any *bona fide* labourer returning to India ; or (b) to natives of Southern India who are *bona fide* labourers proceeding to Kelantan, Kedah or Perlis. Any person guilty of an offence against these regulations shall be liable on conviction before a Police Court to imprisonment or fine.

Indians in Ceylon

The members of the Indian communities (other than estate) resident in Ceylon have addressed a memorial to H. E. the Governor of Ceylon expressing their grievance in regard to the regulations compelling them to obtain passports before they are allowed to go from India to Ceylon. *The Times of Ceylon*, commenting on this, says:—The arguments in favour of a reconsideration of this matter are strong. For instance, it is pointed out that so completely is Ceylon now linked to India in all senses except administrative that there should be no more need for persons to possess passports when proceeding from Ceylon to India than when proceeding from one presidency to another in India. If the aim of the regulations is to prevent undesirable people from entering India, obviously, the easiest way would be to exercise the strictest supervision over the persons entering Ceylon.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Forests in India

In a paper read before the Indian section of the Society of Arts on the economic development of Indian forest products on April 20, Mr. R. S. Pearson, Imperial Forest Economist, expressed the opinion that there was a large field for the development of bamboos and elephant grass as raw material for paper-making in India.

Sir Robert Carlyle, who presided, said that he regarded the question of the development of the forests of India as a most important one. India needed an increase in revenue in order to meet the great need for larger expenditure in many directions, especially on education, agriculture and industry. Although the forests of India were equal in extent to those of Spain, Portugal and Belgium combined, they represented only three pence an acre in gross revenue. The development of the forests was impossible without expenditure. A good staff, the most advantageous use of money, good roads and the best machinery were all necessary.

Japanese Clock Industry

In the course of an article in the July number of the *Wealth of India*, on the "clock and watch industry of Japan," Mr. Ananda Prakash Ghose, M.S.C.I., (Lond.) points out that the manufacture of time machines is one of the oldest industries of that country. After giving an account of the various factories for making clocks and watches and an estimate of the total manufacture and export of time machines in Japan, the writer points out:—

"In India mostly clocks and some time and hanging pieces are imported from Japan. Watches have practically no market here. It is just about a decade that Japan began to send her time machines to India. Now-a-days Japanese clocks have been spread everywhere in Indian markets. I do not state here the merits or demerits of the Japanese clocks, but anyhow they

have gained footing and recognition in Indian markets; cheapness and plentiful supply may be the chief factors connecting the situation.

During the period just before the war, India imported Japanese time machines to the worth of about 2 lakhs of rupees. The present world-wide war has given impetus to all export trades of Japan and taking advantage of that she is increasing her exports of time machines to all countries and specially India. Many new companies have started and works and exports have greatly increased and this industry is in a most flourishing condition now. This quiet and domestic industry in Japan is engaging thousands of hands both males and females and increasing the ingenuity and resources of the country.

Military Industries in India

General Sir O'Moore Creagh, the late Commander-in-Chief in India, writes. —

Our Eastern Empire produces its own rifle ammunition. There is a rifle and gun factory in India much improved since I was there, for little more than repairs were tackled then.

Much pressure was brought to bear upon me to recommend the abolition of these factories because, it was urged, the weapons could be got cheaper from England. I am glad to say that I refused. Quite apart from their military value, the Calcutta factories constitute the best technical schools in the country and almost the only ones which produce skilled labour to any great extent excepting the railway workshops. To dilute this labour is an awkward task, for caste prejudice offers difficulties, but it is not impossible.

If Sir Thomas Holland, who has lately been appointed Contract Superintendent, has a free hand he will make India and the British forces based on it almost self-contained in military requirements as regard material. But it is a big "I.F."—

Small Manufactures

It is interesting to learn that France has recently passed a law with a view to facilitate the organisation of credit for small traders and manufacturers. This new measure provides for the constitution of mutual guarantee societies amongst the classes. A home paper gives the following as some of the main features of these societies :—

“Shares must be nominative, and each of at least 50 francs in value, but capital may be taken up by subscribers who are not entitled to reap the benefits of the organisation. Special rules lay down the conditions on which these subscribers must work, and it is particularly stated that members shall not be released from their engagements until after those operations that are contracted before they surrender their holdings have been liquidated. Members can withdraw, however, at the end of any year, after giving three months' formal notice, but the money value of their shares can only be paid over after all operations that were outstanding at the date of the demand of withdrawal have been liquidated. Special precautions are taken to prevent any credit being rashly given, and as regards profits, 10 per cent. automatically goes to reserve. Four per cent. interest will then be paid to share-holders. Three-quarter of the surplus will go automatically to reserve, and what is left is to be divided among the various members according to the amount of business they have done. Payments to reserve cease to become obligatory when the reserve funds equal half the capital. The directors of the society are personally responsible in the event of any infringement of the articles. It is further laid down that subscribers to either of these classes of societies and directors must be of French nationality.”

Of all countries India, observes the *Hindu*, suffers most from lack of credit facilities, and it must be a source of great relief to small traders if something could be done on lines similar to the French scheme.

Personal Equation in Industry

Thomas A. Edison, the great American scientist writes in the *Scientific American* :—

I think one of the best measures of people is the number of looms that a man can attend. In China, I believe, a man has all he can do to attend to a single loom. America stands ahead in the number of looms a man can handle and produce the same quality of goods. I believe we (Americans) stand 40 per cent. higher than any other country. Psychologists would do well to study the mental equations of different countries. When I went through Europe I took the personal equations of the men. In France they were quicker to pay attention to my automobile horn than in any other country. In Switzerland you could nearly run a man down before he heard the horn. It represents the peculiar mental state of the people. For instance, I had a factory in Berlin for making phonographs, one in Antwerp and one in London. The highest efficiency production with the same conditions was in Antwerp and the lowest in Great Britain.

An Indian War Industry

A Government press *communiqué* states :—An industry that has not hitherto met with the attention it deserves in this country is the manufacture of strawboards, of which large quantities, amounting in value to about 8½ lakhs of rupees in 1913-14, are imported into India. The chief exporting countries, prior to the war, were Holland, Germany and the United Kingdom. Recently imports from Japan are noticed to have been increasing with great rapidity. The purposes for which strawboards are used are mainly packing yarn in bundles, bookbinding, constructing cardboard boxes, and mounting pictures. There must, therefore, always be a large demand for this article, the local manufacture of which should repay the investment of capital in this country. The chief raw materials required are straw and lime, the

straw being converted into pulp by digesting with lime and water ("milk of lime").

From enquiries made by the Indigenous Industries Committee, it has been ascertained that the cost of machinery for the production of both paper and boards on a moderately large scale would be about three lakhs of rupees at the present time excluding freight, the cost being reduced by about 12 per cent. if the plant is required for the production of boards only. This is, however, not recommended, as the production of paper is said to be more profitable than of boards. The plant has been specially designed for the treatment of straw grass and like material by a very cheap process.

Further particulars of the plant as well as information regarding the available literature on the subject can be obtained on application to the Secretary, Indigenous Industries Committee, Secretariat, Bombay.

Industrial Unrest

Summarising the reports of eight district commissions on Industrial unrest in England, Mr. Barnes says that they show a strong feeling of patriotism among employers and employed who are determined to help the State in the present crisis. The majority of the workmen are sensible to the national difficulties. All the commissions emphasise that the leading cause of unrest is the increased cost of living, unequal distribution of food, and belief in profiteering. The operation of the Munitions of War Act is undoubtedly a serious cause, particularly the restriction on a workman selecting his sphere of labour, while changes in working conditions, especially the introduction of female labour, have been made without consultation with the work people.

Causes of unrest which are local and not universal include inadequate housing, liquor restrictions, and industrial fatigue. There is also a prevailing feeling that pledges are not observed as they were before the war, and there is woeful uncertainty with regard to the industrial future.

The commissioners recommend *inter-alia* :—(1) An immediate reduction in food prices, the Government, to some extent, bearing the increased price of food, and a better system of distribution ; (2) the participation of labour in the affairs of the community as partners rather than servants ; (3) closer contact between employers and employed ; (4) the granting of larger discretion to pensions-committees with regard to treatment of discharged soldiers ; and (5) the raising of agricultural wages in the western area to 25 s. weekly.

Glass and Glassware

The imports of glass and glassware into India in 1915-16, observes a contemporary, show a large falling off as compared with 1913-14 notwithstanding the high prices of the articles that are now imported. The value of these imports in the latter year amounted to £1,297,000, it fell to £643 in 1914-15, but in 1915-16 it increased to £710,000. In the pre-war period the bulk of India's requirements in this line was being supplied by Germany and Austria-Hungary, and Japan's position as a supplier of our requirement was not very conspicuous. The outbreak of the war has, however, greatly altered the position. Japan has supplied the Indian market with bangles, beads, bottles, funnels, globes, glassparts of lamps, sheet and plate glass and tableware to the extent of £400,000 against £131,000 in 1914-15 and £105,000 in 1913-14 the increase being one of £265,000 or 205 per cent. While imports from the United Kingdom rose by £20,000 or 14 per cent. to £160,000. Twenty-two per cent. of total glass imports into India from bangles, 18 per cent. funnels, globes and glassparts of lamps, 16 per cent. sheet phials, 10 per cent. beads and false pearls, and 6 per cent. tableware including decanters. We wish it were possible for the Director of Statistics to say to what extent Indian glass manufacturers have prospered owing to the absence of competitions from enemy countries.

Indian Industrial Conference

The following copy of the constitution for the Indian Industrial Conference, passed by the members of its standing committee, is now published for general information :—

The objects of the Indian Industrial Conference are the promotion and development of agriculture, manufactures and trade of India on sound lines .

- (a) By holding conferences and meetings.
- (b) By issuing books, papers, pamphlets or leaflets.
- (c) By arranging, whenever possible, for exhibitions, demonstrations, experiments, etc.
- (d) By encouraging the study of technology.
- (e) By making representations to Government and to the Rulers of Indian States on all matters pertaining to or bearing on agriculture, manufactures and trade.

The Industrial Conference organisation shall consist of :—

- (1) The General Assembly.
- (2) The Standing Committee of management or the Governing Body.
- (3) The Provincial Committees.
- (4) The District, Sub-District and local Committees.
- (5) Affiliated Associations.
- (6) Recognised Associations.

The General Assembly shall consist of :—

- (a) Life members.
- (b) Ordinary members

and shall be the chief controlling authority of the Conference organisation.

The Governing Body shall be its Executive Committee holding such powers and exercising such functions as are assigned to it by these Regulations and the Bye-laws thereunder or by Resolutions of the General Assembly or the Conference.

The Governing Body shall consist of not less than 25 nor more than 30 members selected in this wise.

(1) The President who presided over the last previous Conference.

(2) Secretaries ex-officio.

(3) Five out of the ex-Presidents elected by them.

(4) Two out of their body by Life Members.

(5) Three out of their body by Patrons.

(6) Ten representatives of the ordinary members.

The Governing Body shall be appointed at the Session of the Conference and shall hold office during the year following, provided that if for any reason, the Conference is not held in any year or no appointment of the Governing Body takes place, the Governing Body in office shall continue to hold the office till the next election.

The General Assembly shall consist of :—

- (a) Patrons.
- (b) Life Members.
- (c) Ordinary Members.

Patrons ;—Those who pay or have already paid Rs. 2,000 and above.

Life Members :—(a) Those who pay or have already paid total donations to the Conference up to Rs. 500 or upwards.

(b) Those who have made or hereafter make any single donation of Rs. 250 or upwards.

Ordinary Members are those who pay a yearly subscription or donation which is not less than Rs. 5 and does not exceed Rs. 500.

Indian Exise duty

On the subject of Indian exise duty Sir Roper Lethbridge writes as follows to the *Manchester Guardian* :—"As one of the oldest living of Indian retired officers and as one who has recently spent six whole winters (largely on account of health) in India, I venture to declare that there is not a single public man of known reputation in India whether Indian-born or European, who supports the excise duty of 3½ per cent. or who would regard its enhancement, now or ever, as at all within the range of possibility."

Forest Department in India

The Government of India Memorandum on the "Work of the Forest Department in India" which has been published recently describes the wealth of India's forest resources; It is well known that the forest revenue has rapidly increased. Says the *Bombay Chronicle* :—

The Government have now decided to abandon the present practice of meeting all capital expenditure on forest exploitation from revenue, so that in future the provision of the much-needed transport facilities and of machinery for extraction will not depend on the amount that can be spared from the annual surplus. Forest exploitation is a profitable business in itself and, as is acknowledged in the new publication, in spite of what has been done, there is still room for enormous development in this respect, for there are extensive areas of valuable forest as yet almost untouched, and these represent a vast capital locked up and not only lying idle but deteriorating.

Agricultural development

Mr. A. J. Saunders, F.R.E.S., has made out a strong case for a vigorous and comprehensive programme of agricultural development. He has summarised the results of his inquiry in the *Mysore Economic Journal* as follows :—

I would urge the Agricultural Department to undertake a series of demonstrations in the chief centres of the District, and bring the results within the reach and study of the average ryot. I would suggest that the lines of demonstration should follow method, implements, seed, manure, rotation of crops, breeding of cattle.

Co-operation between villagers in the matters of production and exchange of commodities so as to save to themselves the middleman's profit.

The money-lender and his exorbitant rates of interest are the veritable bane of the poorer ryot. The average ryot cannot continue his cultivating without capital, but at a rate of interest which finally results in the ryot's becoming an

agricultural slave to the money-lender. Happily for the Indian ryot, there is a remedy and it is along the lines of Co-operative Credit Societies. The principle of co-operation is the only salvation for the Indian ryot and I would urge a policy of enlightenment along these lines in every district.

Indebtedness is an actual curse in every village. People seem more or less callous to it. They do not seem to understand the enormous rates of interest they are paying, how that cripples their working capital, and lessens their powers of production. Diminished production means less wealth and capital, and no country can become industrially and commercially great which has the great majority of its population continually in debt.

The Panchama classes are in a deplorable condition, living in a state of abject misery and ignorance, far worse off than thousands of animals around them, and with no future, unless we are moved to bring to them liberty, education, and a chance in life. This survey has led me to see that what the average villager in South India needs is education, ambition, and enterprise.

The Ash of Banana Stalks

The ash of banana stalks and skins contains a large percentage (about 50) of potash with practically no soda. In view of the present great shortage of potash salts the *Wealth of India* suggests that municipal bodies should set aside all vegetable refuse from the markets, so that they could be treated for the recovery of this constituent.

Sunflower-Seeds

Sunflower-seed is extensively produced, and crushed for its oil, in Russia; but not much attention has been given elsewhere to the cultivation of the sunflower for its seed. The oil is suitable for edible purposes, and when refined is a good substitute for olive-oil. The cake is a good feeding-stuff for stock.—*Chambers' Journal*.

Madras Agriculture

It is understood that among the many schemes that are in contemplation by the Government of Madras are:—(1) The establishment of a Second Agricultural College in the Northern Circars, and (2) the opening of a Second Engineering College in the same area. It is well-known that the Coimbatore Agricultural College cannot adequately meet the growing requirements of the Presidency as a whole, and a second college will, therefore, have to be established for the Telugu districts in the near future. The Engineering School, the establishment of which in Vizagapatam has already been sanctioned, may be developed into a more fully equipped institution, to answer the purposes of the second engineering college.

Agricultural Co-operation in India

Dr. John Matthai, lecturing on "Agricultural Co-operation in India," before the National Indian Association, London, on June 8, pointed out that each country in Europe had contributed a distinctive character to the Co-operative movement. Referring to indebtedness as the great initial problem of the movement in India, Dr. Matthai pointed out that it was not peculiar to India, but was found in other countries where agriculture was extensively pursued and which were affected by seasonal variations. Co operation, he declared, exercised moral restraint in making each man responsible for the debts of the society. It was giving material help coupled with moral control. Indian societies were based chiefly on the Raffen-sen model; unlimited liability was possible in small areas where all knew each other, but could not operate to the same extent in urban areas. Central banks were an interesting recent development in India for linking up financing local societies.

Discussing the question of the relation of the State to co-operation, Dr. Matthai agreed that it was the wisest plan to eliminate State control and make the movement self-support-

ing and self-governing. If it was associated with the State the public thought it was sound, and effort might become lax in the absence of criticism; if the State gave financially it destroyed self-help, which was the essence of the movement. But in India he considered that association with the State was essential; the enormous prestige of the Sirkar was necessary to financial success; based on the security of the Government the movement inspired confidence. India, in this respect, must be regarded as an exceptional case.

Summing up the results obtained in the short period of twelve years, Dr. Matthai laid stress upon the reduction of interest compared with the charges of money-lenders—on the improved aspects of villages, the prevention of extravagance, the impetus to education—a share of the profits being set aside for schools, and the bringing back of the old communal life of the village, knit together in a strong bond. A strong local consciousness was developing, and it was in the sphere of local government that the people of India would get the experience necessary for political self-government.

Ploughing by Dynamite

Ploughing by dynamite is being carried on very successfully in America. The famous Dupont Company, probably the biggest manufacturers of explosives in the world, has invented a system which enables the farmer to till virgin land by means of specially prepared low-power dynamite cartridges, which are placed at intervals of ten yards. The dynamite makes a regular furrow, similar to that made by a plough, and the depth can be graded as required. The explosion is so delicate that farmhands who are drilling the whole for the second cartridge are not injured by the explosion of the first, ten yards back. Stumps of trees are readily removed, and during peace time the system is recommended for the construction of bunkers and undulating greens on golf courses.

Literary

THE DAILY PRESS: 1817-1917.

The centenary number of the *Quarterly* contains an interesting article on the decline of the press in England from the pen of Mr. T. H. S. Estcott who says that during the past hundred years journalism has sunk from a liberal profession to a branch of mere business. One of the Old Guards, Mr. Estcott does not conceal his dislike of American manners in and methods of journalism. He adores the Great Delano of the *Times* and enshrines some journalistic amenities in the following paragraph.

The second John Walter (1784 to 1847) placed the Jovian dignity of his journal far above the persistent mud slinging of its rivals. The *Morning Advertiser* led the vituperative chorus by talking about the "bully of Berkshire and the braggadoocio of Printing House Square." The *Times*, like a lady in a crowd, calmly walked on, and only once in a far forgot itself as to hit back at the *Morning Chronicle* as "a paper feeding on libels and lies." In this Donnybrook Fair of reciprocal recrimination, the *Morning Herald* spoke of the *Courier* as "that spavined old hack." The *Courier* itself, like most of Stuart's other papers, took its cue of dignified silence from Printing House Square and ignored the Billingsgate outbreak around it.

NEW INDIA.

On the 16th August the following notice was served on Mr. P. K. Telang, Editor of *New India*: "In the exercise of the powers conferred by Section 4 (1) of the Indian Press Act, 1910, the Governor in Council declares the security deposited in respect of "the *New India* Printing Works, Madras," and all copies of *New India* wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty."

In an editorial, subsequent to the forfeiture of the security, we are told that every arrangement is being made to continue the journal.

TO A BULLET.

The *Times of India* publishes these happy lines from Alec Stanton who writes from Mesopotamia "with profuse apologies to the Shade of Shelley."

Hail to thee, swift cartridge,
Slow thou never wert;
I dislike your dart which
Flings its pointed part

With the greatest skill in carefully-meditated
hurt.

II.

Fast'er yet and faster
From the muzzle flying,
Always thou the master
When it comes to dying!

And, killing, still go on to kill more men a-
trying.

III.

When in mud we wallow
Fighting from a ditch,
Friend or foe you follow—
Doesn't matter which!

Like the Hun your heart is black as blackest
pitch

IV.

Miles and miles of trenches
Echo with your cry;
Tommy never blenches
As you hurry by—

Laughs to think your thrower always scores a
'bye.

V.

You're misguided, bullet,
When a hole you bore.
Out we've got to pull it,
Really you don't score;

And, probably, your victim won't love you any
more.

VI.

When you choose some Hun to
Penetrate right through
You'll find I'm the one to
Raise a cheer for you,

Though I think that killing's a silly thing to do.

VII.

Hence, then, bullet beastly,
When your flight's begun
Don't steer West but Eastly—
Turn round on the Hun!

Change your mind, like Wilhelm, ere the war is
won!

Educational

EDUCATION IN BURMA.

The newly instituted Rangoon School Board, appointed under Sir Harcourt Butler's District School Boards scheme for Burma, held its first quarterly meeting in the second week of this month under the presidency of Mr. Gavin Scott, I.C.S. Among matters considered was a proposal to open a Municipal Girls' School next year, and provide funds in the Budget for 1918-19 for it. The president said the custom of the Burmese in Rangoon and throughout Burma tended towards the education of boys and girls together in almost every vernacular school. He found this system extant and the custom was well established with the consent of the parents, so he proposed deferring the question of providing separate accommodation for Burmese girls. He would say nothing about Tamil or Muslim Girls' Schools. The president's suggestion was adopted.

A NEW COLLEGE AT DELHI.

The scheme of the proposed Ramjas College at Delhi has been far advanced. The Board of Trustees have collected Rs. 85,000 in two months and have got promises of about a lakh of rupees more. In addition to this, Rai Saheb Kedarnath has given landed property and material for building construction worth more than a lakh of rupees.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHERS.

Says the Bishop of Madras in his monthly diary in the current issue of the *Madras Diocesan Magazine*, "it is quite safe to say that in India, certainly in the Madras Presidency, the salaries of the teaching profession ought to be increased by about 30 per cent. It is ridiculous that an ordinary vakil should earn about Rs. 400 a month while the headmasters of large Indian high schools with anything from 500 to 1,000 pupils only receive between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 a month."

CONDITIONS OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Amid a great deal of uncertainty and perplexity, writes Mr. H. R. James, there are two or three propositions which may safely be laid down as conditions of any profitable new departure in India :—

(1) No attempted reform or improvement of education in India can have any real success unless it can somehow win first the approval and support of educated Indian opinion, at least to the extent of a solid body of support.

(2) Success is, further, only possible through the hearty co-operation of Government and enlightened Indian opinion, just as a hundred years ago the Hindu College, or Mahavidyalaya, achieved its great success through the initiative of enlightened Hindus, encouraged first by the sympathy and later by the energetic material support of Government.

(3) Improvement of higher education turns now more than ever on the improvement of secondary education.

(4) It is not safe to ignore or lightly to set aside the views and experience of the men whose lifework has been, and is, Indian education.

EDUCATION IN BRITAIN.

In the House of Commons, on August 10, Dr. Fisher introduced the Education Bill, providing, *inter alia*, for the abolition of half-time after the war. Meanwhile the employment of children under fourteen will be very stringently restricted, and every young person will be compelled to attend part of the time in day and continuation schools. Nursing schools for children under five would be encouraged. Attendance at these would be voluntary, and when a sufficiency of such schools was provided the age of attendance for elementary schools would be raised from five to six. Local education authorities would be empowered to continue elementary education to the age of fifteen, and part-time education would be compulsory till eighteen.

Legal

THE LATE MR. ABDUL RASUL.

In the death of the Hon. Mr. Abdul Rasul at Calcutta, on the 31st July, a most genuine patriot has passed away. An enlightened and cultured Mahomedan, he was an ardent Congressman and Moslem Leaguer and the cause of the Hindu-Moslem *Entente* thus loses an ardent champion. In private life, his friends have always testified to his independence of judgment and affability of character.

Mr. Rasul was born in April 1872, the son of Moulvi Gulam Rasul, Zamindar of Guniauk, in the Tipperah District, who died when Mr. Rasul was quite young. After receiving his primary education in the village school at Kishore, if any, and later in the Government School at Dacca, he started for Liverpool in his 19th year in 1889. He then went to London and joined King's College. He matriculated at Oxford in 1892 and took his B.A. from St. John's College and two years later his M.A. degree. In 1898 he was called to the Bar from the Inner Temple. He married an English lady before returning to India in 1898. Next year he was enrolled in the Calcutta High Court where he has had a successful practice.

Mr. Rasul's interests have been many sided. He was head examiner in English for the Calcutta Entrance Examination from 1899 to 1902 and has also been an examiner for the B.L. Examination. But his political activities have been more pronounced. The Barisal Provincial Conference over which he was to have presided was broken up by the orders of the Government. But he presided over the next session at Comilla and made a notable pronouncement. He also took a leading part in the anti-Partition agitation.

In announcing the death of Mr. Rasul the other day, the Hon'ble the Advocate General was so

deeply moved that he almost broke down. He said:—

"I was staggered as I entered the library to hear of Mr. Rasul's death. It was only yesterday that he was arguing a case with his usual ability before your Lordships. Sudden deaths like these make us realise the emptiness of this life, the hollowness of our activities. Transparently honest, scrupulously fair and well-equipped in the subjects with which he had to deal, Mr. Rasul was an ornament to the profession. As a citizen there was no one here, whether among Hindus, Mahomedans or Christians, who felt that Mr. Rasul was for one day actuated by sectarian feelings. Hindus used to look upon him as one of their community. His outlook on political affairs was at once broad and sound. His independence at the Bar was of a most sturdy character. The profession has lost a good man and the country will mourn the loss of one of its brightest citizens."

Mr. Justice Chaudhury made a feeling reply in which he said —

"The death of Mr. Rasul is a great personal loss to me. I deeply feel the loss to the profession to which he belonged and of which he was an ornament. For integrity he had not his equal, for honest work I have not seen him surpassed. I will not refer to his political activities, but what we all feel is that it is not always that we come across a man leading a public life who has endeared himself to the whole of our community, Hindu and Mahomedan."

AN ORDER TO LEAVE.

An order dated 28th July was served by the Madras Government on Mr. Vishnu Raghunath Karandikar, a member of the staff of *New India*, to the effect that he should leave the Madras Presidency within forty-eight hours from the time of service of this order and shall not enter, reside or remain in the said Presidency. Mr. Karandikar has accordingly left Madras and has joined the *Young India* of Bombay.

Medical

HOSPITALS IN BURMA.

According to the triennial report on hospitals and dispensaries in Burma for the years 1914 to 1916, the confidence of the people of Burma in the efficiency of European medicine continues to grow. The increase in the average attendance in hospitals and dispensaries is not shared by the European and Anglo-Indian communities. The staff is depleted considerably by military demands. The Pasteur Institute was opened in Rangoon in the period under report and statistics indicated its ever increasing utilisation by the people all over the province. The training of midwives and nurses continues with good results, although some local bodies who have had to bear the expense of training midwives complain of a difficulty in retaining the services of European and Anglo-Indian nurses for military service and the former apparently find private employment more attractive than Government or Municipal service. The Burma Medical Act came into force at the end of 1915. Its object is to protect the medical profession and the public from untrained and unqualified practitioners. The Government have under consideration a scheme for providing a class of medical practitioners in the vernacular who would be likely to practise among the poorer classes, especially in rural areas.

STOMACH MEDICINES.

Just how dangerous it is to indiscriminately dose the stomach with drugs and medicines is often not realised until too late. It seems so simple to swallow a dose of some special mixture or to take tablets of soda, pepsin, bismuth, etc., after meals, and the folly of this drugging is not apparent until, perhaps, years afterwards. It is found that gastric ulcers have almost eaten their way through the stomach walls. Regrets are then unavailing; it is in the early stages, when indiges-

tion, dyspepsia, heartburn, flatulence, etc., indicates excessive acidity of the stomach and fermentation of the food contents, that precaution should be taken. Drugs and medicines are unsuitable and often dangerous—they have little or no influence upon the harmful acid, and that is why doctors are discarding them and advising sufferers from digestive and stomach trouble to get rid of the dangerous acid and keep the food contents bland and sweet by taking a little pure *bisurated* magnesia instead. *Bisurated* magnesia is an absolutely pure antacid, which can readily be obtained from the chemists. It is practically tasteless, and half a teaspoonful taken in a little warm or cold water after meals will usually be found quite sufficient to instantly neutralise all harmful acids, soothe and heal the inflamed stomach, and prevent all possibility of the food fermenting. Accompanying every package of genuine *bisurated* magnesia is the manufacturers' guarantee of satisfaction or money back, so that a trial costs nothing unless it really does you good.

THE MALARIA GERM IN WINTER.

Malaria has a typical seasonal occurrence, with little or no appearance during the winter months. Whether the germ of this disease passes the winter in the bodies of human beings or of mosquitoes, or both, has been the subject of much discussion. A recent Public Health Bulletin, by M. B. Mitzmain, reports extensive investigations carried out in Mississippi from February to June, 1915. A search for *Anopheles* mosquitoes disclosed no eggs, larvæ, or pupæ, and led to the conclusion that only the female insects hibernate. More than 2,000 insects were dissected and examined and were found not to harbor malarial parasites; whereas out of 1,184 human beings examined, 492 were found to be carriers of these germs. Hence the opinion of most previous students of the subject was confirmed; viz., that man and not the mosquito is responsible for perpetuating malaria from season to season.

Science.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR PLATINUM.

According to the *Electrical World*, an alloy of 2 per cent. palladium with silver forms a good substitute for platinum in contact and spark devices. The alloy that gives the greatest resistance to spark erosion is 60 per cent. palladium and 40 per cent. silver. The palladium raises the melting point of the alloy and lowers the thermal conductivity.

MEMORIAL TO SIR WILLIAM RAMSAY.

The Committee, of which Mr. Asquith is president, formed to raise a suitable memorial to Professor Sir William Ramsay, announce that, after careful consideration, it has been decided to aim at raising a sum of £100,000, and to devote that sum to two principal objects— the provision of Ramsay Research Fellowships, tenable wherever the necessary equipment may be found, and the establishment of a Ramsay Memorial Laboratory of Engineering Chemistry in connection with University College, London.

The Committee state that they would hesitate to ask for so large a sum of money in such exceptionally difficult times were it not that the objects are of real and urgent national importance. It is important that the fund should be raised speedily, so that the plans for the laboratory and the scheme for the award of fellowships may be prepared before the end of the war, and so that both schemes may begin to operate with as little delay as possible after the return of peace. Accordingly, the Committee appeal to friends and admirers of Sir William, to old students, and to all persons who are interested in chemistry and its application to industry and manufacture to contribute to this memorial, and to send their subscriptions to the hon. treasurers of the fund at University College, London.

CALL FOR BINOCULARS.

In response to the Commander-in-Chief's appeal for binoculars for use by officers in Mesopotamia, the Mathematical Instrument Office, Calcutta, has up to 21st July received 162 binoculars on loan, 50 as gifts and 60 by purchase. Persons who are willing to give, lend or sell these are invited to send them to the officer-in charge, Mathematical Instrument Office, 15, Wood Street, Calcutta, or to deliver them to Messrs. Lawrence and Mayo, Manufacturing Opticians, at their establishments in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Lucknow, Simla and Rangoon for despatch to the Mathematical Instrument Office, Calcutta. All binoculars with a magnification of not less than two diameters will be accepted. Suitable telescope will also be accepted but opera glasses are not required.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

The fifth session of the Indian Science Congress will be held in Lahore on January 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th, 1918. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab has agreed to be patron and Dr. G. T. Walker, C. S. I., will be the president of the session. The following sectional presidents have been appointed:—*Agriculture*, Dr. L. Coleman, (Bangalore); *Physics and Mathematics*, Dr. Wali Mahomed, (Aligarh); *Chemistry*, Dr. G. J. Fowler, (Bangalore); *Zoology and Ethnology*, Dr. Chaudhuri, (Calcutta); *Botany*, Mr. R. S. Hole, (Dehra Dun); *Geology*, Mr. E. S. Pinfold, (Rangoon). Dr. J. L. Simonsen, of the Presidency College, Madras, will be the general secretary, and Mr. A. S. Hemmy and Rai Sahib Ruchi Ram, of the Government College, Lahore, will be local secretaries.

AID TO SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

Professor Maniklal Dutt, of the Presidency College, Calcutta, has been given a research grant of 11,900 dollars for the purpose of his researches on halogenation. Besides its immense value to the chemical industry, halogenation is said to be a great help to modern warfare in producing asphyxiating gas.

Personal

DADABHAI NAOROJI.

Presiding at a meeting of Indian residents and British sympathisers held at Caxton Hall, London, to express the loss sustained by India by the death of Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Wedderburn said that Dr. Naoroji might be called the special saint of modern India. He was the author of India's new inspirations and the spiritual father of worthy disciples. His was a life of service and sacrifice and his devotion had forged a link between England and India. His life revealed faith in the ultimate triumph of justice and right and very assured hopes in the future happiness of India and loving sympathy for the sufferings and sorrows of mankind everywhere.

Sir Herbert Roberts moved a Resolution expressing sorrow and appreciation. He said that in the House of Commons no better and truer representative of India could be found than Dr. Naoroji. The three great lessons of his life were the power of his personality and character, the power of his large patriotism and the power of his persistent and courageous advocacy of good causes.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Abbas Ali Baig and carried in silence. On the motion of Mr. Charles Roberts, seconded by Mr. B. Dube, it was decided to forward a memorial Resolution to the bereaved family.

Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree mentioned that the Parsi community had already expressed their appreciation.

THE LATE MR. KRISHNAMACHARLU.

The late Rao Bahadur P. A. Krishnamacharlu was born in 1876 and was barely 41 years of age when he died suddenly of heart failure on the 19th July. Mr. Charlu came of a Vaishnava Brahmin family, and studied in the Madras Christian College. In 1897 he took the B. A. degree, obtaining the University gold medal for

proficiency in political economy. He was appointed Superintendent of Post Offices, Madras, in 1898. He served in the mofussil districts of the Madras Presidency for about 10 years and was then posted as Personal Assistant to the Post Master General, Madras. Early in 1915 he was selected for the post of Assistant Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, and the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred on him in 1916.

SAHIBZADA AFTAB AHMAD KHAN.

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, of Aligarh, who has been selected for appointment to the Secretary of State's Council, in succession to Sir Abbas Ali Baig, is the son of a Mahomedan notability in the State of Gwalior, where his elder brother, Sultan Ahmad has, for many years, held the office of Minister of Justice. After taking his degree at Christ's College, Cambridge, he was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1894, and had been practising at Aligarh, where he has been closely connected with the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College as a member of the Board of Trustees. In 1911 he presided over the Mahomedan Educational Conference at Calcutta.

II. II. THE AGA KHAN ON LORD HARDINGE.

II. II. the Aga Khan, in a long letter to the *Times*, supporting Lord Hardinge, says: When the moment of the world crisis came, Lord Hardinge, rightly trusting India's profound loyalty to the Emperor and her indignant repudiation of German efforts to induce her to revolt, sent the flower of the Indian Army to France and it arrived in time to share the glory of saving Calais. No request from England for help in any theatre of the war was refused. Lord Hardinge relied on his military advisers and on the unanimity of expert official opinion. His fault was one of too generous a response, considering the means immediately available to the many calls made upon India. Indian opinion heartily endorses the refusal of Mr. Balfour to accept the resignation of Lord Hardinge.

Political .

HOME RULE AGITATION.

The Deccan Sabha, Poona, have submitted to the Governor-General of India, through the Bombay Government, a representation in respect of the grave situation that has arisen in the country because of the manner in which the Indian demand for self-government within the British Empire has been treated by some of the British authorities subordinate to the Government of India. The representation says that the Council of the Sabha submits that the Madras Government clearly misapplied the provisions of the Act and pressed them beyond their legitimate scope when they utilised them against the methods or the results of the methods of a political propaganda for a change in the system of Government. The ordinary Courts were competent to deal with any charge or charges that could be substantiated against Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Arundale and Wadia, and it could not be pretended that the ordinary machinery was not equal to the task. The representation concludes as follows:—India has been waiting for the response with remarkable trust and patience, and all that has been vouchsafed to her in the way of response is that the elected members in the Imperial Legislative Council have been kept at arms length instead of being consulted and treated with trust. The leaders of the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League have to all appearances been ignored. Some of the leaders of the Home Rule League have been interned.

THE THREE-INTERNEED.

Mrs. Besant and her two friends have removed to Coimbatore as her health has been causing much anxiety since her internment at Gulistan. It is hoped that this change of place would effect some improvement though it is generally feared that her indifferent health is primarily due to the sudden curtailment of her freedom.

INDIAN REFORMS.

Lord Islington, the Under-Secretary of State for India, in the course of a lecture to the students at the Oxford Summer Meeting made a pronouncement on the Indian reforms. While careful to say that he was not speaking in his official capacity, Lord Islington outlined the scheme of decentralisation which he described as the most pressing reform required in India and it was impossible to postpone it without serious danger. His other proposals regarding the constitution and function of Councils fall far short of the general expectations in this country which are embodied in the memorandum of the nineteen and in the scheme of Self-Government adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League.

SIR D. E. WACHA ON STATISTICS.

Presiding at a meeting recently held in Bombay, Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha made some interesting revelations which are not, we think, without their lessons. He declared that whenever certain returns were criticised in the Legislative Council either the form in which they were given was changed or scrupulously left out. Thus it was with the Savings Banks in which he had requested the Government and emphasized the necessity of greater clearness but to no use. About the railway statistics—though the Government suffered the loss of a crore of rupees and incurred debts—no sooner was their policy criticised than they left out the item itself. Fortunately the railways were recently making large profits and the deficit on the part of the Government had been saved. His cry to be supplied with figures about foreign trade had never been responded to. Even the working of the census in India had been defective. In 1864 a Government census was instituted and returned a most erroneous figure of nine lakhs as the population of Bombay. In 1881 the first census for the whole of India was taken, but it was equally incorrect: and that of 1891 was alike unsatisfactory.

General

LOANS MADE BY THE UNITED STATES.

Since the war began the following loans, according to the *Statist*, have been made by the United States to foreign countries :—

	In Million Dollars.
Great Britain	1131.40
France	650.50
Russia	123.50
Italy	25.00
Germany	10.00
Canada	289.72
New Foundland	5.00
Latin America	108.97
China	9.00
Neutral European Nations ..	23.50
Total	2376.59

The total is equivalent to £475.32 million sterling. The United States have now taken their full responsibility of waging a war against Germany which will now find herself more completely barricaded on those sea-routes in the Atlantic by which her vessels used to bring foods and material to Hamburg so long as America was neutral. But now that country will spend millions for its own army and navy and for effectually policing the old trade routes. Already the States have authorized fully £1,000 million to be raised, the rate of interest being only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Of this loan £600 million will be placed at the service of the Allies to enable them to pay for their supplies bought in America. It is not proposed to issue the whole loan at once. It will be raised by instalments. The management is in the hands of the Federal Reserve Board. Bonds as low as £5 will be offered. Nothing could be nobler and more magnanimous than this help to the Allies.—*The Bombay Chronicle.*

FOR DISABLED INDIAN SOLDIERS.

Distinguished visitors to Bombay continue to call at the Queen Mary's Technical School for Disabled Indian Soldiers at Byculla and as the work there becomes more highly developed, its value grows the more obvious. Among recent visitors to the School, says the *Times of India*, are Their Highnesses the Gaekwar and Maharani of Baroda and H. H. the Nawab of Sachin. The Gaekwar was delighted with the evident care taken for the comfort and assistance of the wounded men and inquired whether the benefits of the school could not be extended to civilians who had been disabled. He decided on the spot to send one of his men from Baroda to take a course of instruction in poultry farming. The Nawab was also highly pleased with what he saw.

COMMISSIONS FOR INDIANS.

A Gazette of India Extraordinary has published the following notification.—

The Secretary of State for India has announced in the House of Commons the decision of His Majesty's Government to remove the bar which has hitherto precluded the admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks in His Majesty's army and steps are accordingly being taken respecting the grant of Commissions to nine Indian Officers, belonging to native Indian land forces, who have served in the field in the present War and whom the Government of India recommended for this honour in recognition of their services. Their names will be notified in the *London Gazette*, and in the same *Gazette* they will be posted to the Indian army. The Secretary of State and the Government of India are discussing the general conditions under which Indians should, in future, be eligible for Commissions. In due course the Army Council will be consulted, with a view to the introduction of a carefully considered scheme, to provide for the selection of candidates and for training them in the important duties which will devolve upon them.

THE INDIAN REVIEW

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INDIAN COLONIAL EMIGRATION

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

I have carefully read the resolution issued at Simla by the Government of India on the 1st instant, embodying the report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London. It will be remembered that this was the conference referred to in the Viceregal speech of last year at the opening of the sessions of the Viceregal Legislative Council. It will be remembered, too, that this was the conference which Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha were to have attended but were unable to attend owing to their having returned to India before the date of the meeting of the conference. It is stated in the report under discussion that these gentlemen were able to discuss the question of emigration to certain English Colonies informally with the two Secretaries of State, i.e. the Secretary of State for India and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Islington, Sir A. Steel Maitland, and Messrs. Seton, Grindle, Green and Macnaughton constituted the conference. To take the wording of the Resolution, this conference sat "to consider the proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji." The public should therefore note that this assisted emigration is to be confined only to the four Crown Colonies mentioned and not to the Self-Governing Colonies of South Africa, Canada or Australia, or the Crown Colony of Mauritius. What follows will show the importance of this distinction. It is something to be thankful for that "the Government of India have not yet considered the report and reserved judgment on all the points raised in it." This is as it should be on a matter so serious

as this and one which only last year fairly convulsed the whole of India and which has in one shape or another agitated the country since 1895.

The declaration too that "His Majesty's Government in agreement with the Government of India have decided that indentured emigration shall not be re-opened" is welcome, as is also the one that "no free emigrants can be introduced into any Colony until all Indian emigrants already there have been released from existing indentures."

In spite, however, of so much in the report that fills one with gladness, the substantive part of it which sets forth the scheme which is to replace indentured emigration is, so far as one can judge, to say the least of it, disappointing. Stripped of all the phraseology under which the scheme has been veiled, it is nothing less than a system of indentured emigration no doubt on a more humane basis and safeguarded with some conditions beneficial to the emigrants taking advantage of it.

The main point that should be borne in mind is that the conference sat designedly to consider a scheme of emigration not in the interests of the Indian labourer, but in those of the colonial employer. The new system, therefore, is devised to help the Colonies concerned. India needs no outlet, at any rate for the present moment, for emigration outside the country. It is debateable whether in any event the four Colonies will be the most suitable for Indian colonisation. The best thing, therefore that can happen from an Indian standpoint is that there should be no assisted emigration from India of any type whatsoever. In the absence of any such assistance, emigration will have to be entirely

free and at the risk and expense of the emigrant himself. Past experience shows that in that event there will be very little voluntary emigration to distant Colonies. In the report assisted emigration means, to use a mild expression, stimulated emigration; and surely with the industries of India crying out for labour and with her legitimate resources yet undeveloped, it is madness to think of providing a stimulus for the stay-at-home Indian to go out of India. Neither the Government nor any voluntary agency has been found capable of protecting from ill-usage the Indian who emigrates either to Burma or Ceylon, much less can any such protection avail in far-off Fiji or the three other Colonies. I hope that leaders of public opinion in India will therefore take their stand on the one impregnable rock of not wanting any emigration whatsoever to the Colonies. It might be argued that we, as a component part of the Empire, are bound to consider the wants of our partners but this would not be a fair plea to advance so long as India stands in need of all the labour she can produce. If, therefore, India does not assist the Colonies, it is not because of want of will but it is due to want of ability. An additional reason a politician would be justified in using is that, so long as India does not in reality occupy the position of an equal partner with the Colonies and so long as her sons continue to be regarded by Englishmen in the Colonies and English employers even nearer home to be fit only as hewers of wood and drawers of water, no scheme of emigration to the Colonies can be morally advantageous to Indian emigrants. If the badge of inferiority is always to be worn by them, they can never rise to their full status and any material advantage they will gain by emigrating can, therefore, be of no consideration.

But let us for the moment consider the new system. "The system," it is stated, "to be followed in future will be one of aided emigration and its object will be to encourage the settlement of

Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those Colonies, to train and fit them for life and work there and at the same time, to acquire a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonists themselves." So the re-settlement is to be conditional on previous employment under contract and it will be seen in the course of our examination that this contract is to be just as binding as the contracts used to be under indenture. The report has the following humorous passage in it: "He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months." This has a flavour of the old indentured system. One of the evils complained of about that system was that the labourer was assigned to an employer. He was not free to choose one himself. Under the new system, the employer is to be selected for the protection of the labourer. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the would-be labourer will never be able to feel the protection devised for him. The labourer is further "to be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries, by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist." This is another inducement to indenture, and I know enough of such schemes to be able to assure both the Government and public that these so-called inducements in the hands of clever manipulators become nothing short of methods of compulsion in respect of innocent and ignorant Indian labourers. It is due to the framers of the scheme that I should draw attention to the fact that they have avoided all criminal penalties for breach of contract. In India, itself, if the scheme is adopted, we are promised a revival of the much-dreaded depots and emigration Agents, all no doubt on a more respectable basis but still of the same type and capable of untold mischief.

The rest of the report is not likely to interest the public but those who wish to study it will, I doubt not, come to the conclusion to which I have been driven, that the framers have done their best to strip the old system of many of the abuses which had crept into it but they have not succeeded in placing before the Indian public an acceptable scheme. I hold that it was an impossible task. The system of indenture was one of temporary slavery; it was incapable of being amended; it should only be ended and it is to be hoped that India will never consent to its revival in any shape or form.

Development of Democratic Institutions in Russia

BY REV. ARTHUR SLATER.

THE present state of turmoil in Russia is attributed by some who know little of the history of that great people, to the Russians' ignorance of democratic institutions, and their inability to use the power they have now received. To a certain extent it may truly be said that the Russian people have been carried away by their newly gained liberty, for in few countries has there been witnessed such an autocratic rule as that of the Tsars. Yet in some respects few countries have had more real experience of self-government in local matters, and the splendid way in which the enormous needs of the army were met, in spite of the treachery of the Russian ministers and commanders, is a striking tribute to the marvellous local organizations which dealt with the problems as they arose, and with a success that surprised even those who knew the Russian people well. Without doubt, Russia would have succumbed long ago to her lack of organization in military matters, had not the democratic organizations known as the *Zemstvos* taken over much of the work. It was in the central government of the country that Russia lacked self-government, and with their experience in the conduct of democratic institutions in local affairs, there is no reason to believe they will fail in dealing with the larger problems they now have to face. Mackenzie Wallace, than whom there is no Englishman with a greater knowledge of the Russian people, wrote of these democratic institutions :

In spite of the systematic and persistent efforts of the centralised bureaucracy to regulate minutely all departments of the national life, the rural Communes, which contain about five-sixths of the population, remain in many respects entirely beyond its influence, and even beyond its sphere of influence. In the great stronghold of Caesarian despotism and centralised bureaucracy, these village communes are capital specimens of representative constitutional government of the extreme democratic type.

Since these words were written, self-government in Russia has made great strides, and the experience so gained will serve the leaders for wider

and more responsible statesmanship. The nature and development of these institutions will serve to give an idea of the actual method of government in Russia, and perhaps remove some erroneous conceptions of the despotism under which they have lived.

From time immemorial the peasants have had institutions of their own, but with the liberation of the serfs and a more humane policy, they have been able to use them with greater effect in local affairs. The people are grouped in village communes to which the name *mir* is given. There is no isolation in a Russian village, for every part of their lives is regulated by the Village Assembly which consists of the elders of the households who must often meet together to consult on communal matters. Without the permission of the Assembly no farm work can be begun, and the peasant is not even permitted to permanently leave his village without obtaining the consent of the commune, and this consent is not always easy to obtain. Satisfactory security for the fulfilment of all his actual and future liabilities is demanded.

The Assembly discusses all matters affecting the communal welfare, and, as these matters have never been legally defined, and there is no means of appealing against its decisions, its recognised competence is very wide. It fixes the time for making the hay, and the day for commencing the ploughing of the fallow field ; it decrees what measures shall be employed against those who do not punctually pay their taxes ; it decides whether a new member shall be admitted to the Commune, and whether an old member shall be allowed to change his domicile, it gives or withholds permission to erect new buildings on the communal land ; it prepares and signs all contracts which the Commune makes with one of its own members or with a stranger ; it interferes, whenever it thinks necessary, in the domestic affairs of its members ; it elects the Elder—as well as the communal tax-collector and watchman, and the communal herd-boy above all, it divides and allots the communal land among the members as it thinks fit.

This brief summary of the duties of the Village Assembly serves to show how closely the life of the village is regulated. And over this institution no autocratic government has been able to exercise any real authority. Not has it often attempted to interfere. One interesting case of

interference may be quoted. They attempted to regulate by written law the procedure of the Village Assemblies, and among other reforms was that of voting by ballot, a new custom which never struck root.

The *mir* has authority to open schools, support a midwife or doctor, undertake all kinds of work of public utility. The institution has a wonderful elasticity, and though its usefulness has been somewhat impaired by changing conditions of life, it has tried to meet the new situation. Some village communes buy in common, agricultural implements; Artisian wells are bored. The Commune is directly responsible to the Government for the collection of the taxes, and each member of the commune is taxed according to the amount of land he owns. After the lapse of a certain number of years the land in the village is divided between the members, and the work of dividing is one of the greatest responsibilities of the Assembly. All have a right to present their case, and the women who have responsibilities are also permitted to voice their claim in the Assembly. The system of allotment depends entirely on the will of the commune, and no peasant dreams of appealing against it, nor indeed would the authorities presume to dictate in a matter in which the Assemblies have complete autonomy. Though an Elder is appointed to preside at their meetings all real authority is in the hands of the Assembly, of which all the heads of households are members. The advantages of such a system of Local Government are self-evident. Every householder has his piece of land on which to labour, and periodically the extent required by each family is revised. The system of land division is supervised by a body of men who are in close touch with the affairs of every member of the commune, and these may be depended on to act justly in their dealings with each other. For many years, the method of land division has caused serious uneasiness, and certain reforms have been

introduced whereby a householder may become owner of the property. It is rather interesting to note that the tendency of the demands now being made by the peasants in Russia, since the outbreak of the revolution, is to revert to a modern form of Communism.

Several communes make a canton, and the cantonal assembly, composed of one delegate for every ten households, enjoys similar prerogatives to the *mir*s. It elects an elder, and a peasants' tribunal, composed of ten to twelve judges who settle disputes among the peasants in accordance with the local common law. The system of Self Government through the village communes is far in advance, though similar in some respects to the panchayet system in India. In the latter, only a few elders are called to act as judges in disputes, but in the Russian commune every head of the household has an equal voice in all matters concerning the village.

No radical change has taken place in the ordinary system of Government, but the administration of the economic affairs of the district and province was committed to the district and provincial assemblies or Zemstvos, another aspect of local self-government which is of the greatest interest, especially in respect of the almost surprising progress made by the Russian people in the matter of government.

These were introduced in 1866 by Imperial orders, and in this respect differ from the rural commune which grew up slowly in course of centuries and steadily resisted the centralising powers of the autocratic power. But the Zemstvos is a modern institution and represents "an attempt to lighten the duties and correct the abuses of the Imperial administration by means of Local Self-Government." A Commission was appointed in 1859 for the purpose of conferring more unity and independence on the local economic administration, and when the results were published in 1864 the expectations of the Russian

ran high. Here was an organization which rested on the elective principle, and by means of it, the people hoped soon to provide the country with good roads, safe bridges, and well-appointed hospitals. But their hopes were not fulfilled partly through the listless apathy of provincial life, and partly because the central government was careful to see that none of these assemblies took on a political complexion. The Zemstvos for a time worked well, but there came a period when it almost fell into decay. It performed tolerably well its ordinary every-day duties; it greatly improved the condition of the hospitals; it contributed to the spread of education; it created a few and more equitable system of taxation; and lastly, it instituted a system of mutual fire insurance which has been a great boon to the villagers. Such were the results obtained during the first twenty years or so, when the institutions were slowly making their way among the people. But during the last decade, since the Russo-Japanese war, the Zemstvos have taken on a new life, and have become the main factors in the commercial life, and to some extent, in the political life, of the country. The Russo-Japanese war made great demands on the country, and in those days the Zemstvos responded to the call for every kind of medical supply which they made it their object to provide. From that time they devoted greater attention to the building of schools, elementary and technical, they created and furnished many hospitals, organised sanitary stations regularly visited by a doctor once a week, and improved the postal system. Certain of the Zemstvos have devoted their attention to the opening of new channels for national prosperity by supplying the villages with agricultural implements and by encouraging home industries. They are spending five times as much for the encouragement of small industries as does the central government. They all work together on a plan. One attends to the technical side of the industrial work; another considers means of selling the

goods; a third organises popular credit for household manufacturers; a fourth attends to getting low-priced materials, and so on. They have started special banks to assist the peasants, and community workshops have been organised for the execution of Government orders. On these lines they were steadily progressing. Two unions were formed of the Zemstvos and these greatly strengthened the power of the assemblies. They were not political bodies, but we can readily understand how easily such strong bodies, representing all classes in the district, would exert a political influence. On the outbreak of the Revolution Prince Lvoff, the President of the Zemstvos Union was selected Premier.

The war increased their commercial and political activities. The old régime proved an utter failure, and department after department was handed over to the Zemstvos Unions. How nobly they responded to the nation's call is one of the grandest things in Russian history. At first they were responsible only for medical needs of the army at the base, but gradually they took over practically the whole of the medical arrangements. Then they supplied the army with every kind of clothing, boots etc; they built hospital trains; they made railroads and bridges; they organised the community for every kind of work needed by the Government, with the increase in their activities came an increase in the jealousy of the central power, and when it was proposed to hold a conference of the Zemstvos the matter was vetoed by the Minister of the Interior. This was one of the factors in the revolution. Thus, an institution which the Tsars never for a moment intended to take on a political complexion, became one of the most important bodies in Russia, and one of the chief forces both for the salvation of the country, and the destruction of despotism. It has sunk into the background somewhat owing to the prominent part being played by the Council of Workmen and Soldiers, and the Peasant's League but the provisional Government know that in the Zemstvos they have the real strength of the country. Though not a natural growth it has taken root in the life of the people, and it has served to supply Russia's leaders with that practical experience in Self-Government which is essential to the successful government of the country.

Village Government in British India

BY

DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

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IN this eminently readable, and at the same time, most learned and scholarly work,* Dr. Matthai traces the elements and fragments of local self-government and rural administration that are still existent in India and brings to bear upon his task the erudition of the student and the critical acumen of the lawyer. The importance of the subject can hardly be disputed specially at the present time when the educated mind of India is being exercised on the comparative merits and suitability of political and administrative reforms aiming at the development of forms of self-government "from above" or "from below." At such a time a publication is most opportune which presents a systematic, scientific and scholarly study of our indigenous system of rural administration, of those self-sufficing and self-contained village communities of India of which Sir Charles Metcalfe gave the following graphic account. "The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty trundles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Moghul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same." [Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, Vol. III, App., 84, p. 131]. Dr. Matthai critically examines the various aspects and features of the claim thus vigorously put forward on behalf of these indigenous self-governing institution of India and considers their scope, functions and organs of administration under the different heads of Education, Poor Relief, Sanitation, Public Works, Watch and Ward and Justice. In his treatment

of all these spheres of administrative activity the author uses the historico-comparative method. He traces the history of each particular function from the earliest times with the aid not only of the mere literary evidence such as is derivable from the well-known political treatises like the *Kantiliya* or Manu's Code or chapters of the Mahabharata but also of appropriate epigraphic evidence. The field of his survey is also not a particular locality or province of India but the whole of India and thus his work differentiates itself from that of many Anglo-Indian writers whose fashion it is to that of only a part of India as the objective of their social or economic studies on the ground of the absence of a uniformity of conditions applying to the whole country. Dr. Matthai, however, rightly combines with remarkable success both intensive and extensive methods of study and brings out another aspect of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety in point of her indigenous local bodies which were organised and run in every province on practically parallel and similar lines. He cites his evidence for the working of these institutions from every part of India, from the Punjab to the south and from every period of her history, whether ancient, mediæval or modern. The range of his study has been thus as wide in space as in time. As a complete and exhaustive account of the system of village government, at once intensive and extensive, there is hardly any book to equal it and we unhesitatingly recommend it to the study not only of the purely historical student but also of the wider public who take an interest in the politics of the country. The monograph proves Dr. Matthai to be one of the best students of the Indian Historical School which devotes itself to a scientific presentation of Indian culture in its manifold manifestations.

* *Village Government in British India* by John Matthai, D. Sc., (Lond.) with a preface by Sidney Webb Professor of Public Administration in the University of London, published by T. Fisher & Unwin, London,

SHRI KRISHNA CHAITANYA'

BY MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

We have in another sketch† spoken of a great reformation—at once religious and social—that spread over the whole of Hindusthan in the 15th and 16th centuries. Somewhat eclectic and humanitarian in other provinces, the movement took a deeply Vaishnavite character in Bengal and Orissa. Side by side with the gospel of love and Brotherhood, the new Vaishnavite creed of South India—of a God full of all *gunas*, of the Distinction of Soul from God, and of pure and loving worship—was established. The result was a deep national awakening which embraced within its scope all classes of the Bengali race. The doors of religion were thrown open to all—men as well as women. A great wave of religious fervour and enthusiasm spread over the whole province the effects of which are visible even to-day. The movement was not merely religious and social; it was highly literary. On the anvil of this movement was forged a rich vernacular literature which still forms a valuable treasure of the Bengali language.

The hero and author of this widespread Vaishnavite movement was the great reformer and mystic, Shri Krishna Chaitanya, (February-March, 1485 A. D. to 1533 June-July). Possessed of vast learning and a keen intellect, he preached the new religion with remarkable zeal and eloquence. Large numbers of men joined him from all classes of the population and missions were soon established in several parts of the province and even outside it. But greater than his creed and reforms was his character pure, gentle, ecstatic, full of sweetness and loving kindness. His heart flowed out in sympathy for all, for the poor and the lowly as well as for the scholar and the prince. He lived with them all, taught them, served them and consoled them. Still, across the centuries, the story of his life and character—so

full of purity, self-sacrifice and a deep love of humanity—moves our admiration. Never, since Buddha's death, had any saint more gentle and sweet, more humane, trodden the soil of India.

Chaitanya's life falls into three periods: (i) the first twenty-four years from his birth to the time of his entering the monastic order; (ii) the six years of pilgrimage to South and North India; (iii) the last eighteen years which were spent in residence at Puri.

CHAITANYA'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.

Jagannath Misra, surnamed Purandhar, a Brahmin of the Vaidik sub-caste, had emigrated from his ancestral home in Sylhet and settled at Navadwip, a town in the district of Nadia in Bengal, in order to live on the bank of the holy Ganges. His wife was Shachi, a daughter of a great scholar, by name Nilambar Chakravarthi. Nine children were born to this couple of which the first eight, all daughters, had died in infancy and the ninth, a boy, named Bishwarup, abandoned the world at the age of sixteen when pressed to marry and entered a monastery somewhere in South India. In February-March 1485 A. D. when there was a lunar eclipse at the time of full moon, another son was born to this couple. It was their tenth child. The new-born child was named Bishwambhar. But the women of the village, seeing that his mother had lost so many children before him, gave him the disparaging name of *Nimai* ('short-lived') in order to propitiate the evil spirits. His marvellous beauty, however, earned him the name of *Gaur* or *Gauranga* ("Fair-complexioned"). The day on which Bishwambhar was born being the day of lunar eclipse, Hari's name was chanted all over the village and this was taken as a pious omen that Bishwambhar would prove a teacher of Vishnu-faith and *Bhakthi*.

HIS EDUCATION.

Navadwip was famous in mediæval Bengal for its *tois* or schools of Sanskrit learning. Especially

* Condensed from a sketch written for G. A. Natesan & Co's "Saints of India" series. Price Annas Four.

† TUKARAM, "Saints of India" Series, G. A. Natesan & Co, Madras.

Sanskrit Grammar and Logic were highly developed and studied there. The fame of its scholars had spread all over the province and students came from several parts to study under them. Bishwambhar early joined one of these *cols* and he showed great keenness and precocity of intellect in mastering all branches of Sanskrit learning, especially Grammar and Logic. "But, if we may believe the biographers of Chaitanya (the name by which Bishwambhar was initiated as a monk later on and which we have anticipated in this sketch) the atmosphere of the town was sceptical and unspiritual. There was a lack of true religious fervour and sincere devotion. Proud of their intellectuality, proud of the vast wealth they acquired by gifts from rich Hindus, the local *Pundits* despised *Bhakthi* or devotion as weak and vulgar, and engaged in idle ceremonies or idler amusements. Vedantism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few; wine and goat's meat were taken kindly by the majority of the people and such *shakta* ceremonies as provided them were performed with zeal and enthusiasm." Chaitanya too grew up as one of them, proud of his learning and intellectual attainments.

HIS MARRIAGE.

His father died while he was still a student. He then married Lakshmi, the daughter of a Ballab Agharya, with whom he seems to have fallen in love at first sight. He thus became a householder and, when his studies were over, he began to take pupils like the other Brahmins of his town. As a pundit, he surpassed the other scholars of the place and it is said that he once even defeated in argument some renowned scholar of another province who was travelling all over India holding disputations. Vivid descriptions are left to us in his biographies of this famous encounter—how all the enthusiastic scholars of the town, young as well as old, put forward this Chaitanya as their candidate and how the young scholar, after a great display of his logic and learning, made the itinerant disputant admit

his defeat. Chaitanya then made a scholastic tour in East Bengal in which he received many gifts from admiring householders. When he returned to Navadvip, he found that his wife had died of snake-bite during his absence. After a while, he married Vishnupriya. Chaitanya was now in the very height of his worldly career—a rich and prosperous man, a proud scholar, and the admiration of his province. His prosperity and learning seem to have turned his head with pride; but the reformation of his soul was close at hand.

CHAITYANYA'S "CONVERSION."

During a pilgrimage to Gaya for performing *Shradh* to his father, he met Ishwar Puri, a Vaishnava monk of the order of Madhwacharya and a disciple of Madhav Puri or Madhavendra, a monk of the same order. This Madhavendra seems to have first introduced the new cult of Vishnu-worship and *Bhakthi* among the monks of Bengal and Orissa. Chaitanya took Ishwar Puri as his guru. "A complete change now came over his spirit. His intellectual pride was gone: he became a *bhaktha*: whatever subject he lectured on, the theme of his discourse was love of Krishna. Indeed he developed religious ecstasy and for some time behaved like a mad man: he laughed, wept, incessantly shouted Krishna's name, climbed up trees or raved in abstraction imagining himself to be Krishna."

CHAITYANYA'S LIFE AFTER HIS 'CONVERSION.'

The youthful and mystic heart of Chaitanya was greatly touched by the new religion of *bhakthi* and loving worship. He gathered round himself the devout and the enthusiastic of his town and with them often danced and sang and discoursed on the sweetness and beauty of Krishna. Men from other parts of the district too joined him, Adwaitacharya of Shantipur and Nityananda being the chief of them. The chief feature of the new life was the *bhajans* and *sankirtans* which were celebrated with song and prayer and ecstasy. These ecstatic doings and the

new religion behind them should have come with a surprise upon the formal and pedantic world that surrounded Chaitanya. Nothing could have been more contrary to the secret tantric rites and the nihilistic Vedantism of the contemporary pundits and scholars. They therefore rose in opposition and even treated Chaitanya and his companions' with open hatred.

CHAITANYA BECOMES A MONK.

He was, however, not in the least shaken by the opposition of the people, but was only moved to grief at their scepticism and want of faith. He could make very few converts among them. Only one way suggested itself to him. He decided to take the robes of a sanyasin. Chaitanya argued thus: "As I must deliver all these proud scholars and orthodox house-holders I have to take to an ascetic life. They will surely bow to me when they see me as a hermit and thus their hearts will be purified and filled with *bhakti*. There is no other means of securing their salvation." So at the age of 24 (1509 A.D.), he got himself initiated, under one Keshav Bharati, as a *sanyasi* under the name of *Krishna-Chaitanya*—usually shortened into Chaitanya, a name which we have already anticipated in this sketch. His mother, the tender-hearted Sachi, who had already been filled with woe at the loss of Chaitanya's elder brother and who had long urged him not to desert her as the elder had done, was now heart-broken at the initiation of Chaitanya. But Chaitanya, who bore deep love and reverence for his mother to the end of his life, consoled her in every possible way and obeyed her wishes in many points in his after years as lovingly as he had done before renouncing the life of the house-holder.

It has sometimes been said that the real motive, that made Chaitanya take the robes of a monk, was a desire for personal glory and also an unworthy desire to spite the proud scholars of his town. But to those who have studied at all deeply the life and character of Chaitanya, the utter falsehood of this suggestion will be

apparent. His wanderings and pilgrimages, his strict avoidance of all publicity and display—above all, his life of simplicity and devotion and sweet companionship with all, the high and the lowly alike—are essentially inconsistent with the existence of such motives. On the other hand, the monkhood gave but full scope to a heart already full of missionary zeal and reforming enthusiasm. Modern Indian history cannot furnish a more remarkable example of religious missionary and preacher. All his great learning and intellect, Chaitanya bent with one supreme effort to the propagation of the new cult and we who can look back with impartiality cannot but admire his great zeal and single-minded devotion.

HIS PILGRIMAGES AND WANDERINGS.

The next six years of Chaitanya's life were spent in pilgrimages to Orissa, Southern India and Brindaban and in the preaching of the new cult in several parts thereof. The first year was spent at Puri, the city of the temple of Jagannath, in Orissa, which was soon destined to become the headquarters of Chaitanya and his followers. Chaitanya's first visit to Puri is characterised by a remarkable outburst of ecstasy and devotion. For some time after his arrival, he spent his days in performing his devotion at the temple. He and his disciples did not at first attract much notice: but soon Chaitanya was brought into contact with the learned Bhatta charya, Sarbabhauma, a great scholar and the minister of the Orissan king, Pratap Rudra, of the Gajapathi dynasty. The conversion of Sarbabhauma to the Vaishnavite faith by Chaitanya is the first great incident in the new life. Sarbabhauma was a great Vedantic scholar, proud of his learning and his Adwaita philosophy. He at first proposed to teach Chaitanya, monk as he was, the principles of the Adwaita faith. Chaitanya humbly listened to him for many days; the exposition ended, Chaitanya took up the Adwaitin's arguments and, criticising them one by one, established the superiority of the Vaishnavite doctrine

and their consonance with the words of the scriptures. Sarbabhauma was convinced and adopted the new faith with exceeding ecstasy and admiration, Chaitanya's famous address to Sarbhauma is quoted in a latter part of this sketch. It is sufficient here to notice the conversion of Sarbabhauma who, adopting Chaitanya's faith, praised him saying: "It was a high work to Thee to save the world, in comparison with the wonderful power Thou has manifested in converting me. Logic had made me hard like an ingot of iron. Thou hast melted me. Oh Thy wondrous might!"

After staying for some time more at Puri, Chaitanya started for the South. His pilgrimage, though undertaken with a view to visit the holy places, was also marked by missionary activity. He preached the new religion wherever he went and his preachings met with success and popular enthusiasm. "The people marvelled as they gazed at His golden hue, His crimson robe, and His tears of delight, His tremour and His perspiration, which set off His beauty. All who came to see forgot their homes and stayed to join in the dance and song of Shri Krishna Gopal; men and women, old and young, all were swept away by the tide of spiritual love." It was in the early part of this journey that a beautiful incident occurred which is thus described by the biographer of Chaitanya.

HEALING THE LEPER BASUDEV.

A high-minded Brahmin named Basudev was covered with leprosy; but, as the maggots dropped from his rotting limbs, he used to pick them up and restore them to their places. At night he heard of Chaitanya's arrival and next morning went to Kurma's house to see Him; on hearing that the Master was gone, he fell down in a faint and lamented in many ways. Just then the Master returned, *embraced him*, and lo! the leprosy as well as grief was gone at the touch and his body became sound and beautiful! He marvelled at the Master's grace and clasped His Feet and praised Him by repeating the following verse from

the *Bhagabat* (Rukmini's message to Krishna sent by the mouth of a Brahmin—X, xxxi 14.) Long did he thank the Master, saying "Listen, Gracious One! No man has Your virtue. *Even wretches fled from me at the stench of my body. But Thou, supreme Lord, hast touched me!* Better for me my former state of misery, because henceforth my heart will swell with pride." The Master soothed him "No, you will not be puffed up. Ever take Krishna's name and save men by teaching them about Krishna. Soon will Krishna accept you."

APPOINTMENT OF NITYANAND AND ADWAITACHARYA.

The next two years were spent by Chaitanya at Puri where pilgrims and disciples came to visit him during the season of the Jagannath festivals. The increasing numbers of converts and disciples and the necessity of inculcating in them the great truths of the new religion made some organisation essential. Chaitanya seems to have long thought over it and so, calling to his side his two great friends and followers—Nityananda and Adwaitacharya—he said to them "Teach the lesson of faith in Krishna *to all men, down to the Chandalas.*" To Nityanand, he added: "Go to Bengal. Freely proclaim the gospel of devotion and love. Ramdas, Galadhar and some others will assist you. Now and then I shall be with you and, standing unseen, shall witness your dancing."

CHAITANYA'S VISIT TO BENARES AND BRINDABAN.

Chaitanya was now entering into the fifth year of his monkhood. A visit to Brindaban and the Jumna, the classic scenes of Krishna-bhā, had long been the dream of Chaitanya's heart. He therefore, now, resolved to visit them before he could finally settle at Puri. Spite of the protests of his friends and disciples who were unwilling to part with him, Chaitanya started on his pilgrimage alone. Their importunities, however, made him accept one *sishya* to travel with him. The journey to Brindaban, spite of its hardships, was to Chaitanya one long journey of devotion and ecstasy. His soul was filled with delight as he

roamed through the wooded valleys and the bright river-swept plains of Central India. He embraced the very trees and animals in a fervour of religious ecstasy. At Brindaban itself, it was one long rapture. He bathed in the several sacred pools, worshipped at the hill and the shrines, continuously sang, danced and prayed. His devout longings satisfied, he at last returned to Puri by way of Benares.

RETURN TO PURI.

His wanderings over, Chaitanya returned to Puri, and the remaining eighteen years of his life were spent in the holy city in the company of his disciples and friends. Few events are recorded in the story of this period of his life: it was all spent in prayer and worship and acts of piety and love. There is, however, a "daily beauty" in this life which still shines on us from the pages of the mediæval biography.

HIS DAILY LIFE.

Chaitanya woke with the morning and went along with one or other of his disciples to the sea and bathed in its waters. From the sea-shore, his steps were directed to the temple of Jagannath and there he stood and prayed rapt in adoration long before the stream of pilgrims and daily worshippers began to pour in. Hours passed on but Chaitanya knew them not, till some friend or disciple reminded him that the noon was approaching. He then returned to his residence. If anybody, householder or *bhakt*, had invited him for dinner, he went to his house and dined; but if the day was not filled with an invitation, he and his disciples ate the temple-*prasad* which the *parichu* (priest) brought to them. Often Chaitanya distributed the *prasad* to his disciples by his own hand, who received their portions with devout chantings of Hari's name. Chaitanya himself would then dine and, after a little rest, which the heat of the Indian climate makes necessary, he sat up to discourse to friend or foe, the greatness of the Vaishnavite faith, the sweetness of Krishna or the joys of Divine Love. Memorable were

these discourses: his fair face, his sparkling eyes, his musical voice and eloquence held bound the hearts of his listeners as he poured forth his rapturous discourse rich with stirring verses from the *Bhagabat*, or the aphorisms of Vyasa or the great utterances of the Upanishads.

CHAITANYA'S SELF-SACRIFICE AND HUMANITY.

Nothing is more beautifully brought out in the life of Chaitanya than his great spirit of self-sacrifice and humanity. At the very time of his career, when he was well on the road to worldly prosperity and fame, he suddenly renounced them all at the call of a higher life. Possessed of all the Sanskrit learning of the age, gifted with a keen and powerful intellect, he might have become the master of a rich *tol*, taking gifts from princes and landlords. Or he might, like some of his compatriots, have even risen to be the minister of some king, dictating law and religion to his subjects. But Chaitanya gave it all up, and, with a self-sacrifice, as great as it is remarkable, wandered about dressed in the mendicant's quilt preaching of Love and Divine Service. Associating with all—the lowly, the outcaste and the poor—he ate, sang and prayed with them, he served them with his body and mind, consoling and edifying them by his discourses. Never since Buddha's death has any, more self-sacrificing, more full of love for human kind, trodden the soil of India.

HIS DEATH.

As years rolled on, Chaitanya's religious ecstasy seems to have grown on him to too great a degree. He had repeated fits of religious transport and ecstasy in which he acted in utter disregard of his own life,—once leaping into the blue ocean, at another time battering his face against the stone walls of the temple. "At last in June-July 1533, his physical frame broke down under such prolonged mental convulsion and self-inflicted torments and he passed away under circumstances over which the piety of his biographers has drawn the veil of mystery."

CHAITANYA'S RELIGION AND UTTERANCES.

Among all the great mediæval reformers, Chaitanya stands unrivalled for his full-hearted adoption, and clear and emphatic exposition, of the principles of the new Vaishnavite creed. There is a tradition that Chaitanya composed a commentary on Vyasa's *Sūtras*; but the commentary is not extant. His eloquent discourses, however, survive in which the special doctrines of the Vaishnavite creed—of a God with all *gūṇas*, of the distinction of soul from God, of a loving and joyous worship—are taught with great force and poetry. Full of his own deep personal mysticism, fired with the poetry of the *Bhagavat* and the Krishna-literature, these discourses are not mere expositions to be set aside by side with the classic commentaries of the South Indian *acharyas*, but in themselves profound and stirring revelations of the Vaishnavite religion. The following, taken from Chaitanya's address to the learned scholar Sarbhabhauma, contains a masterly resume of the Vaishnavite doctrines:—

THE VAISHNAVITE CREED.

The *Vedas* and the *Puranas* tell us how to discern Brahma. That Brahma is (only another name for) God in His Totality. The Supreme Being is full of all powers, and yet you describe Him as formless? The *shrutis* that speak of Him as abstract (*nir-biśeṣa*), exclude the natural and set up the unnatural.

Śruti itself denies to Brahma material hands and feet, and yet it says that God 'moves swiftly' and 'receives everything'! Therefore, *Śruti* asserts Brahma to be particular (*sa-biśeṣa*). It is only a fanciful interpretation—as opposed to a direct one—that speaks of Brahma as abstract (*nir-biśeṣa*). How do you call that God formless who has the six qualities, and is supremely blissful? You conclude Him to be powerless, who has the three natural powers, as is evident from the *Vishnu Purana*.

God's nature consists of *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*. The *chit* power assumes three different forms in three aspects: it becomes *hladini* from the *ananda* aspect; it becomes *sandhini* in the *sat* aspect and *sambitā* (known as 'knowledge of Krishna') in the *chit* aspect. The *chit* power is God's very essence (or inner nature); the life power (*jīva-sakti*) appertains to Him only occasionally; *māyā* is entirely outside Him (*i.e.* affects creation only). But all these three offer devotion in the form of love. The Lord's six powers are only manifestations of the *chit* power. And yet you have the presumption to deny such a power? God and creation differ as the master and slave of illusion respectively, and yet you affirm that creation is identical with the Creator! In the *Gīta*, creation is recognised as a force exerted by God, and yet you make such creation one

with God! See the *Gīta*, vii 1 the words of Shri Krishna to Arjuna.—

"Earth, water, fire, air, other, mind, self and self-consciousness—these eight powers (or natures) have emanated from me.

"Valiant hero! the eight natures about which I have already spoken to you, are inferior. Beyond them I have a higher, or living 'nature' which upholds this universe."

God's form is composed of *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*: and yet you assert that form to be a corruption of the *satvā* quality! He is a wretch who denies form to God; touch not, behold not that slave of Death. The Buddhists are atheists from not respecting the *Vedas*. Atheism in a believer of the *Vedas* is a worse heresy than Buddhism. Vyasa composed the aphorisms for the salvation of men, but the interpretation of these aphorisms by the 'school of illusion' (*māyabādī*) is the cause of perdition.

Vyasa's aphorisms hold the 'theory of effect' (*Parināmā*). God is an incomprehensible power, but He is manifested as creation. The philosopher's stone produces gold without undergoing any change in itself, similarly God takes the form of creation without suffering any corruption. Objecting to this aphorism as an error of Vyasa, you have set up the theory of *bibarta* by a fanciful interpretation of it. Error consists in a creature imagining, 'I am one with the creator.' But creation is not unreal, it is only perishable. The great word *Pranaba* is the self of God, from that *Pranaba* all the *Vedas* have sprung in this world. The words 'Thou art That' (*sat-tvam-asi*) applied to creation are only fractional (*praveshika*), but you, without minding the *Pranaba*, call these words the supreme truth.*

A LOVING GOD.

In all this wide and rapturous vision of God as One full of all Attributes and supremely Blissful, there was one aspect—the Love-Aspect of God—which appealed to Chaitanya most, even as it did to the other mystics of this period, especially the Hindi poet, Kabir. God is to them not merely the supremely Beautiful, the Embodiment of all Power and Life, but the One Great Love that pervades the world. Chaitanya often speaks of Krishna as the God "at whose adoration the formula recited is Love, the offering presented is the seed of Love." Krishna "is the source of Perfect Bliss; in comparison with Him, spiritual delight is as grass." Elsewhere in a more mystic and beautiful strain, he describes Krishna thus: "He is the All-Attractor, the All-Rejoicer, the source of High Rasa, making men forget everything for His own Form: the aroma of whom makes men give up the quest of enjoyment, success, *mukti* and

* Life of Chaitanya. Translated by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar.

pleasure. — In this adoration, there is no shastraic reasoning, no solution of theological problems, *because in His Nature sweetness predominates.*" The same doctrine is somewhat theologically expressed in the following passage: "What delights Krishna is named the *ahladini* power by which He enjoys delight. *Krishna is Himself Delight and yet He tastes Delight.* *Hladini* has been created to give enjoyment to the Faithful. The essence of *hladini* is named *prema* (love). The emotion of *prema* is filled with the emotions of *ananda* and *chit*. The supreme emotion (*mahabhava*) is the quintessence of *prema*. The lady Radha is the personation of that supreme emotion (vide the *Brahma Samhita* V. 33)."

DEVOTION OR BHAKTHI.

Such a God who is all Love and Joy can be worshipped only in love—such Supreme *Rasa* can be tasted only by a heart full of longing and devotion. All the apparatus of religion—fast and ceremony and observance—are useless unless they lead to this love. Many are the eloquent passages wherein Chaitanya describes the characteristics of this *prem rasa* or love of God. "When passion (*rati*) in Krishna is deepened, it is called *prema* (love), the permanent form of *bhakti* in Krishna. It has two aspects. If any man has the grace to feel *shraddha* (faith), he consorts with pious men, from which companionship result the hearing and chanting of Krishna's name. From the attainment of *bhakti* all his troubles are removed; and as a consequence, his faith becomes constant which gives him a taste for listening and hymning of Krishna's name. From taste (*ruchi*) comes strong inclination (*asakti*) which gives birth to the sprout of passion for Krishna in the soul. When their emotion is deepened, it takes the name of love (*prema*). That love is the ultimate fruit, the source of every bliss. The man in whose heart this emotion sprouts up is marked by the many qualities named in the *Shastras*. No earthly affliction can disturb his mind. Such a man never wastes his time without communing with

Krishna. He never fears attack by enjoyment, material success or the objects of sensual gratification. Even the noblest *bhakti* considers himself as lowly and firmly believes that Krishna will take pity on him. *He is ever expectant, ever passionately longing.*" Such love or devotion, however, is not fraught with any reward. "As wealth gives pleasure and drives away sorrow of itself, so *bhakti* kindles love of Krishna, and when love is turned to Krishna, man is freed from bondage to the world. The fruit of love is not riches, or the cessation of re-birth, *but its chief object is the enjoyment of the beauty of loving.*"

HOW TO CULTIVATE BHAKTHI OR LOVE OF GOD.

There is a famous passage in which Chaitanya describes how love of God can be cultivated. It is at once supremely psychological and comprehensive. He speaks of two paths—one, by means of spiritual exercises and the other, not exercises but intuitive longing, a spontaneous devotion such as is found in gifted mystics. Study, singing, prayer, temple-worship, pilgrimage, self-restraint, active deeds of compassion and good will—these form the spiritual exercises by which love and faith may be induced. Some of these—visiting holy places, temple-worship, etc.—work on the man's mind by association of thought; some such as scriptures and stories, by kindling man's knowledge and love. Others are exercises intended to train the mind and the heart. These are derived from the rules and ideals of the *Shastras*. The other kind of *bhakti* is a spontaneous one—a welling-forth of love out of the depths of a mystical and devout nature. It is not the fruit of observances nor of artificial study and practice. Like that of a father to his child, like that of a comrade or lover, it is intense, personal, comes out of the depths of the heart. Such a *bhakti* pays heed to no shastraic teaching: "he withdraws himself into his own mind, and there ever remains close to his object, the dearest Krishna, and serves Him incessantly."

santly." "Though he adores Krishna's feet rejecting shastric rites, he feels nevertheless no temptation for forbidden sins."


CHAITANYA'S SECT.

While Chaitanya was spending the last years of his life at Puri, surrounded by his few friends of an ascetic disposition like himself, the new religion he had taught was spreading rapidly in Bengal and Central India through the instrumentality of his missionary disciples. The two men who laid the foundation of the sect in Bengal were Adwaitacharya and Nityanand who, with Chaitanya, are long come to be revered as the three Mahaprabhus of the new Church. Their descendants are still to be found in Bengal in possession of large religious establishments. Next to these Mahaprabhus came the six Gossains who appear to have all settled in Brindaban and Muttra. Their descendants are now found in those parts in possession of large mutts and temples. The foundation of the two great temples of Govind Deva and Madan Mohun is ascribed to their influence and celebrity. Rup, Sanatan and Jiv, their nephew, were the more celebrated of these six Gossains. A considerable portion of the literature of Chaitanya's sect owes its birth to the devout genius of these Gossains. Rup wrote

Vraja Vilasabarnana, an account of Krishna's sports in Brindaban, a collection of hymns, called *Bahustavarali*, and a drama entitled *Vidagdha Madhava*. Sanatan wrote *Haribakthivilas*, a treatise on the nature of God and Devotion, *Rasamrita sindhu*, a work of high authority on the same subject and *Bhakthamirta*, which contains the observances of the sect. The descendants of these Prabhus and Gossains are the leaders and high-priests of the Chaitanyite community. Though fallen off from the simple spiritual tradition of the early apostles, they still are men of some light and leading and their establishments are centres of popular culture and usefulness.

The strength of the community, however, lies chiefly in its lay members. The Chaitanyaites are a most inoffensive and peaceful community. Their learning, their humane principles, their recognition of the rights of women, their insistence on piety and love in preference to fast and ceremony, make them one of the most influential North Indian sects. Some of the greatest characters that modern Bengal has produced have belonged to this church and its members still form a large and intelligent portion of the Bengali-speaking people.

M. KERENSKY: THE RUSSIAN PREMIER

 RECENT communication from Russia says: "Kerensky alone stands between Russia and ruin": and that is exactly the view of all who have been watching the extraordinary course of events in that country. Every great political upheaval in the past has succeeded in evolving a suitable leader to guide the march of the new movement. An American contemporary cites the instances of the rise of Washington and Jefferson and their peers in America and of

Napoleon in France. "Unless cut down by tuberculosis, from which he is suffering, or suppressed by jealous socialists or assassinated by the dark forces of reaction, there is every indication that in Alexander Kerensky Russia has produced a first class leader."

Kerensky who was born thirty seven years ago in the heart of Siberia, first came into public notice in 1912 when he made his famous public indictment of the military and the Police for the

massacre of the Lena goldfields in East Siberia. It was on the same day as the sinking of the 'Titanic' that the strikers were shot. A young lawyer, Kerensky's courageous defence first brought him the popularity which has since enormously increased among the workmen and soldiers and the common peasantry of Russia.

When the revolution broke out M. Kerensky, who by this time was leader of the Toil Group, drew to himself, naturally enough, the attention of the soldiers and workmen—who, be it remembered, made the revolution. He rose to the occasion. His popularity among the masses—soldiers and peasants—whose cause he had so often advocated, was well founded, and it was this popularity that induced the Provisional Government to give him first the portfolio of Minister for Justice and after the resignation of M. Goutchkoff, the post of Minister for War. For, the great bulk of the army, it should be remembered, are peasants who have not become infected with the military spirit and passive discipline. As in the Duma he had acted as leader of the Toil Group, which represented the peasants, it is not surprising that he became leader of the revolutionary soldiers, who are really peasants in uniforms. Herein lies one secret of his influence and power.

From the moment Kerensky became Minister of War in the new Coalition Cabinet he has been indefatigable in his efforts. But then the forces of reaction and duplicity are also strong in Russia and Kerensky has had to take matters into his own hands and deal with the offenders in the only way possible in time of war. His premiership was confirmed after a great deal of trouble over it on August 5, when a joint meeting of the Council of the soldier's and workmen's delegates and peasant's delegates approved the decision by 147 votes to 46. He has now formed his own ministry after arresting those who had muddled all through and dispensing with a lot of incompetents. He is now the only minister in Russia who has also sat in the Provisional Government and has now taken the portfolios of war and marine in addition to his Premiership. His troubles are by no means over. General Korniloff's counter-revolution and the resignation of General Alexieff have added considerably to the complications of the situation. But now that he has tided over the immedi-

ate danger by the surrender of General Korniloff, it is hoped that his hands will be sufficiently strengthened for the prosecution of the war with undivided interest and singleness of purpose. With his courage and diplomacy, his presence of mind on critical occasions and his intimate knowledge of Russian conditions, his long experience of administrative work and his legal and forensic abilities and above all his undoubted energy and enthusiasm for the cause of democracy, M. Kerensky may yet succeed where his predecessors have failed.

The French socialist journals are uniformly jubilant over the triumph of Kerensky; and we are told that he shares some of the strong points of the French revolutionary leaders. One holds him up as the Marat of the Russian revolution, with a touch of Camille Desmoulins, the journalist mob-leader of revolutionary France. "There are times when he roars with the lung power of Danton," says another. And yet it would appear that he is a timid conservative by the side of his compeer and friend, Nicholas Tchaidze, the most radical head of the soldier's and worker's Council. There is a characteristic story of the conversation between these two friends which is reproduced in the American journal, *Current Opinion*. Kerensky one day came over from the Winter Palace, where the Duma was sitting, to report to the Council of soldiers and workers in the Tauride Palace. "We have got rid of the Czar," explained Kerensky, "we have got rid of the monks, we have got rid of the bureaucrats." "Good!" cried Tchaidze, "Now we will start the revolution!"

"The Russian revolution," says Mr. Friedland, "has now revealed itself as a social uprising. It is a great, complex and bewildering actuality. There is only one man to day in Russia who would seem to be a cementing personality and he is Kerensky."



M. A. F. KERENSKY
The Lloyd George of Russia.




THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE, 1917

THE MAYFLOWER

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• BY THE REV. DR. R. A. HUME.

N September 5th 1620 a wee barque of only 180 tons, the Mayflower, sailed from Plymouth, England, for the Western world. The influence of that tiny vessel on the world has perhaps been more far-reaching and more beneficent than that of any other craft that ever sailed the sea. This is solely due to the character and the aim of the passengers. They were forty-one men, who with women and children numbered one hundred and two persons of the middle class, who had been worried and persecuted even in England because they were convinced and taught that spiritual life could come direct from God, without a formal compliance with any religious organisation controlled by a secular government. They were wholly loyal to their King. They had no quarrel with any or all who wished to follow a state-controlled religious system. But for themselves they were determined to have freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Because the then Government of England and many of their neighbours denied them such liberty they emigrated to Holland. Even there their persecutors troubled them. So they resolved to seek freedom in the wilds of recently discovered America.

With difficulty they obtained from King James permission to found a Colony in North America, all of which was known as Virginia. After overcoming serious obstacles they sailed. Difficulties twice drove their barque back to port. Undaunted they sailed again on September 6th 1620. Huge palatial steamships, equipped with every comfort, now convey passengers across the Atlantic in five days. That tiny Mayflower, buffeting a stormy sea, in wintry and inclement weather, spent sixty seven days in making that same voyage.

Her brave voyagers knew that whenever they should reach the new world they would find it a

wilderness without a house, without a government, inhabited by hostile North American Indians, and without a single comfort. Yet it would at least be a spot where they could enjoy the supreme object of their lives, freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Yet that very conviction compelled them to recognise that some kind of orderly government must be arranged even before they should reach their destination. Therefore, during the voyage, they drew up a plan for their government, the essence of which was a religious democracy, *i. e.*, an orderly society of democratic principles and regulations, with officials chosen by themselves, under responsibility to God. In the cabin of the Mayflower those forty-one men formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn compact, the beginning of which was as follows :—

In the name of God, amen ; we, whose names are under writing, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by those presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid, and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

This compact was “ perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive, original social compact which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government.” Yet more and more the peoples of the world are finding in it the seed and assurance of practical constitutional democratic government for to-day. It was the first bud of the Commonwealth which has now become the greatest Republic of the world. Later when the thirteen American Colonies (most of which had been started on monarchical principles) separated from

their Mother Country to form a new nation, their leaders, when drafting a constitution for the now-born nation, found their ideal in the compact of those Pilgrim Fathers. It was the principle of government of the people, for the people, by the people under responsibility to God.

Practically all the nations of North and South America now have democratic governments. Several of the nations of Europe and even huge China are now republics. A form of government alone cannot make it truly democratic. The semi-monarchical government of Great Britain is really more democratic than that of some nominal republics. The determining principle in the aim and practice of the Pilgrim Fathers was a sense of obligation to God. First God and then, yet because of Him, His people. The greater any peoples' conception of God and the greater their sense of dependence on Him, the greater will be their conviction of their own possibilities and duties, and the greater their determination to meet their duties and to achieve their possibilities. On one American coin there is always the motto, "In God we trust." The last verse of the best American national hymn is this. —

Our Fathers' God, to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing.
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might
Great God, our king.

As sure as God is Almighty, and as sure as He will not bless the aims of those who disregard Him, so sure is it that if our India desires more and more of self-rule, she must more and more know, revere and obey the wise, the good, the Almighty God who holds in His paternal hands the destinies of men and nations. *Swarajya* is the basis of good *Swarajya*. Those Pilgrim Fathers best served the political development of the world because they rightly gave pre-eminence to God even in their political plans. On September 6th we in India may well learn a lesson of political wisdom from the voyagers of the Mayflower.

An American poetess has sung their story:—

The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rockbound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed;

And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o'er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true hearted, came;
Not with the roll of the stirring drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame;

Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear;
They shook the depths of the desert gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

Amidst the storm they sang,
And the stars heard, and the sea;
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang
To the anthem of the free.

The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white wave's foam.
And the rooking pines of the forest roared,
This was their welcome home.

There were men with hoary hair
Amidst that pilgrim band;
Why had they come to wither there,
Away from their childhood's land?

There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.

What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?
They sought a faith's pure shrine.

Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod;
They have left unstained what there they found,—
Freedom to worship God.

AN APOLOGY

BY MR. BALINDRALAL DAS, B.Sc.

O dear, if in blinding light, I clutch,
The mote, that float in it so much,—
—I am of darkness, and in Thy love,
I hanker for the mote,—Thy touch;

O dear, if in Thee I find,
The glamour, that has made me blind
To all the lights of Heaven and earth,
—To my own bondage I have signed!

If my fleeting voice inspire,
Thy love-song or Thy mocking ire;
—I am of earth, of gloom,—and lost,
To all Thy sacred Heavenly fire!

If my little breath fail Thy flute,
—And hushed in shame, I am mute;—
Wake up Thy melodies, and let me hear,
Thy song that made me man from brute!

MR. L. CURTIS ON INDIA'S FUTURE. 595

BY

DR. PATTABI SITARAMAYYA, B.A., M.B. & C.M.

MR. LIONEL CURTIS who was recently charged by the Indian public, with having conspired to bring India under the control of the Dominions, explains his position very clearly in his "Letter to the People of India*" and supports his conclusions by impaling the Indian publicists on the horns of a dilemma. He begins by presuming that unless the councils of the Empire are reconstituted on a domestic and a federal basis, this fabric which has been fashioned after much labour and efforts is bound to perish. He straightway predicts that in the reconstruction of the Empire, while each country or Dominion may have its State Legislature or Parliament, the Empire as a whole must have its Imperial concerns entrusted to a central Parliament consisting of a Lower and an Upper House to each of which Indian representatives will be admitted. He then asks us whether we shall link ourselves and our country as an appendage to the domestic Parliament of Britain in which India cannot possibly have any representation whatever or whether we shall agree to entrusting our destinies and the decision of "how fast India is to travel towards responsible Government" to that larger body—the true Imperial Parliament upon which all the communities of the Commonwealth can find a place along with those of India and to which "the English members of Parliament upon whose sympathy you have learned to count are just as likely to seek election as to the new Parliament created to deal with the local affairs of the British Isles." In formulating these positions he has probably little doubt that all sensible and thinking politicians in India would yoke themselves to the Central Parliament of the Empire rather than the domestic Parliament of Great Britain, and this means that India

would entrust its destiny to the decisions of a body on which the Dominions as well as the United Kingdom are proportionately represented. If Indian politicians agree to such a plan, where then is the so-called conspiracy—either of Mr. Curtis or of the Round Table Politicians!

The argument would be unanswerable if the presumptions leading to it were correct. Is it then taken for granted that immediately upon the close of the war the existing mother of Parliaments will dwindle down to a domestic legislature concerned merely with the affairs of England; that separate Parliaments will be established for Wales and Scotland and that the settlement of Ireland will follow similar lines? It is true that neither the Imperial Conference nor the Imperial Cabinet which have just concluded their memorable sittings have yet come to a decision on the matter—have not even seriously considered this question in a comprehensive manner, but have held over the consideration of these complicated problems to a special sitting to be convened sometime hence. But English public opinion as well as the considered opinions of the Overseas delegates have left little doubt as to whether the plans of Lionel Curtis and Basil Worsfold are at all within the pale of practical politics.

It is true that the movement for Home Rule all round, and the establishment of autonomous subordinate legislatures in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, has been in existence for wellnigh 40 years and has been steadily gaining strength and support. From the time of Sir Robert Peel complaint has been repeatedly made of the immense multiplication of details in public business; Parliament has become overweighted with duties and functions of a most trivial character unworthy of such an august body. Again the assumption of sovereignty over India

*"Letter to the People of India." By Mr. Lionel Curtis. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

by the Crown, the vast growth of the Empire itself since 1833, the dominant position of Great Britain in world-politics during the past 50 years, the rapid extension of legislation to social questions have all tended to increase Parliamentary business to such a degree that the administration of Imperial affairs as well of outlying parts of the Empire has made it impossible for a Central Legislature to transact its functions with efficiency or quickness. Reorganization of the Empire's councils has therefore become urgent, but at the same time the conservative forces at work cannot be ignored. The Britisher is a matter-of-fact individual noted for his deep attachment to what is time-honoured and traditional, for a keen sense of the practical and a constant striving after the immediate. He abhors violent changes and there is little doubt that the changes proposed by Mr. Curtis and Mr. Worsfold necessitating as they do a new Imperial Parliament, a new Imperial Treasury and a new Imperial Taxation are of altogether a "violent character," however noble, imposing and logical in themselves they may be.

The revolutionary character of the proposals has been so far admitted by Mr. Worsfold himself that he has thought it necessary to describe in his book "Empire on the Anvil," some half-way schemes one of which is "to maintain the Imperial Conference and the Committee of Imperial Defence and to make effective provision for the representation of India in both bodies, and for the attendance of Dominion Members at the meetings of the Defence Committee. The other scheme is to constitute a "Dominions' Council of Delegates" elected for a period of three years by the several Dominion Legislatures, in some manner to be agreed upon. The Dominions are to agree for a period of 10 years to contribute proportionately to their populations and upon a fixed basis of assessment, to the annual cost of the Imperial services, provided that the estimated appropriations for these services from the respec-

tive revenues of the United Kingdom and the several Dominions shall have been first submitted to and approved by the Council of Delegates. The Council is to meet in London, at least once in every year and the Ministers of the Imperial Government are to have the right to be present at and take part in its proceedings but not to vote in any division. The voting is to be either *per capita* or by States, but provision is to be made for the contributions to be voted or withheld as a whole, so that it shall not be possible for any one Dominion singly to refuse its quota. These are the alternative schemes of Mr. Worsfold and it is claimed for the latter of these proposals that the Dominions' Council of Delegates exercising the power of granting or withholding supplies delegated to it by the Dominions' Parliaments will be an intermediate body between these and the British Parliament, establishing a chain of responsibility on the Foreign Secretary to the British Parliament, the British Parliament to the Dominions' Council of Delegates and the Council to the several Dominions' Parliaments. Human ingenuity has indeed been strained to the full in devising such alternative schemes and all these only indicate how revolutionary and repugnant to the United Kingdom would be the original plan of an Imperial Parliament with an Upper and a Lower House, with a separate Executive and with autonomous domestic Legislatures for England Scotland and Wales. An Imperial Executive requires an Imperial Legislature. Both require an Imperial treasury which in its turn must be filled by the levy of Imperial taxes. Few can disguise from themselves the positive opposition of the Dominions to the levy of an Imperial taxation, which is not mitigated by the mere fact of their representatives being given a place on the body which may lay and levy them. The warning of 1783 is still fresh in the minds of statesmen and the fact is not forgotten that what the Americans resented

was not merely the imposition of taxation without representation but the very idea of Imperial taxation itself. There is little doubt that adequate contributions will be made to the Imperial Defence whether *pro-rata* or otherwise, but it is equally beyond doubt that the Dominions will never consent to the levy of Imperial taxation. To determine these contributions the Imperial Conferences are quite competent. The constitutional position has changed considerably since Mr. Curtis published his proposals. A momentous session of the Imperial Conference has been held in 1917, India has been acknowledged a partner in the Empire and not a mere dependency. She has been assigned representation on the Conference on terms of equality with the representatives of the Dominions. What is more, the portals of the British Cabinet have been thrown open to the Oversea Dominions and to India. "While it was in session," says Mr. Lloyd George, "the Overseas Members had access to all the information at the disposal of Government and occupied a status of absolute equality with members of the British Government. . . . As far as Government were concerned they could state with confidence that the experiment had been a complete success. Accordingly it was agreed that the meetings should be held annually or more often when urgently necessary." These innovations or the alternative proposals of Mr. Worsfold are regarded as quite sufficient to determine the contributions of the Oversea Dominions to Imperial Defence and to ensure their participation in the settlement of Imperial affairs, and when the question of contributions is settled by the Imperial Conference meeting annually or oftener, and by the enlarged Cabinet, there would be little necessity for Imperial taxation without which there would be neither an Imperial treasury nor an Imperial Parliament.

At the last Imperial Conference Sir Robert Borden speaking on the resolution dealing with the constitution of the Empire looked forward

to development along the line of increasing equalization of status between the Dominions and the Mother Country. He believed that the Dominions fully realized the ideal of an Imperial Commonwealth of United Nations with the Crown as a tie but under the present conditions he held that it would be unwise for the Conference to attempt to enter upon the subject. Mr. Massey expressed similar views in seconding the Resolution. General Smuts, however, considered that the British Empire was the most important and most fascinating problem in political and constitutional Government, the world had ever seen. He said when they came to the question of the Constitution they touched the very gravest issue. "As a matter of fact," he said "we are the only group of nations that ever successfully existed as founded on principles of equality. We hope we may become an instrument for good in the whole world." Yet too much of the old ideas still clung to the new and growing organism. Although in practice there was great freedom, yet in theory the Dominions are the subject provinces of Britain. This would be a most important question when the permanent basis came to be considered. *The circumstances of the Empire entirely precluded a Federal solution. An attempt to so run different races, languages, economic conditions and even common concerns would be absolutely to court disaster.* It was not beyond the wit of man to devise a scheme of continuous consultations to keep the various groups together. Sir Joseph Ward strongly opposed any attempt to hand over the control of individual Defence Forces, to any Empire Parliament, but he reiterated his previously expressed views on the necessity for such a Parliament. Mr. Lloyd George practically confirmed the views expressed by General Smuts. "It is true," as he said, "that no attempt had been made to settle the constitutional developments to which the War Cabinet might lead. The whole question would be reserved for consideration by a Special Conference

to be summoned as soon as possible after the war to readjust the constitutional relations of the Empire. It was felt, however, that the experiment of constituting an Imperial Cabinet in which India was represented had been so fruitful in better understanding and unity of purpose and action that it ought to be perpetuated and it was believed that the proposal would commend itself to all the nations of the Empire." This guarded but unequivocal pronouncement from the most radical, enthusiastic and courageous of Premiers leaves little room for doubt regarding the future reconstruction of the Empire. Few can fail to detect in the speeches of General Smuts in London a note of caution in regard to this matter friendly and earnest, to those who think the time is ripe for revolutionizing the constitution on the lines adopted by Mr. Curtis. However commendable the idea may look, "it is none the less full of perils and quicksands and above all it is open to the fatal objection that it does not seem to be desired by the spokesmen of the Dominions," says the *Daily Telegraph* (May 16-1917) and the same journal adds: "It may be taken, therefore, as certain that the special War Conference which will be called at the end of the war to consider the general problem of Imperial reconstruction will not favour the idea of a unified Parliament of the Empire. Reconstruction will proceed on lines less sensational but far more consonant with the British tradition of gradual evolution. Indeed it has already begun during the last few weeks in the admission to the Imperial Cabinet of the statesmen of the Dominions and the representatives of India." Professor Keith has clearly shown that the plan of a Federal Parliament for the Union has to contend against numerous difficulties and has little chance of acceptance by the statesmen of the day. Sir Charles Lucas lays emphasis upon the 'invincible instinct' in Carlyle's words, of the English race 'to expand, if it be possible, some old habit or method already found

fruitful, into new growth for the new need.' Says Sir C. P. Lucas: "They will not have anything wholly new as long as there is something in existence which can in any way be recast, amplified, distorted, if you like, but in one way or another to suit the purpose. Another feature of the race is that it is the most practical race in the world. They ask for and they get what will meet the obvious need of the moment. They ask for and they get, under any name and in any guise you please, what will work from day to day. They do not ask and will not thank you for a far-reaching logical plan which gives more than is actually required at the present time and professes to provide for an unknown and therefore speculative future." One has to remember the truth of these observations in interpreting aught Mr. Lloyd George's statement regarding the War Cabinet and the Imperial Conference and their unqualified success. These institutions called into being under an emergency have served the national purpose and may be trusted to do so for sometime to come. An Imperial Parliament, and Imperial Treasury and Imperial Taxes are but institutions of a remote future. They may come into being in good time but before the day arrives, the domestic constitutions of the Empire will have undergone changes of a far-reaching character. The problem of Home Rule for Ireland which has been hanging fire for over three decades is in sight of an early solution, and a Parliament at Dublin will transact the domestic affairs of Ireland. In due course, England, Scotland, and Wales will have their autonomous domestic Legislatures. When the different parts of the United Kingdom and Ireland obtain their subordinate State Parliaments, India will have succeeded in working her way onward to complete internal autonomy within the Empire and the Secretary of State for India if the office will not be then absorbed into that of the Colonial Secretary, will be to India, what the

latter will be to the Colonies. Until then the British Parliament in its existing form will continue to be in the ascendant, may be with new creations such as the Imperial Cabinet and the Imperial Conference or a Standing Committee of Imperial Defence and a Foreign Relations Committee as Sir Charles Lucas suggests or a Council of Dominion Delegates which has been recommended as a half-way house by Mr. Worsfold. Judging, then, from the tenor of events in England and the tendencies of statesmen in the Empire, it will be easy to see that Mr. Lionel Curtis' questions need no answer now as the probabilities are against the establishment in one bound of an Imperial Parliament just at this juncture; his questions will need no answer then as by that time India hopes to work out her Home Rule in common with Ireland, Scotland,

Wales and England. The questions will not arise so long as the British Parliament continues to play a dominant part in Imperial affairs and the day on which it ceases to do so will be the proud day in the history of India when she will hold a position of partnership in the Empire such as the one promised to her by the *London Times*, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Chamberlain and such as the component States of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and the Dominions shall enjoy. Till then India pleads for two privileges that must justly fall to her share—namely that she shall be represented at the Imperial Cabinet as well as the Imperial Conference by duly *elect*ed representatives and that in the former as in the latter she shall have the right of equality of Vote and Voice.

THE ASPIRATIONS OF JAPAN.

(*Letters of a Japanese Scholar to an English Friend*).

EDITED BY MR. V. B. METTA.

MY DEAR WILSON,

We came out of our past about fifty years ago, because we realized the danger of an inactive life, when the old order was confronted by the new. We then worked with lightning-speed to be an up-to-date race. And as we have now succeeded in learning all that we wanted to learn from the West, we are at leisure to consider the effects of our adoption of certain Western ideas and institutions. It must be admitted that our contact with the West has done us some good. We are becoming richer as a nation. Our people have become more enterprising. We feel a new kind of life throbbing within us. We have won the admiration of the world,—which is never unwelcome to any race on earth. But another and quite a different picture can also be painted side by side with the above one. Instruction is spreading among all classes now, but it has brought superficiality and love of rhetoric in its

train. Our new ideas of political economy have made our poor people a little poorer. Litigation has increased. I am also obliged to say, that the average Japanese is not improved by coming into contact with Westerners. He becomes vulgar, and uses gross expressions, and swear-words, which he has picked up from his Occidental friends. (Do you know there are no abusive terms in our language?) The feelings of reverence for elders is also dying out among those of our people who have been too much influenced by Western ideas.

If we do not wish our national soul to die, or to be merged into that of the West, we must try our best not to forget the ideals of a 'bushi.' We must keep up our ancestor worship in order to preserve the sense of continuity with our past. And we certainly shall continue to keep alive our artistic ideals, which like all other Oriental ideals, seek the Ultimate and the Universal only.

I might have written to you before, that we do

not want a 'democratic' form of Government, in the sense in which you Westerners understand it. But that does not mean that there is no 'freedom' in Japan as some of our Western critics seem to think. Are we all 'political slaves' as they imagine us to be? Well, they ought to have read the license with which our newspapers wrote about the Peace of Portsmouth in 1905! Almost every important member of the Government was then criticised furiously. Mass meetings were held in Hibya Park at that time, whence the Police were obliged to beat a precipitate retreat. The Tokyo mob is as unmanageable when it is once disaffected, as an English or French mob. It pulled down half a dozen buildings in a fit of rage. The rioting then increased to such an extent that martial law had to be proclaimed in the city. Now, do such things happen in countries which are not free?

We pass strictures on our government as freely as in any other country in the world. Those of our ministers who do not discharge their duties faithfully are practically compelled by us to resign. There have been even political murders in New Japan. The great Okubo, one of our earliest reformers was assassinated by the people. Neither the civil nor the military party in our country can do anything which the people do not like. But, in spite of all this, we do not wish to make the Mikado, a servant of the people! We have been taught the virtue of obedience to him from time immemorial, and there is no reason why we should now behave towards him like disobedient children.

He is the embodiment of all that is highest and best in the Japanese race. We do not want any socialists in Japan, because their doctrines are more necessary in your society than in ours. Are we not justified in that case, in nipping those movements in the bud, which are likely to do more harm than good to our society?

What glorious future do we see before our country?—What is our greatest ambition?—to words what goal are we now marching?—these are some of the questions which our Western friends ask us repeatedly. To begin with, let me assure you, that we are not hatching a great plot for exterminating the so-called white races. (Do you know that many Asiatic races,—like the

Ottoman Turks, the Arabs, the Persians, the Armenians, and the Circassians—are as 'white' as any of the Southern European races? As for Northern Europeans—I wonder whether they should be called 'white' or 'red'?) That would be quite beyond our powers! what we wish to do is to lift up other Eastern races from the mire of degeneration. We want to be their guides, philosophers, and friends. Some of them have benefited us morally or spiritually in the past, and so, it is now our ambition to quicken the flow of life-blood in their veins. We want the races of the Asiatic Continent to learn from us the art of self-rejuvenation. There are many thousands of Chinese students studying in Japan at present. We have also large colonies of Chinese and Indian students in our midst. Other Oriental races will soon look upon Japan as the land of light. We also hope to influence the West considerably in days to come. We know that our art has already influenced some of the most famous European artists. Before the end of the present century, we might succeed in influencing your literature, your philosophy, your science and your religious ideas. By that time, Tokyo will have become a second Athens or Cordova in learning, and a second Rome or Bagdad in imperial majesty. The Far-Eastern civilization is likely to become the dominant civilization of the world sooner or later.—Do you think it is a mere dream of mine? No!—for, we are marching towards our great Future with steps as firm as when we began to march about fifty years ago to our present position among the great Powers of the world.

And what will the future civilized races of the world think of your civilization when it is dead? They will praise it for certain reasons, no doubt! But they might condemn it also, in as superior a manner as you now condemn the various Oriental civilizations of the past. They will perhaps say, that you were so blinded by your 'Science,' that you could not see the greater light of Religion. In other words, the Finite was always more important than the Infinite in your eyes. They will say that you were very heavy and clumsy in your thought and actions as compared with themselves. They will laugh at your 'International Law,' your Hague conferences, your suffragettes, your fondness for spirituous drinks, and a hundred other subjects which you seem to take very seriously just now.

Yours Sincerely,
J. OKAKURA.

Lord Islington*

I would say at once that if the ideals of the British Empire stand for anything, India's future must be in accord with those ideals and her ultimate ambition which she must one day realize after successfully surmounting the difficulties before her is the attainment of responsible Government within the Empire. This ideal, which took this country many centuries to achieve, cannot be reached in a day, nor can it be given by Acts of Parliament alone. The journey may be long and arduous, and the dangers of a false step cannot be ignored. It is the task of British statesmanship, which alone has the necessary experience, to guide India so that she may not falter or relapse on the way.

Immediate developments should, (said Lord Islington,) begin in the Panchayats (the organs of village Government), in Municipalities, and in the District Boards administering country areas. With regard to the Presidency and Provincial Governments and the Legislative Councils, he was of opinion that much could be done with great benefit in the direction of decentralization. The development of the country had outstripped the capacity of any central Government to exercise effective administration. Such matters as police, education, agriculture, forestry, and public works and industrial enterprise might be handed over entirely to the larger of the Provincial Governments. Each Province should be allowed to work out its own redemption by itself in accordance with its own capacity.

They must aim more representative control in Local Governments through the medium of elected representatives, perhaps best done by the creation

on the French plan of Standing Committees of the Legislative Councils. He would like to see a Government consisting of a Governor and four Executive councillors (nominated by the Crown on the recommendation of the Governor), two Europeans and two Indians, and he would regard members of the services as eligible for the post of Governor. If in deference to the Legislative Council, the Government modified their policy, the Council would have to shoulder responsibility for the results. That was the essence of responsible Government as we understood it, and to secure its introduction into Indian Local Government a suitable system of election was important. The method of election should continue as at present based on a community franchise, but where possible the system of election should be direct instead of, as now in certain cases, indirect.

Adequate powers of taxation must be given to the Local Governments. Some means must be found of leaving provincial balances to a greater extent than at present under the control of the Local Governments, though power would have to be retained by superior authority to intervene in the last resort should a province squander its resources.

But even (continued Lord Islington) if these changes, and they are all changes which could only be introduced slowly and on careful enquiry were made, the Government of India would still, and always must remain responsible for the Imperial side—or I must say federal side—of Indian Government. It is impossible that the Government of India should ever divest itself of the control over the Army and the forces for the local naval defences, foreign relations, communications (including railways posts and telegraphs), customs,

* Speech at the Oxford Summer Meeting, July, 1917.

currency, all of which Services are of wider than local range. The liberalisation of the supreme legislative and executive councils would follow the lines which I have sketched in the case of the provincial councils, but in view of the greater importance of the matters in which the Imperial authorities have to deal, progress would necessarily be slower and would be dependent on the success of the changes in the Provincial Governments.

If all the changes that I have mentioned could in due time be carried out, the picture that India would present would resemble, with the necessary differences entailed by local conditions, in particular the existence of the native States that of the Commonwealth of Australia which as you know, is a Federation of Self-Governing States in which the central authority exercises control over matters affecting equally all the component units.

In any final scheme of Indian Self-Government provision must be made for the Native States, which in area and population cover one third of the Peninsula. They did not form part of His Majesty's Dominions and though proud to recognize the paramountcy of the British Crown their rulers enjoyed almost complete internal sovereignty. Lord Islington held that those Native States must come into the scheme of their own free will, their treaty rights must be scrupulously respected, and nothing must be done to impair the personal link which binds them to the Crown.

British and Indian public men and officials must for years to come carve out in joint efforts the destinies of British India. Their continued co-operation is a vital element in this great undertaking as every patriotic Indian who loves his country must realize. The opportunity for India is great. May it be granted that both races, British and Indian, will with single-minded endeavour, combine to avail themselves of the occasion,

H. E. Lord Chelmsford*

At the very first Executive Council which I held as Viceroy and Governor-General I propounded two questions to my Council: (1) What is the goal of British Rule in India? (2) What are the steps on the road to the goal? We came to the conclusion, which I trust most Hon. Members will agree was inevitable, that the endowment of British India as an integral part of the British Empire, with self government was the goal of British Rule, and His Majesty's Government have now put forward in precise terms their policy, which I may say that we as the Government of India regard in substance as practically indistinguishable from that which we put forward. With regard to the second question, after careful and detailed examination of the ground, we arrived at the decision that there were three roads along which an advance should be made towards the goal.

The first road was in the domain of Local Self-government, village, rural, town or municipal. The domain of urban and rural Self-Government, is the great training ground from which political progress and a sense of responsibility have taken their start, and we felt that the time had come to quicken the advance, to accelerate the rate of progress, and thus to stimulate the sense of responsibility in the average citizen and to enlarge his experience. The second road, in our opinion, lay in the domain of the more responsible employment of Indians under the Government. We felt that it was essential to progress towards the goal that Indians should be admitted in steadily increasing proportion to the higher grades of the various services and departments, and to more responsible posts in the administration generally. It is, I think, obvious that this is a most important line of advance. If we are to get real progress it is vital that India should have an increasing number of men, versed not only in the

* Speech in opening the autumn session of the Imperial Council at Simla on September 5, 1917.

details of every day administration, but in the whole art of Government. I doubt whether there is likely to be anyone who will cavil at the general conclusions at which we arrived as to those two roads of advance, but agreement must not blind us to their instruction. The first and foremost principle which was enunciated in Lord Ripon's Self-Government resolution of May 1882, and was subsequently emphasised by Lord Morley and Lord Crewe in their despatches of November, 27th, 1908, and July 11th, 1913, respectively, was that the object of Local Self-Government is to train the people in the management of their own local affairs, and that political education of this sort must take precedence of mere considerations of departmental efficiency. We are in complete accord with the principle, hence our advocacy of an advance along the first road. Equally we realise the paramount importance of training in administration which would be derived from an advance along the second road. There is nothing like administrative experience to sober the judgment and bring about an appreciation of the practical difficulties which exist in the realm of administration, and it is from this source that we look forward in the future to an element of experienced and tried material for the Legislative Assemblies.

We come now to our third road, which lay in the domain of the Legislative Councils. As Hon. Members will readily appreciate, there is no subject on which so much difference of opinion exists, and with regard to which greater need is required for careful investigation and sober decision. I may say frankly that we, as the Government of India, recognise fully that an advance must be made on this road, simultaneously with the advances on the other two, and His Majesty's Government, in connection with the goal which they have outlined in their announcement, have decided that substantial steps in the direction of the goal they define should be taken as soon as

possible. Some criticism has been directed against the Government of India on the score that we have not disclosed the policy outlined in our despatch. I must remind Hon. Members that the decision on such a question rests not with the Government of India but with the authorities at Home. Moreover, on the larger question of a declaration of policy, in view of its unique importance, I have steadfastly refused in the face of much adverse criticism to anticipate by any statement of my own the decision of His Majesty's Government, who alone could make a final and authoritative statement, and I was careful to warn Hon. Members in my opening speech to them last February of the likelihood of delay owing to the grave preoccupations of the Home Cabinet.

This, however, is I hope now immaterial, for His Majesty's Government have announced their policy and have authorised the Secretary of State, with His Majesty's approval, to accept my invitation to visit India and to examine the issues on the spot. I had invited Mr. Chamberlain to visit India, some time back. He was on the point of accepting when his resignation took place. Immediately on Mr. Montagu's assumption of office I expressed the hope that he would see his way to accept the invitation which I had extended to his predecessor, and I am delighted that the Cabinet have decided that he should accept. Some apprehension has been expressed in that the Government of India is about to be superseded temporarily by the Secretary of State. There need be no anxiety on that score. As I have told you, Mr. Montagu is coming on my invitation to consult informally with myself, the Government of India and others. He will make no public pronouncements of policy, and the business between the Government of India and the Home Government will be conducted through the regular channels and the Council of India. There is no question of suppression, but the outstanding advantage of Mr. Montagu's visit is that he will now have the opportunity of

making at first hand an examination of the questions in issue, and for my part I shall leave nothing undone to enable him to receive all the suggestions of representative bodies and others which he may desire. In these circumstances, and in view of Mr. Montagu's assurance that there will be ample opportunity for public discussion of the proposals which will be submitted in due course to Parliament, I would suggest to Hon. Members that the intervening time before his arrival might be spent in quiet examination of the arguments to be placed before him. For myself, I am anxious that when Mr. Montagu arrives we—and in that pronoun I include all those representative bodies and others mentioned in the announcement—should have ready to place before him all the material which will enable him to form a reasoned judgment. I hope Hon. Members will not regard my advice as suspect, but I would press it on their attention that when Mr. Montagu arrives in India he should find a calm atmosphere, suggested policies carefully thought out and supported by sober arguments and concrete facts, and a spirit of sobriety dominating everyone of the issues to be examined.

H. H. The Maharaja of Alwar*

I say to you, students, whatever sphere of life may lie before you and whatever careers may open out in your future, pray, remember that you are first an Indian, a patriotic Indian, a loyal Indian. These terms can be synonymous to each other and need not at all be contradictory. The air is rife in these days in India with questions of Home Rule and Self-Government within the Empire and, the war, in the words of the British Prime Minister, has made us a thousand years more advanced in our notions of life and people. All these questions of politics to my mind do not rest so much on pious hopes and concessions as they do on self-realisation which comes from

within and when 'this light dawns within, the darkness of ignorance disappears and gives place to freedom, which, when applied to countries and peoples as a whole, acquires such names as Home Rule, Self-Government, etc. I cannot conceive any Indian who is true to his country and to the blood of his parents not uniting in the legitimate aspirations of India towards its ultimate goal of taking its rightful position within the Empire. This is the time when you must prepare yourself in order that you may fulfil the needs that will come before you, so that with ripe judgment and sound education, you may be able to take your rightful position in the Empire and be citizens of a country or of a State which may feel proud of its gallant sons.

The Hon. The Raja of Mahmudabad*

I appreciate fully the importance of Mr. Montagu's decision to come to India and examine Indian problems on the spot. But we must prepare ourselves to do all we can to enable him to understand what exactly the real situation here is and I might as well say here as emphatically as I can that we intend to support, and support as firmly and unflinchingly as possible, the Congress-League reform scheme.

One of the chief difficulties no doubt which any Indian reformer would have to face and to successfully overcome is the adjustment in as happy a manner as possible of the relations between the Ruling Chiefs and the British Indian Government. While not desirous of entering into the question fully I would lay it down as guiding principle that unless we of British India are allowed to have a voice in the affairs of the Native States, the Princes should not be given any hand in shaping our destinies at this critical juncture. I have great hopes in the statesmanship and liberal instincts of our present Viceroy.

* Address to Students at Alwar, Sept. 1917.

* Interview to a Press correspondent, Simla, Sept. 1917.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak *

I have felt more and more that it is not possible to expect any people to rest content with being governed by another people. (*Cheers.*) And it is not possible to expect the Indian people to rest content with being prevented from giving the best possible to its own aspirations. Nobody else is capable of expressing Indian aspirations so well as Indians themselves, through their own representatives, by means of their own institutions and through their own Government eventually. And until this is done, obviously there can be no rest, there can be no peace in this country. I well remember the statement made by Mr. Bernard Shaw in his "John Bull's other Isle" where he was discussing the question of Irish Nationality. He regarded the question as in the nature of a national curse, and so far as Ireland was concerned, it was absolutely broken by the evil disease and all its activities were frustrated because it was not capable of the fullest expression of its national feeling. We all look to the greater federation of the world in course of time. No nation with a broken nationality can rest content until a healthy nationality is once more restored. I do not regard this national movement as being in any sense a political movement, for my interest in the political movement would be very little of a politician, but of a servant of humanity. I regard this movement of nationalism in India as a very great humanitarian movement. It is a movement to enable the people of India to enjoy freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom of speech and freedom of action. Unless all these are granted in the fullest measure, there is bound to be continued unrest. As a Britisher myself and as a believer in the general confederacy of the British Empire, I think that the absence of these conditions in India makes for ill-will in the Empire. I do not believe that it is possible to apply fine

principles in Europe and not to apply the same fine principles in Asiatic countries. Humanity, so far as I have been able to observe, is one and indivisible. If you pinch a man in England or in South Africa he winces. If you prick a pin into him he objects to the pin-pricking policy. Then I say that if you want to get rid of these conditions, you should have the full expansion of your energies. It is necessary for you yourselves to set the basis to do the work and to lay the foundation and then you will be able to achieve the object. By what we have done we deserve. I believe that my second Motherland, India—my spiritual Motherland will take her place in the comity of nations as an equal. You should lose no opportunity of self-sacrifice, you should think of no effort too great to lay your labours on the altar of your country in order that your efforts may bear fruit and so that your children may not undergo the same conditions you find yourself in.

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah*

"The selection of Mr. Montagu to the Secretary of State for India has given, as was but natural, the people of this country great satisfaction and the Prime Minister deserves the best thanks for his choice at the present critical juncture. Whatever may be the causes that led to his coming to India, in order to ensure the success of his mission before he sets to work at his task there should be, in my opinion, a general amnesty declared and all those interned as political prisoners released and I hope that Lord Chelmsford at whose invitation the Secretary of State for India is coming to this country will respond to the public feeling and sentiment on this matter which is very strong. Indeed the internment of Mrs. Besant is universally resented not only on principle but because it is understood in view of the pronouncement of the heads of Provincial Administrations to be a direct blow to the general national movement in this country and this was

* At an entertainment given by the Indian Colonial Society, Madras, on Friday, 24th Aug. 1917.

* To a Press representative in Smiles, Sept., 1917.

the cause that led the people to consider the question of passive resistance. Repression with one hand and concession with the other is a policy which no self-respecting people can accept. We are determined to stand by the principles of the memorandum of 19 members of the Council and the reform scheme of the Congress and the Moslem League and I would urge upon the leaders and every organization and the people at large in the country to lose no time in properly organizing so as to be ready when Mr. Montagu comes here to place the situation before him, and to be able to do so we must set to work at once. I notice that already interested parties are setting up people against the Home Rule League which is being misrepresented as going beyond the demand of the Congress and the League. As President of the Bombay Home Rule League I cannot but repeat what all that we want is and that all that the entire organization of ours is devoted to is the realization of the scheme of reforms adopted at Lucknow, with this difference that the Home Rule League is an educationist propaganda and the Congress is more a deliberative body. I feel sure that the Mussalmans and Hindus will stand together on this matter and I trust that whatever intrigues might be set up by interested parties to detach any section of the 'landed aristocracy or Hindus or Mahomedans' is doomed to failure. Personally I appreciate fully some of the questions affecting the Ruling Chiefs of India and I am sure that they feel for India as much as any one of us was clearly demonstrated by the speeches at the historic send off that was given to the Maharaja of Bikaner at Bombay by the Ruling Chiefs prior to his departure to England as a representative at the War Conference. But the question of British India and its administration should not be allowed to be mixed up with that of the Native States."

Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru. *

We claim to be reasonable men and as such we have through our great National institutions submitted a scheme of reforms to which we consider we are entitled as a first instalment towards the grant of full responsible Self-Government in due course. What we have asked for is to our minds the irreducible minimum of real power which ought to be invested in us. But we grant that we are not infallible. We are open to conviction and are prepared to negotiate on the basis of our scheme. It is not correct to say that we are asking for the whole loaf in the expectation of getting a slice.

It is equally incorrect to say that we are revolutionaries and will have nothing but full responsible Self-Government at once. Much powder and shot have been wasted by certain Provincial Governors to demolish this fanciful idea. Our position has been clearly stated in the representation recently made by the joint conference of the National Congress and the Moslem League held at Bombay. That representation embodies our answer to the policy of repression in a dignified and emphatic manner. It makes it clear that the newly awakened spirit is not to be suppressed by the Defence of India Act or the Press Act. It asks for the complete reversal of the policy of repression and the immediate release of the interned patriots. While demanding that the Congress-Moslem League scheme of reforms be given effect to after the close of the war it invites the Government to publish its own proposals for public discussion. It insists on an authoritative pronouncement pledging the Government to a policy of making India a self-governing member of the British Empire being made at an early date. We ask for no more and shall be satisfied with no less.

* Presidential address to the Special Provincial Conference of the United Provinces, Lucknow; August 10, 1917.

Mr. Syed Hasan Imam*

My heart has always beaten in unison with yours in longing for the realization of those great aspirations for constitutional reforms which will make our country a fully self-contained and self-governing member of the confederacy of commonwealths constituting the British Empire.....

It is because we are satisfied that there can be no political and economic progress in our land till the bureaucracy is replaced by popular legislatures with full control over the executive and the judiciary, that we have placed before us as the goal of our aspiration, the establishment of self-governing institutions in this country. It is idle to tell us that the bureaucracy have done for us this, that and the other, that they have given us good government with its concomitants of peace and contentment. Good government which the bureaucracy profess to have given us is no doubt better than no government, but in the first place good government need not be necessarily synonymous with bureaucratic government. Even a fair-minded member of the Indian Civil Service—Mr. Bernard Houghton—has had the candour to admit in his well-known work called *Bureaucratic Government* that “the menace, the real peril, lies not in the grant of more popular government to India; it lies in the continuance of the present bureaucratic system—a system which has served its purpose and which India has now outgrown.” We are grateful for this unequivocal admission in our favour by a retired Civilian, but as a matter of fact we scarcely need any such outside support. Our knowledge of the deficiencies and limitations of the Indian bureaucracy is too subjective to make us require any objective proof. The weaver whom his shoe pinches feels it but too keenly to need any confirmation on the point from the on-looker. We who have lived these many years under the administration of the Indian bureau-

cracy do but too well realize its inevitable shortcomings—the inelasticity of its system, the rigidity of its method, the soullessness of its administration, the super-sensitiveness to and impatience of even the most moderate criticism, the intense anxiety to retain, at all cost, the power and influence it has so long enjoyed and last but not least the passion for docile obedience and subservience to its authority. These are realised in a more or less large measure in all parts of India, but in a somewhat backward Province like ours they stand out in bold relief—especially the last. However it be, it is quite clear to us that now that we are demanding self-government, we shall not be placated by the good government offered to us by the Indian bureaucracy—be it howsoever best intentioned, conscientious or benevolent.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan *

It is your bounden duty to make it quite clear to His Majesty's [ministers and advisers in England and his representatives and agents in this country that not only industrially but even politically and administratively, India is resolved not to be content any longer with being a mere “hewer of wood and drawer of water.” No, she is determined that though like the self-governing dominions she may be a daughter in her mother's home, she shall be a mistress in her own. The whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin spoke out its mind to this effect, last Christmas at the Lucknow sessions of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League, and it now rests with us to make our dream of Self-Government within the Empire or Home Rule for India, a living reality

For years I gave the best of what God has given me to loyal co-operation with those in whose hands Providence has placed our destinies, but I feel bound to confess that of late the conviction has been growing upon me more and more that

* Presidential address to the Behar Special Provincial Conference at Patna, 26th August, 1917.

* Presidential address to the Ninth Behar Provincial Conference at Monghyr, held on 29th July, 1917.

while co-operation with the officials is good, self-dependence and self-reliance are even better and that while good Government, such as has been established in this country by our British fellow-subjects, is to be appreciated and supported, yet Self-Government for India within the Empire would be even immeasurably better and should therefore, be sought after by every constitutional means at our disposal. It is in the fulness of this conviction that I stand before you to-day as an avowed Home Ruler so that the few years that may yet be vouchsafed to me by Providence may be devoted to the service of my Motherland.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

The festivities in connection with the *Shasthyabhapurthi* or the 60th birthday anniversary of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore were celebrated with befitting enthusiasm all over His Highness' territory on the 24th of September. Travancore residents in other parts of the country were no less enthusiastic in their celebration in honour of their Maharaja. Indeed as was observed by one of the speakers at the great public meeting at Trivandram, presided over by Dewan Krishnan Nair, the event is unique in the history of the Rulers of the State. It is some 150 years since such a festival was ever celebrated in Travancore. The last ruler who witnessed his *Shasthyabhapurthi* was H. H. Marthanda Varma who reigned for 62 years.

H. H. Sir Rama Varma, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., the present Maharaja is one of the premier princes of India. His Highness has been thirty-two years on the *gadi* and the period of his rule has been one of continued progress and prosperity. When His Highness came to the throne in 1885, the State was, from all accounts, in a backward condition. But His Highness has been fortunate in his Dewans with whose assistance the revenue and police administrations were improved by successive Ministers not to speak of the great progress in educational and legislative departments in

But when I find that the demand for Self-Government is echoed from end to end in this country, and that all classes and communities are united in its insistence as the first plank in Indian progress, I feel doubly strengthened in asking you to press it, with all the earnestness and enthusiasm you may command, on the attention of His Majesty's Government, and to strain every nerve in securing it by constitutional methods, buoyed up with the conviction that good government can never be a proper substitute for Self-Government.

recent years. An ex-Dewan of the State, in one of the State manuals, gives this account of the progress made in His Highness' time. It reads :

In no similar period of Travancore history have so many improvements and reforms been so quickly effected. Several useful schemes have either been inaugurated or completed since his accession to the Musnad, and those have already begun to bear fruit. Such are the Kothayar Irrigation project; the Parur and Kaipuzha reclamation schemes; the Kyn-kari and Puthenvelkara bunds; the restoration of the banks of several rivers; the construction of several bridges across rivers and streams throughout the State; the introduction of the Railway; the thorough restoration of the old main lines of communication; the construction of several new ones; the opening up of the high range and other mountain regions; the abolition of the Virahi service; the remission of several obnoxious taxes; the organisation of a sanitary Department including Vaccination, Vital statistics, rural sanitation and itinerate medical relief; the large extension of medical aid; the medical grants to private dispensaries and native Vidyasalas; the promotion and extension of the benefits of Education by establishment of new schools and colleges both for boys and girls; the founding of Technical scholarships and the encouragement of Technical education and of free Primary Education to the backward classes; the offer to the public of agricultural loans on liberal terms; the holding of agricultural exhibitions and the establishment of agricultural schools; the introduction of a compulsory system of State Life Insurance; the reorganisation and reformation of nearly all the Departments of the State; and above all the establishment of the Legislative Council, the Sri Moolam Popular Assembly and the abolition conditionally of taxation in kind.

We congratulate His Highness on the beneficence of his administration and the deserved popularity he enjoys among his loyal subjects in Travancore.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE.

The Release of the Interned: 17th Sept. 1917.



MR. B. P. WADIA.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT.

MR. G. S. ARUNDALE.

The release of Mrs. Besant and her two followers has been welcomed throughout the country as a just and statesmanlike act. In answer to the furious and insensate agitation created and fomented by certain Anglo-Indians against the release, H. E. the Viceroy, in his concluding speech at the Imperial Council on Thursday, the 27th inst., made the following pertinent reply:—
"We as a Government would surely have shown little faith in the policy recently made public or in the appeal for concord and co-operation which I made in my opening speech of this session, if we had adopted any other course than that which we have followed. Previous to the announcement of that policy the position was somewhat difficult. We have gladly taken the opportunity that has now offered itself for opening a new chapter. The Home Member informed you on Monday that Mrs. Besant has passed her word to me that she will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit. I accept Mrs. Besant's word and I am sure her remarkable energies will be directed in the way she has indicated."

Social Ideals in India and China

Mr. A. C. Chatterjee, I.C.S., writing in the *Hindustan Review*, (July 1917) pleads the urgent necessity for the understanding of the institutions of our neighbouring countries like China, Siam, Japan and Persia, and urges that in our sociological studies we should not concentrate our attention too exclusively on the history of the West, for there are equally valuable lessons to be learnt nearer home. In many respects there is a great similarity between present conditions in India and China. Both have 'clung until it is almost too late to the ideals of an ancient civilisation, and both are now faced with the competition of the whole world and must, in order to preserve national existence, organise themselves on new lines which should not, if they are to be at all successful, involve an absolute breach with the present foundations of society. India and China have, therefore, much to learn from each other, and the success as well as the failure of one in any direction should be a lesson to the other.

A recently published book, 'Village and Town Life in China,' tries to make a comparative study of Chinese institutions, to see them in relation to the customs of other peoples and to review their merits and defects with a certain detachment. And a perusal of this work shows that some social institutions which we claim as peculiarly Indian, are also prevalent in China, *e.g.*, the Joint Family System; the position of women in the family, etc. Other points of similarity are found in marriage customs and ceremonies, and also in village government, at any rate as it existed in India before the disintegrating influences of the 18th and 19th centuries. The perusal of this book will give Indians an insight into the inner life of China which is not to be gleaned from works written by Europeans, and will disclose many points of parallel and contrast with Indian institutions. It is possible that institutions

prevailing in both countries which are similar in nature might have had a similar evolution from common originals. We should no longer stick fast to the belief that the systems of caste and joint family and the position held by women in the social fabric have been evolved by us independently of the mutual influence of neighbouring races or communities. The tendency to look upon our ideals and institutions as peculiarly Indian is due to the very little direct communication with other Asiatic countries and nations which we have had since 16th century. Since that time the trade-routes that served for commerce as well as for intellectual and spiritual contact between Northern India and China were virtually closed. The Portuguese navy which was then dominant in the Eastern waters entirely isolated the various countries. And China and Japan themselves followed a policy of mutual exclusion.

Bureaucratic Inefficiency

In the course of an article on the above subject the *Investor's Review* points out—

India, Official India, failed to rise to the measure of efficiency demanded and expected of it, and its failure illustrates once more, in a too lurid fashion, alas; the essential inefficiency always displayed by and to be expected from a bureaucracy responsible to nobody. Having no master, the uncontrolled functionary almost invariably becomes in the lump, a bad servant. We know here what it is to leave everything to the 'constituted authorities.' although here, there is through questions in the House of Commons principally, a certain amount of check upon the vagaries of the covenanted functionary. That does not help us much or carry us far; but in India, it is nobody's business to make sure that any man is qualified for the post to which he is assigned, that any official highly placed has capacity for doing his duty, or that any man in a position to direct a policy is capable of framing one or of understanding a policy when provided for him.

An Appeal to the Civil Servants of India

There is published in the *East and West* for September, an outspoken letter from 'Sexagenarian' addressed to the Civil Service about the present political situation in India. The writer says that he will not object to a mere doctrinaire or theoretical amendment of the Government of India Act of 1915 to the effect that Self Government within the Empire shall be the goal of the administration. To make India truly fit the Civil Service has to make a sacrifice and asks whether it is prepared to allow Indians a fair share of offices in order that they may acquire administrative experience of a high order, and that experience may not be lost to India as it is now lost, when the English servants go back to their country; and he tells them that they will not be losers if they give up their monopoly and come in as friends or advisers, rather than as masters, for the Indians are a grateful race. He exhorts them to engage the people by their affections, to convince their reason, and assures them that they will be loyal from the only principle that can make loyalty sincere, vigorous or national, a conviction that it is their true interest and government is for their good. The administration is very costly; and even the army charges are in excess of the whole land-revenue, while James Mill thought that the revenue from land alone in India, would suffice for all the expenses of government, if properly managed. The administration is also top-heavy, as even the *Pioneer* admitted in 1908; and it is moreover not in touch with the people or alive to their needs; and the *Times of India* says plaintively, "that none can live in this country, without being conscious of the yearning amongst the very best minds for a quickened policy of political, social and economical development, which will speed up measures to enable India to take her full place amongst the people of the world with a full sense of responsibility, we say the Government of India

and the services in the Provinces are not in full harmony with the times."

I don't think you will ever say that India should be governed by force or fraud. The only other alternative is to govern it by good-will, and in order so to govern, you should introduce popular responsible institutions, upholding economy in every detail, and adapting their arrangements to the needs of their people. Your Taluka and District Local Boards and your Municipalities can never be responsible popular bodies, so long as they are not allowed to deliberate and decide as representative bodies *liable to account to their constituents* for their behaviour, and subject only to the advice and guidance of a sympathetic Local Government Board, possessing as in England the confidence of the public. It is quite time, therefore, to do away with the system of nomination, except in very backward parts of India. By all means let the minorities be adequately represented, but the best way to secure that object is to give them the right of election, and not to give yourselves the right of selection. The same remark applies to the Provincial Councils and to the Imperial Council.

Gentlemen, I do not blame you for a moment, remember. If we knew all we would forgive all. You are creatures and servants of a bad system under which India has a governing caste. But it has lasted long enough. Do not believe in "muddling through." It means an enormous waste. Do not go in for a policy of "Drift" or a policy of "Divide and Rule." Do not lend your ears to time-servers, tale-bearers, "eye-pleasers," "humour-feeders," and double-faced men, like those who in the time of the Tudors and the Stuarts did your country enormous harm. Do as you would be done by, and practise that charity which has been called "the grandest of illuminations."

The Conscience Clause in Indian Schools

The Rev. W. S. Holland, in a recent issue of the *East and West* examines the grounds upon which the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri bases his demand for the introduction of a conscience clause, and urges many reasons against its introduction. Loyalty to the missionary commission makes it impossible for missionaries to give themselves to the work of education, unless they may deliver the Christian message to all their pupils. As against this, it may be declared that loyalty to the missionary commission does not preclude them from recognising that the atmosphere of voluntariness on the part of those to whom Christian message is given, is of great value for, and even essential to the success of mission work. And moreover the value of missionary work lies quite as much outside the scrip-

ture class-room as in it. The second point of objection against the introduction of a conscience clause is that we all believe religion to be essential to a complete or worthy education, and character being regarded as the chief element in education, education without religion will be very futile. Mission supporters at home, may withdraw their help from schools and colleges, all of whose pupils do not receive Christian teaching. A conscience clause leading up to a voluntary period in the time-table will introduce into the institutions an element that does not harmonise with the genius of their regime and discipline. Moreover Government cannot very well draw definitely the limit of its efforts to secure the pupil immunity from Christian influence and teaching. And it is necessary to distinguish clearly between the general principle that Christian propaganda must throughout be based, not on coercion, but on voluntary consent and the particular proposal to realise this principle by the legislative introduction of a conscience clause.

Missionary opinion may be summarised according to the writer in the following paragraphs :

No solution of the problem under consideration can be satisfactory which does not

(1) leave room for entire loyalty to our missionary commission ;

(2) cohere with sound educational method and discipline ;

(3) commend itself as fair and honourable to the Indian conscience ;

(4) present a line of policy that Government can adopt.

Now the introduction of a conscience clause, while consistent with the last but one of these tests, is in at least possible collision with all the other three. Can a solution be found that satisfies all four conditions ? We think it can. And the way lies, not in a conscience clause, but in the provision by the authorities of an alternative institution wherever Christian education is not desired.

First, we must make it plain to the Government and the public that missionaries are not responsible for the general education of India. We are here to give Christian education to those who are willing to receive it. Government cannot demand of us that the education we give shall be less than Christian. Where Christian education is not desired, the Government's business is to provide an alternative school. We claim no monopoly anywhere. Government may everywhere provide an alternative to the Christian school ; where this is honestly desired we shall welcome it ; but Government cannot require us to mutilate the education to the giving of which we have freely devoted our lives.

A Colonial View of Imperial Unity

* Mr. F. S. Tatham, writing in the pages of the *Royal Colonial Institute Journal* (July 1917), puts forward certain practical suggestions which he thinks will be of great value in maintaining the right sentiments both at home and abroad on which the future of the Empire so largely depends. Artificial means such as tariffs will, indeed, make it more profitable for the colonials to trade with Britain than with foreigners, but self-interest may become too strong to allow this to continue indefinitely and in any case, the natural desire of the Dominions to establish their own industries may lead to heavy protective duties aimed at British-made goods as well as those that are foreign made. In this conflict between self-interest and filial devotion, the latter tie will necessarily be weakened. Nor should Imperial Unity be permitted to rest only on the foundation of national safety. It is conceivable that the Dominions or any one of them may become powerful enough to depend upon their own means of defence, either alone or in alliance with a foreign power. Great attention should be concentrated on the best way to maintain and cultivate a right sentiment in the Dominions. Much may be done in the Dominions and in Great Britain to bring home to children what the Empire means, what it stands for and how its solidarity secures the liberty of all its citizens. Another way of influencing colonial sentiment is through the navy ; and their colonial cadets as well as their families and friends will be largely influenced by means of their personal interest in the navy which makes for Imperial Unity. The presence of colonial garrisons in the British army and their stay occasionally in the Colonies will be of very great value as fostering a sense of Imperial unity, and moreover colonial experience will be of great value to the troops. Education may be co-ordinated throughout the Empire, and the Colonial public schools may very well be linked up with those of England.

The National Spirit and the Indian Church

The Rev. Herbert Anderson, Secretary of the National Missionary Council, writing in the July number of the *International Review of Missions* describes the influence of the National Spirit upon the development and progress of the Indian Church which shows itself in appeals to the missions for India for more autonomy and liberty for self-expression. It corresponds to the appeals of Indian politicians to the Government for a larger control in the administration of the country's affairs. It is also seen in a growing disregard for Western denominational differences and a desire to introduce Oriental customs of worship, and also in the demand which is certain to become intense in the near future for the complete equality of Indians in status and responsibility with their European fellow-workers.

The duty of missions in the face of this situation is very clear. First of all there must be the fullest, deepest sympathy with all aspirations after a Church of India, free from foreign control, and desirous of developing its life, under the guidance of Christ in its own way. The authorities of all foreign Missionary Societies must accept the principle of a comprehensive Church organisation adapted to the country, and should approve its European Staff giving every facility for the spread of this desire. Free discussion among Indian Christians must be encouraged. And practical steps should be taken towards giving into Indian hands, the baptism of all Indian converts, the marriage and burial of all Indian Christians etc., and as far as possible, control of all Church or Chapel properties and buildings. Foreign missionary societies must make evangelism their primary work. The findings of the Indian Christian National Conference held in Calcutta in 1912 sum up the ideals of the Indian Church in a succinct way as follows.

Development of the Church.—It is the conviction of this Conference that the stage has been reached when

every effort should be made to make the Christian Church in reality the most efficient factor in the Christian propaganda in this land. To this end it is essential that the Church in western lands should continue to co-operate in the further development of the Indian Church that it may most effectively accomplish its providential mission in the regeneration of India.

Desire for a comprehensive Church.—This Conference is of opinion that there is undoubtedly a strong desire on the part of many of the leaders of the Indian Christian community for a comprehensive Church organization adapted to the country. While the community as a whole, as might be expected from its origin and history, cannot be said to have shown any strong and widespread desire in this direction, neither can it be said that there is anything within the community itself which would militate against the realization of such an ideal. This Conference, therefore, considers that every facility should be afforded for the spread and development of this desire in the Indian Christian community at large.

Freedom for self-expression.—While this Conference believes that the Indian Church should continue to receive and absorb every good influence which the Church of the West may impart to it, it also believes that in respect of forms and organization, the Indian Church should have entire freedom to develop on such lines as will conduce to the most natural expression of the spiritual instincts of Indian Christians.

Development of Indian leadership.—This Conference rejoices to recognize widespread indication of the awakening of a true spirit of sacrifice and service in the Indian Church, and especially the inspiration which the growing Student Christian Movement is bringing to Christian students all over India, leading them to offer themselves for direct Christian work. This Conference regards it as of primary importance that every suitable effort should be made to present the highest ideals of sacrifice and service to our Christian youth, so that the best type of consecrated leadership may be secured for the Indian Church.

This Conference desires further to record the conviction that whenever capable and spiritually-minded men and women are discovered, churches and missions should make a real and unmistakable advance by placing Indians on a footing of complete equality, in status and responsibility, with Europeans, and thus open for them the highest and the most responsible positions in every department of missionary activity.

In this connection this Conference would emphasise the principle that the work carried on by foreign missionary societies should be gradually transferred, as opportunities offer, to the Indian Church, and that suitable plans and modifications of existing organizations should be adopted, wherever necessary, so that this principle may be carried out by missionary bodies.

The Educational Service

"Vetus," writing in the August number of the *Modern Review* describes the recommendations of the Commissioners regarding the constitution of the educational services, and explains how Indians have been harmed in various ways. He then examines the effect of the Majority Report on Education in India, and Islington's arguments for racial favour. The new recommendations, he says, will aggravate the colour distinction and make the position of the Indian professors both in the upper and lower branches of the service distinctly worse than before. The old theory that the I. E. S. and P. E. S. are parallel services equal in status though differing in pay has been abandoned; while Indian professors however old and experienced belonging to Class II (i.e. P. E. S.) are to be styled assistant lecturers or demonstrators throughout their career. The maximum of 1 of the posts in Class I cadre for Indians may never be worked up to in practice; and in future Indians with British University qualifications, when appointed to Class I will get Rs. 200 a month less, or be four years behind Europeans recruited like themselves. The effect of the Majority Report will be to make colleges under Government extremely inexpansive, because extremely costly; and this is for doing the work of colleges in India, which, in the opinion of the Commissioners is of the nature of that performed in the upper forms of a secondary school in England. By the deliberate lowering of the status of Indian professors and keeping them in subordinate positions, all spirit would be crushed out of them. The result would be that fewer and worse Indians will be available for the P. E. S. (Class II) than even now and the bulk of the teaching service in colleges will have to be done by cheap subordinate service men. The justification for the high pay of the Europeans on the ground that the European branch is a *corps d'elite* is not true when the majority of recruits to that service are

men of low qualifications and belong to cheap provincial universities of the British Isles.

Mr. Rithin's proposal to divide the service into two, a specialist branch with 100 posts, and an ordinary branch with 485 posts, together with the details connected therewith will remove all reasonable discontent among Indian teachers, greatly cheapen the educational machinery, attract the best Indian talent to the work and raise the efficiency and general intellectual level of our professoriate.

Mr. Montagu's Opportunity

"If Mr. Montagu proves to be a plain tool in the hands of his subordinates," writes Mr. St. Nihal Singh in the August issue of the *Review of Reviews*, "it will not be because he lacks knowledge of India. He has travelled in India, and he knows just what Indians want." Mr. Singh says that the memorable speech that Mr. Montagu made in the House of Commons five days before he was appointed, was at first ignored by the Press, and then "the reactionaries and their friends began to say that he spoke when he was 'irresponsible.'" Mr. Montagu, however, affirmed, within a week of his appointment, that his statement in the House of Commons "embodied the opinions that I held and still hold." The gist of the advice that Mr. Montagu gave to the members of Parliament was: "whatever be the object of your rule in India, the universal demands of those Indians . . . is that you should state it. Having stated it, you should give some instalment to show that you are in real earnest, some beginning of the new plan which you intend to pursue that gives you the opportunity of giving greater representative institutions in some form or other to the people of India, of giving them greater control of their Executive, of remodelling the Executive . . ."

India, says Mr. Nihal Singh, is waiting to see Mr. Montagu carry out this advice.

The Transmission of Religious Legends

Mr. J. Kennedy writing to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1917) contributes the first part of his thesis on the transmission of legend and ritual through secular contact from the 2nd to the 12th century A.D. between Buddhism and Christianity. He says there are also a large number of cases where Hinduism and Christianity seem to have borrowed from each other. Sir G. Grierson has shown reason for thinking that Ramanuja was influenced by Christianity, while a great European schoolman, Albertus Magnus, who was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas taught doctrine characteristically Indian. Omitting all questions of dogma there is one important Hindu cult, the worship of the child Krishna, which has been supposed to owe not only some of its legends, but its entire conception to Christian influences. The controversy over this problem has lasted for nearly three quarters of a century.

The *Lalita Vistara* and the *Vishnu Purana* share a whole series of stories in common with the *Gospels of the Infancy*. And if one can find in any of these three cycles of stories, doctrinal matter peculiar to one of the three religions and foreign to the other two, then it will be decisive of the question of origin. But Kennedy, before going to the question of origin, brings out in the present part, all the materials which show what points of contact there were between Buddhism, Christianity and Hinduism. He is of opinion that such matter can be found.

Buddhism ante-dated Christianity by about five centuries, and attempts are frequently made to show that Buddhist stories and Buddhist expressions found their way into New Testament, and more especially into the first three Gospels. To justify this contention, it is alleged that Indian stories reached the Near East long before the Christian era; and Pythagoras and AEsop are quoted as instances in point. Indian stories of

course did reach the West in pre Christian times, although they were neither so early nor so numerous as some scholars imagine. Mr. Kennedy is of opinion that Buddhism and Christianity first met in fruitful contact—A.D. 100—and that any prior contact was impossible. He says that it is the fashion to credit the Achaemenian 'period' (6th to 4th centuries B.C.) and even the times that preceded it with an active importation of Indian stories and ideas. The Neo-Pythagoreans first gave rise to this opinion; and Max-Muller quoted AEsop's fables to prove the unigration of Indian stories; while other scholars have suggested an Indian origin for Greek and Persian stories which we find in Herodotus. The stories which are admittedly Indian were first told by Herodotus and Ctesias, who could not have known the 'Middle Land' and Magadha, the land of the Epics and of the Jatakas, as it was unknown to the West before the Indian campaigns of Alexander. (325 B.C.) The historians of Alexander's campaign and those who visited the court of the Mauryas had personal knowledge of Northern India; but the fresh stories they relate are few; and regarding Indian religions and religious practices they are more communicative. The Indo-Greeks of the second and first centuries B. C. added nothing to the store of information which reached the West, not even geographical knowledge, and their Buddhism never got beyond their pale. Up to the Christian era, therefore, the knowledge of Indian religions which reached the West was too superficial and too slight to make any impression while the tales were of freaks of nature, of monsters and of marvels.

But in the early centuries of the Christian era all the peoples between Egypt, Syria and India began to intermingle with each other; and as the centuries passed, their intercourse grew greater and more intimate. The real meeting ground of Christians and Indians was in Babylonia and

the group of countries, north and west of the Indus, i.e., Bactria, Kabul and Arachosia which may be said to have formed the Greater India. In all these countries we have Indians, Kushans, Jews and Christians. We read of Christians in Bactria by the end of the second century, and a monk of the sixth century, Kosmos Indikopleustes finds in Persia bishops and very large communities of Christian people. The Christians were equally at home in Syria, Persia and Greater India; their relations with each other were close and the bishops and clergy of the Far East held constant communication with Seleucia and the West. The Brahmin and Buddhist monks, Jewish rabbis and Christian priests living in this Greater India formed a very learned class especially occupied with religious questions; and they, in the opinion of Mr. Kennedy, would be the only medium for the transmission of novel ideas about religion and legends. In a later article the writer proposes to explain his conclusions and his reasons for adopting them.

Droupadi and the Pandavas

This is the title of an interesting discourse published in the current number of the *Vedic Magazine*. The arguments put forward that Droupadi was the wife of Yudhisthira alone, and not of the five Pandavas seem to be clean enough; and those chapters which make Droupadi the common wife of all the five brothers seem to be clearly interpolations. There are, however, distinct indications that Droupadi was the wife of the eldest alone. In verse 6, Biratparva, chapter 3, Yudhisthira tells his brothers that his wife is to be worshipped like the mother and elder sister. Again at para 208, Shalyaparva, chapter 60, Yudhisthira on the fall of Duryodhana says to Bhima, "by fate you have paid debts both to your mother (Droupadi) and to your anger." Here the word mother distinctly refers to Droupadi and not to Kunti. The fact that Yudhisthira had no other wife, than Droupadi, while the other Panda-

vas had all separate wives, is also another argument. In the Mahabharata, the words 'am wives' are used by Yudhisthira to mean the wives of Duryodhana and his brothers, the word, literally meaning one to be maintained and protected, it being the bounden duty of a man to maintain and protect his own wife as well as those of his brothers. The passages in the *Adiparva* dealing with the birth of the five sons of Droupadi from the five Pandavas are clearly interpolations; and the story about the reincarnation of Sachi, the wife of Indra, in the person of Droupadi is inconsistent in itself. In the writer's opinion, these are all clearly interpolations, written by Bannargis to discredit the Vedas and our saints.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS

- CO-OPERATION IN BENGAL. By Prof. P. Mukherji, M.A., F.R.E.S. ["The Bengal Co-operative Journal," July, 1917]
- SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E. A STUDY. By "Ono Who Knows Him." ["The Hindustan Review," August, 1917.]
- SIDE LIGHTS ON SHIMOGA -BHATKAL RAILWAY SURVEY. By Mr. Rahimtan N. Mirza. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," July 1917]
- SANSKRIT AND PERSIAN LITERATURE. By Prof. Ram, Chandra. ["The Vedic Magazine," June and July, 1917]
- RAILWAYS, AND INDIANS AND ANGLO-INDIANS. By Brabhatkumar Mukerji. ["The Modern Review," September, 1917.]
- SOCIAL REFORM LEGISLATION IN BRITISH INDIA. By H. V. Divetia Esq., M.A., LL.B. ["The Bombay Political Reformer," August 1917.]
- THE TASK BEFORE MR. MONTAGU. ["The New Review," August, 1917]
- SRI RAMAKRISHNA • THE FULFILMENT OF HINDUISM. By Dr. Radhakumud Mukerjee. ["The Vedanta Kesari," August, 1917]
- A CO-OPERATIVE PILGRIMAGE TO THE KARNATAK. By Rao Saheb A. U. Malji. ["The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly," September, 1917.]
- A DAY AT THE MULTAN GURUKULA. By Mr. Champati Rai, B. A. ["The Educational Review," August, 1917.]

A State Bank for India

Sir Daniel Hamilton, writing in the pages of *The Bengal Co-operative Journal* urges the immediate establishment of a state bank for all India, saying that it is the bounden duty of Government to monetise the labour of the people, by manufacturing and issuing through an organised banking system, and in return for its equivalent in productive work, whatever money may be required to set in motion the labour of every able-bodied man. The State-Bank, following the old Scottish banking system, will, he says, make money the servant of man, and raise India to the front rank among the nations, and make her a solvent partner in the Empire. Reaching down through the co-operative movement to the people beneath, it will give India her first substantial instalment of real self-government, *the financing the people, by the people, for the people.*

A State Bank for India requires no radical change in the existing banking machinery. As a matter of fact State banking is already in existence. In its sale of Council Bills for the financing of trade, its paper currency, its Treasury remittances for the public, its Post Office Savings Bank, its postal money orders, a great State banking business is already in existence. All it wants is co-ordinating and developing; and linking up with the co-operative credit movement into one organic whole.

Australia founded her State bank a few years ago, the Commonwealth Bank, by the issue of bonds. It has no share capital, and the bonds are being repaid out of profits. The Government of India, similarly, might take over the Presidency Bank shares by the issue of bonds to shareholders, and pay off the bonds gradually out of profits. The bank would be managed by expert bankers as now, the machinery and personnel remaining much as they are, with Government representatives on the Directorate. While the Imperial Government would own all the shares, each Presidency Bank would work as an independent unit, subject to whatever degree of control might be thought advisable on the part of the Imperial Government. The Presidency Banks would push on with the development of the co-operative movement, in conjunction with the Government Registrars.

The Bank would have an office in London, and take over charge of all financial work now done by the India Office, including the sale of Council Bills, and the purchase of the silver which will still be required for some time to come; but, with the increased use of paper money and the spread of the co-operative movement, and the consequent development of deposit banking, the present shocking waste of silver would gradually cease, and silver purchases for coinage be reduced to a minimum."

The Indian Currency Problem

The Wealth of India (August 1917) gives us an extract of the speech of Sir F. Currimbhay as Chairman of the Bank of Bombay on matters connected with Indian finance and currency. According to him the situation called urgently for large imports of gold, since the objection to this course which was formerly put forward, to the effect that English exchanges would be adversely affected must have largely disappeared with the entry of America into the war. The 'gold ordinance,' as a temporary measure has every thing to commend it, as in view of the very heavy demand for currency at present it is most advisable that government should have the power and be in a position to convert gold bullion into current coinage at once if required. The 'silver ordinance' has a somewhat mixed reception and objection has been taken to it on various grounds. The passing of the ordinance has resulted in the raising of the price of bar silver already held in the country and local prices show a tendency to advance much further. About the one-rupee and two and a half rupee notes, the speaker is of the following opinion:—

The increasing competition for the precious metals throughout the world has resulted in various proposals being brought forward with the object of economy in their use and the suggestion that one-rupee and two-and-a-half-rupee notes should be introduced in this country has been discussed at great length. If the Government of India after inquiry are satisfied that the issue of such notes will result at once in effecting an economy in the use of rupees to an appreciable extent, and are satisfied also that after issue they will remain in circulation, then the notes should be introduced without further delay and no other factor in the situation should be considered. Should, however, inquiries go to show that the notes will only go into circulation very gradually and that a considerable period must elapse before the total amount in circulation reaches a figure worth considering, then the question must be decided solely from the point of view of such an issue forming part of the permanent policy of the Government of India. In those references to one-rupee and a-half-rupee notes I recognise, of course, that if the present competition for the precious metals continues after the war is over, it may be necessary to consider the question from some other standpoint than as a mere business proposition; and also that even as a temporary measure their introduction may, under certain circumstances, become absolutely essential.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

Sea Warfare. By Rudyard Kipling. Mac-Millan & Co., Ltd., London.

This little volume is, from cover to cover, one graphic description of Sea warfare in the North Sea and is divided into three parts: The Fringes of the Fleet, Tales of the Trade and Destroyers at Jutland. Verse is interspersed with prose throughout in the Kipling way. In the Fringes of the Fleet, Mr. Kipling deals with auxiliaries, submarines and patrols and incidentally with expert opinions, racial untruths and the admirable commander. The last is hit off in a few words: "The Commander leads a congregation of very hardmen indeed. They do precisely what he tells them to, and with him go through strange experiences, because they love him and because his language is volcanic and wonderful—what you might call Popocatecaltic." In Racial untruths he says "When you come to think of it, though the English are the worst paper work and *viva voce* bears in the world, they have been rigorously trained since their early youth to live and act lies for the comfort of the society in which they move. The most interesting glimpses of the War in the North Sea are found in the Destroyers of Jutland. We should like to quote liberally, but the exigencies of space forbid. "Ramming an Enemy Cruiser for instance is quite thrilling." The work of the navy in the North Sea is admirably summed up as follows: "Less than a day's run to the eastward of where he (the Englishman at home) stands, the enemy's fleets have been held up for a year and four months, (now 3 years Ed. I.R.), in order that civilization may go about its business in all waters." Sea Warfare is likely to live when many larger and more pretentious books will be forgotten for it is instinct with the Sea and Sailors and their language and the spirit of the Sea dogs of England.

Towards Home Rule. Parts I & II By Mr. R. Chatterjea, The "Modern Review" Office, Calcutta.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjea has done well in publishing in book-form the more important papers and paragraphs bearing on the subject of Self-Government for India, that have appeared from time to time during the last ten years in the pages of the *Modern Review*. The two volumes present the case for Home Rule for India in a manner at once convincing and incontrovertible. Mr. Chatterjea has brought to bear upon his task not only a judicious and comprehensive understanding of the peculiar position of India but an equal knowledge of conditions in other parts of the world; so that by a comparative study of different states and nations his arguments for the fitness of India for Home Rule are strengthened, and presented with such reason and warmth as to make his conclusions irresistible. The question of the so called race disabilities, the myth of the misunderstanding between the masses and the educated classes in India, the plea of the supposed discord and disunion among the people, the alleged incompatibility of democratic institutions to the civilizations of the East, the cant of the inferiority of coloured races for adapting themselves to any scheme of imperial federation—every one of these legends is refuted point by point with citations culled from history and sociology.

The Ripon Readers. Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras.

We have received from the Modern Printing Works three excellent booklets entitled the "Ripon Readers." The "Preliminary," "Junior" and "Senior" readers are happily conceived text books for boys in Indian Schools. The selections of prose and verse in the books under review leave nothing to be desired and the printing and get up are delightful. The brief notes and illustrations must be welcome to young readers and we have no doubt the volumes will be widely appreciated.

"The Lifted Veil." by Basil King. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

This is a novel of absorbing human interest. The story is laid in New York and gives a good idea of society there. Clorinda Gildersleeve nee Rintoul a widow young, beautiful and rich is the heroine. She is an intensely human woman with much that is good in her temperament. An early indiscretion prompts her to seek the advice of a clergyman. He eventually falls in love with her without being aware of her identity. This leads to complications, while the return of a former lover at the critical moment but helps to magnify the situation. It would not be fair to show how the story ends and it is well worth reading to fun away.

Beckoning Hands from the near Beyond. By J. C. F. Grumbine, L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

A rationally written exposition of the new psychology in a quasi-scientific vein, without taking note of the innumerable superstitions and follies of the so-called spiritualistic school. "Spirituality" as distinguished from "Spiritualism" has little to do with spirits or mediums, chelas or table-rapping. There is no truer indication of the serious turn given to real introspection of the inner values of life by the turmoil of the war than the increase in the output of really helpful literature of the kind under notice, dealing in close grip with the issues of life.

A Dictionary of Jaina Biography: By Mr. S. Tank. Published by the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

This is a useful compilation and must be valued by all lovers of Jainism and its writers. It contains valuable information on the life, times and work of principal Jaina writers, and of many others who in anyway came in contact with Jainism, like Akbar and Aurangzib. The present pamphlet is Part 1-A of the Dictionary and covers practically only the letter A.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

NOTES ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EMPIRE. By the Rt. Hon. J. A. Murray Macdonald, M.P. P. S. King & Son., Ltd., London.

THE ESSENTIALS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR AND COMPOSITION. By B. Ramachandra Rao Joshi. Mission High School, Benares.

EVOLUTION AND CHRISTIANITY. By the Rt. Rev. H. Pakenham-Walsh, B.D. The C. L. S. I. Madras.

STORIES IN VERSE. Selected by V. H. Collins, M.A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

MANUAL OF A MYSTIC. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE WAR OF IDEAS. By Sir Walter Rallegb. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

AKBAR THE GREAT MOGHUL 1542-1605. By Vincent A. Smith. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN NATIVE STATES. The "Karnataka" Office, Bangalore City.

THE STORY OF BENGALIE LITERATURE. By Pramatha Chaudhury, "Weekly Notes," Printing Works, Calcutta.

THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT. By G. R. Roy, Simla, E.

IRRIGATION. By R. Cecil Wood. Govt. Press, Madras.

CIVICS (TAMIL) By M. K. Sundaravaradachari, B.A. R. Ganapathi & Co., Perambur.

READINGS FROM INDIAN HISTORY PART II. By Ethel R. Sykes. C. L. S. I., London.

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS. By Prof. N. Salva, M.A., Bangalore City.

STATE INSURANCE: A SUGGESTION. By Prof. M. T. Naraniengar, M. A. Malleswaram, Bangalore.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

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- August 22. German Chancellor's statement in the Reichstag *re* the Pope's peace note.
- August 23. British warships bombard Zeebrugge. Kerensky's speech on the Stockholm Conference.
- August 24. Capture of Monte Santo. Kaiser's Conference at headquarters.
- August 25. Meeting of the special Provincial Conference at Madras. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was entertained at the Islam Club, Bombay.
- August 26. Meeting of the special Provincial Conferences at Nagpur and Bankipore.
- August 27. United Provinces Congress Committee elects Mrs. Besant as President of the Congress.
- August 28. Allied capture of Beaumont. Trial of General Sukhomlinoff. America's reply to the Pope's Note.
- August 29. Meeting of the Inter Allied Socialist and Labour Conference in London.
- August 30. Hon. Mr. Basu and Hon. Sahebzada Aftab Khan were entertained at Bombay.
- August 31. Deputation to H. E. Lord Ronaldshay in connection with the question of the adulteration of ghee in Bengal.
- September 1. Election controversy in Calcutta and split in the Reception Committee Meeting.
- September 2. Anti-Revolutionary plot in Russia. Adjournment of the Stockholm Conference.
- September 3. Evacuation and fall of Riga. Successful British raid north of Lens. China's entry into the war.
- September 4. President Wilson's message to the American Army. Another G. I. P. strike in Bombay.
- September 5. Viceroy's speech in the Imperial Council on reforms and the interned.
- September 6. German Chancellor on the Allies. President Poincaré's visit to the American army in the field.
- September 7. Premier's speech at Birkenhead. Gerard's revelations on the Kaiser's treachery.
- September 8. The Swedish disclosures. A Portuguese steamer blown up.
- September 9. Severe struggle in Hermada. Home Rule meeting at Lucknow.
- September 10. Recruiting in the Punjab. Meeting of the Mahars in Poona *re* recruiting.
- September 11. General Korniloff heads a counter revolution against Kerensky. Mr. N. M. Sangharth suggests change of venue of the Congress.
- September 12. Kerensky-Korniloff conflict in Russia.
- September 13. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's sensational speech in the Viceregal Council. Failure of Korniloff's plot.
- September 14. Russian recovery on the Riga. French Cabinet crisis.
- September 15. Arrest of Korniloff and formation of the new Cabinet.
- September 16. Manifesto of the Russian republic. Mr. Gerard's scathing indictment of Germany.
- September 17. Release of Mrs. Besant and Messrs. Wadia and Arundale. Costa Rica's break with Germany.
- September 18. H. E. Lord Willingdon presides over the Co-operative Conference in Poona.
- September 19. H. E. the Viceroy's appeal for co-operation. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's apology in Council.
- September 20. Startling revelations of German diplomacy in America. General Alexieff has resigned.
- September 21. Great demonstrations in Madras in honour of Mrs. Besant's arrival.
- September 22. Sir Harcourt Butler's farewell to Burma.
- September 23. Presentation of addresses to Mrs. Besant by Madras Political bodies. Revocation of the Bombay Government's order against Mrs. Besant.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and Self-Government

The following circular letter has been addressed by the Gujarat Sabha to all the District Congress Committees in India :—

The Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, has announced his intention to visit our country for studying at first hand the present political situation in India. He is expected to be in India by the end of October,* 1917.

Mr. Montagu will in due course discuss the question of Reforms with the authorities and will also receive suggestions from representative bodies. But in view of the attitude which the Anglo-Indian Press has begun to take and is sure to take, it is not sufficient for us merely to discuss the question with the Secretary of State as representative bodies but it is imperatively necessary to strengthen his hands against the reactionary anti-reform forces by clearly and emphatically bringing to his notice the volume of public opinion in favour of Reforms. The opportunity is unique and to miss it would be almost culpable.

With this view our Sabha, at the suggestion of its President, Mr. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, has resolved to present a petition to Mr. Montagu, signed by the British subjects of Gujarat. The petition is short and is drafted by Mr. M. K. Gandhi in consultation with R. B. Ramanbhai M. Nifkanth. A copy of the petition is enclosed herein.

You will note that the original petition is in Gujarati accompanied by an English translation. The Sabha has advisedly done so, as it is not possible to reach the masses of our countrymen through the medium of English. The Sabha is organising a volunteer corps for lecturing to the masses and explaining to them the Reform Scheme. The instructions to volunteers framed

by Mr. Gandhi himself, specially enjoin every volunteer not to take the signature to the petition of any person who does not understand the scheme and of persons who are minors, students, and Government servants. Every volunteer is supplied with Gujarati translation of the Reform Scheme with a few introductory remarks printed in a pamphlet form and the volunteer is strictly to confine himself to the contents of the pamphlet.

Mr. Gandhi is of opinion that such petitions written in different vernaculars, should be presented to Mr. Montagu on behalf of all the various provinces of India. You will agree that such a course will not only result in convincing the Secretary of State of the intensity of popular feeling in favour of Home Rule or Self-Government but will also be a positive step forward in the political education of our countrymen.

TEXT OF THE PETITION.

To The Right Honourable Mr. E. S. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India.

The Petition of the British subjects of Gujarat humbly sheweth :—

(1) The petitioners have considered and understood the Swarnaj Scheme prepared by the Council of the All-India Moslem League and the All-India Congress Committee and unanimously adopted last year by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League.

(2) The Petitioners approve of the Scheme.

(3) In the humble opinion of the Petitioners, the reforms proposed in the aforementioned Scheme are absolutely necessary in the interests of India and the Empire.

(4) It is further the Petitioners' belief that without such reforms India will not witness the era of true contentment.

For these reasons the Petitioners respectfully pray that you will be pleased to give full consideration to and accept the reform proposals and thus render successful your visit taken at great inconvenience and fulfil the national hope.

And for this act of kindness the Petitioners shall for ever remain grateful.

* Now officially stated to arrive in the middle of December.

The Calcutta University

The following resolution has been issued in the Education Department:—

The Governor-General in Council has decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta and to consider the question of a constructive policy in relation to the questions which it presents. An announcement on the subject was made by H. E. the Chancellor of the University at the Convocation held on the 6th January, 1917. It is the desire of the Governor-General in Council that the constitution of the Commission should ensure an investigation of the problems connected with the University and the formulation of recommendations in the light of the best expert opinion upon the present requirements of University instruction and organisation. The assistance of His Majesty's Secretary of State was accordingly enlisted for the selection of persons fully acquainted with recent developments of University education in the United Kingdom. With these will be associated three persons competent to advise upon the peculiar conditions which prevail in India. The composition of the Commission will be as follows:—President—Dr. M. F. Sadler, C. B., M. A., LL. D. Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds. Members—Dr. J. W. Gregory, F. R. SC., D. SC.; M. I. M. E., Professor of Geology at the University of Glasgow; Mr. P. J. Hartog, M.A., B. SC., Academic Registrar, University of London; Professor Ramsay Muir, M.A., Professor of Modern History at the University of Manchester; the Hon'ble Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I. M. A.; D. L.; Puisne Judge, High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal; the Hon'ble Mr. W. W. Hornell, M. R. A. S., M.A. Director of Public Instruction, Bengal; Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, C. I. E.; M. A. D. SC. PH. D., Senior Tutor and Professor of Mathematics, Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. Mr. G. Anderson, an Assistant Secretary in the Department of Education of the Government of India will be Secre-

tary to the Commission. As regards general terms of reference, the Commission will be empowered to enquire into the working of the present organisation of the University of Calcutta and its affiliated Colleges, the standards, the examination and the distribution of teachers, to consider at what places and in what manner provision should be made in Bengal for teaching and research for persons above the secondary school age, to examine the suitability of the present situation and constitution of the University and make such suggestions as may be necessary for their modification, to make recommendations as to the qualifications to be demanded of students on their admission to the University, as to the value to be attached outside the University to the degrees conferred by it and as to the relations which should exist between the University and its Colleges or departments and between the University and the Government, and recommend any changes of constitution, administration and educational policy which may appear desirable. It is expected that the Commission will assemble during the first week in November, 1917. The President of the Commission will decide on the times and places of its meeting, on the witnesses to be called and on other similar matters. It is possible that the Commission may for purpose of comparison, desire to study the organisation and working of Universities in India other than that of Calcutta. The Commission will accordingly through their Secretary, acting under instructions from the President, correspond direct with Local Governments, the Universities and any education officers and local authorities with whom direct communication may be authorised by local Governments as a matter of convenience. The Governor-General in Council trusts that all communications or requests for information which may be issued by the Commission may be treated as urgent and that in the event of the Commission or its members visiting any locality, every facility may be afforded for their enquiries.

Mr. Montagu's Visit

A Press *communiqué* dated Simla 15th September says *re.* Mr. Montagu's visit that his absence from England during the war cannot be prolonged, and it will be necessary for him to concentrate his attention upon the particular questions at issue. It will, therefore, be impossible for him to receive addresses or memorials on any other subject. Representations and memorials on the subject of reforms should be addressed to him through the Governor General in Council. Deputations will be received by Mr. Montagu and H. E. the Viceroy jointly. To such deputations it will not be possible to give a considered reply, but it is hoped that great advantage will be secured from private interviews with selected members of deputations after they have presented their addresses.

Persons or associations wishing to have interviews or to present addresses should make their wishes known to their respective Local Govern-

ments who will submit their recommendations to the Government of India for submission to the Secretary of State. This procedure is necessary in order to enable a daily programme of engagements to be prepared, and every endeavour will be made to secure that all important associations and persons should be allotted a time for the desired deputation or address. It will be a convenience if copies of any addresses presented could be sent in some little time beforehand, in order that there might be an opportunity of appreciating the points to be raised, and it will add greatly to the value of the discussions at private interviews if the gentlemen who are accorded that honour will similarly send in beforehand a summary of points they desire to lay before the Secretary of State and Viceroy. It is desired that the views of representatives of all sections of the community should be heard, and these suggestions have been made in order that the time at Mr. Montagu's disposal may be distributed to the best advantage.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

H. E. the Viceroy's Appeal for Co-operation

In concluding his lengthy speech in opening the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla on September 5, H. E. Lord Cholmsford said:—

Perhaps I need hardly tell you that my task in addressing you to-day has been easier and more congenial to me personally than on any previous occasion. My Government, through no fault of their own but by the force of circumstances, have till recently occupied a position of much difficulty. Criticisms and misunderstandings have beset us, yet we were not in a position to speak. Now I am able to lift the veil and I feel that Hon'ble members here and those whom they represent outside will realise from my narration that our administration has not been sterile nor our policy illiberal. To-day I can point to something accomplished, something done. The announcement now

promulgated is a landmark in the constitutional history of India. It is not an edict which fixes and crystallises the Indian policy in a mould of cramped design; it is an announcement resonant with hope. It invites you forward at once along a stage of political progress and points you to a goal ahead at this great epoch in your national evolution. I earnestly appeal for co-operation. Let us look upon the bitterness of the past merely as the growing pains of a great people straining towards fuller development. Believe me, the years of guardianship and tutelage have not been so barred as some would have us think; the pace of India's political growth as measured by the development of her political machinery may have seemed slow, but who would deny that meanwhile her intellectual, economic and national faculties have gone on from strength to strength,

" For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
Seem here no painful inch to gain
Far back through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent flooding in the main."

So much for the past; but what of the future? Do you for one moment think that in their relations with India the British people and the British Government will be guided otherwise than by those standards of justice, and good faith which alone have kept India attached to the Empire and on which you have learnt to rely from the King Emperor down to his humblest subject?

The British people are proud of the bonds which link them to India and never more so than at this moment when the sons of India are fighting the battles of the Empire with such courage and devotion. Can any body doubt that the persistence of these ties of affection is a matter of vital importance to the future well-being of India and that it will be an evil day when those who are working together in this country are no longer inspired by their common share in a great and glorious page of history, but forgive me if I warn you—and this warning has no special application to any community but includes British and Indian alike, the public leaders and particularly the press representing every interest and every class—forgive me if I warn you that sentiment is a delicate plant which withers beneath the rude breath of uncharitableness. It is only by constant and watchful regard for the feelings of others that a sweet and healthy sentiment for the Empire can be brought to blossom, and bear fruit in Indian soil. Let it not afterwards be laid at the door of this generation that in these specious times of Imperial regeneration we allowed the sense of Imperial attachment through any fault of our own to lose its vitality. Of the Indian leaders I have a special request to make, it is that at the present juncture and throughout the difficult stages of transition which lie ahead of us they will believe in our goodwill and in our sincerity of purpose.

After all, whatever our differing points of view, we all have at heart the same thing, the welfare of India. The task we have to approach is no easy one. There are conflicting interests to adjust, grave difficulties to overcome. Who knows them better than yourselves? Heroic remedies endanger the body politic no less than the human organism. I doubt if there is among us here any man who could propound a scheme of reform in which he put full confidence and satisfaction, as possessing exactly what the best interests of India require, with due regard to the circumstances of her development, and her present position. The questions at issue must be approached in a spirit of reason and in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and co-operation. Let us then sit down together as friends, mindful of old historic associations, harbouring no mistrust, and let us examine these great problems solely from the standpoint of what is judicious, what is practicable, and above all what is right.

It is indeed meet and proper that we should seek to put our house in order, but beyond our gates stern and insistent, there still stands the great imperative of the war. Hon'ble members will, I trust, realise from my words to day that I have not in the past nor shall I in the future minimise the importance of the great question of reform, but we must not allow ourselves to forget for one moment that far from India's shores a question far more vital to the future of India is being desperately fought out, that the Empire is still calling upon her sons for their help and that it is our first and paramount duty to throw our all into the scale. It is perhaps only natural from our remoteness from the scene of conflict that the call should sometimes seem faint and far away, but I know that it has only to be sounded in clear notes for India's response to be as great and as ungrudging as of yore.

Lord Chelmsford on India's Services

In the course of his speech in opening the autumn session of the Imperial Council at Simla on September 5, H. E. the Viceroy, while detailing the various services of India in the war said after dealing with the work of the Munition's Board:—

It is an open secret that the last few months have witnessed great activity in the way of railway construction in Mesopotamia. The whole of the rails sleepers, bridging material, engines, rolling stock, and *personnel* required for the construction and working of these lines have been provided by India. We have also provided technical, *personnel* and railway material in large quantities to Egypt and East Africa besides meeting the heavy demands of oversea railway. We have drawn largely upon India's limited resources in the matter of electric plant and *personnel* in order to equip the power stations which have been established at various places in Mesopotamia, and provided the generating plant required for the electric lights and fans of general hospitals in the field.

The Telegraph Department is another branch of our administration which has been called upon to meet the demand of the army in Mesopotamia and East Africa. Some 9,000 miles of line with all the posts, stores, tools, instruments, offices and *personnel* required for their construction, maintenance and working have been provided by it since the beginning of the war, and the workshops of the department have in addition carried out a great deal of miscellaneous work for the army. Our farms-department has provided the experts, *personnel*, cattle and plant required for the military dairies which have been established in Mesopotamia as well as the *personnel*, implements, and seeds required for vegetable cultivation on a considerable scale. These measures which illustrate how varied and numerous are the requirements of a modern army in the field should, when fully developed, have a beneficial effect on the health of the troops which has already improved

in a marked degree. General Maude reported only a few days ago that the general opinion of officers and men is that they have never seen troops so well fed. The great decrease of scurvy, which is now almost a negligible cause of inefficiency, and the absence of other diseases due to mal-nutrition afford eloquent testimony to the success achieved. I hesitate to be dogmatic in such a matter, but the evidence which comes to me from many sources justifies me, I think, in saying that our troops are now well cared for and liberally supplied and the knowledge of this will, I feel sure, cause the liveliest satisfaction throughout India. Coming now to men the extent to which our recruiting activities have increased will be appreciated when I tell you that previous to the war our average enlistments for the army did not exceed 15,000 per annum. The briskness of recruiting has enabled us to maintain a steady flow of reinforcements to the various fronts and facilitated the raising of a number of new units. With the increase of combatant units there has, of course, been a corresponding expansion of departmental service such as engineering, medical transport, ordnance and supply, *personnel*—to say nothing of organised labour which is now represented by some 20 Corps in Mesopotamia and another 25 in France. Besides the above, upwards of 60,000 artisan labourers and specialists of various kinds have been enlisted for service in Mesopotamia and East Africa and some 20,000 menials and followers have been recruited and despatched overseas. To meet the demands created by wastage in the field, the raising of new units and the ever increasing of soldiers and followers under training in depots, we have had to provide for corresponding increase in officers. This has been and is still one of our difficulties but in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers which consisted of 40 members at the beginning of the war now number over 3,000 and I take this opportunity to express my high appreciation of their services.

The Viceroy on the Ruling Princes

In the course of his speech in the Imperial Council on September 5, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following observations on the Ruling Princes and their services at the present crisis :—

Their Imperial Service Troops, to which must now be added the Imperial Camel Transport Corps from Bhawalpur and Khairp, are serving beside our own in almost every theatre of our operations while money and contributions in kind are constantly being offered for the acceptance of the Government. The Nizam's munificent gift of one lakh towards the anti-submarine campaign shows how truly His Highness has appreciated that important factor in the struggle, and the conditions which have brought the peril by sea to the very gates of India. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has presented a flotilla of motor launches for Mesopotamia at a cost of over one lakh of rupees and His Highness the Maharaja of Knpurthala has given motor ambulance launches for the same destination. Aeroplanes have been purchased for Government by the Feudatory Chiefs of Bihar and Orissa, while contributions towards the cost of war have been made by the Maharajas of Indore and Bharatpur, the Maharaja of Danta, the Raja of Dewas and many other Princes. It was with very keen pleasure that I was able to announce that, in recognition of the great place which the Indian Princes hold in the Empire, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir had been selected to be one of the representatives of India at the Imperial War Conference recently held in London. Those of us know, His Highness will agree, that no better choice could have been made, and what we have heard from England amply confirms our opinion. Since his return to India, His Highness has again been called upon to assist the Government in its deliberations and as a member of the Central Recruiting Board

both he and His Highness the Maharaja Scindia have been engaged with my officers in solving the difficult problem of maintaining adequate numbers of recruits for all branches of the Indian Army. His Highness the Maharaja or Patiala, as representative of the Chiefs of the Punjab, whose people have hitherto led India in the matter of recruitment, has also helped the Board with his presence and advice. While sharing with us these Imperial interests, the Princes and Chiefs have also their own State questions and problems, and for the discussion of some of these I have invited their Highnesses to another conference at Delhi early in November next. I look forward to that opportunity of thanking them in person for the loyal, consistent and generous support which they have ungrudgingly given to the Government of India in these times of stress and anxiety.

I may mention a question of great importance, affecting particularly the interests of the maritime States in Kathiawar, which has recently been under the consideration of the Government of India. Hon. Members are no doubt aware that some years ago it was found necessary, in order to protect the revenues of British India, to institute a preventive custom line at Viramgam. Complaints have been received from time to time of the detrimental effect of this line on the trade of the country and of the hardships caused to the travelling public. Negotiations were, therefore, undertaken with the Baroda Durbar and the Kathiawar States with a view to their adopting measures which would safeguard Imperial interests. These negotiations, I am glad to say, have now been successfully completed and I hope that it may now be possible to take immediate steps for the abolition of the customs line. I would point out that this question has been outstanding for some twenty years and it is a great satisfaction to me to see it finally settled.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Indian Emigration to Colonies

The following report of the Inter-Departmental Conference recently held in London to consider proposals for a new assisted system of emigration to British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica and Fiji is published for public information and criticism.

The Secretary of State has desired that it should be made known that his Majesty's Government, in agreement with the Government of India, have decided that indentured emigration shall not be reopened. They also consider that no free emigration can be introduced into any colony until all Indian immigrants already there have been released from existing indentures.

REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL CONFERENCE.

It was decided towards the close of 1915 to hold an Inter-Departmental Conference to consider the questions raised by the Government of India in their despatch on Emigration (No. 41 of 1915.) dated 15th October 1915. The Colonial Office wished first to consult the various Colonies concerned, and in order to enable them to do so, the Conference was tentatively fixed for the autumn of 1916. But, meanwhile, at the instance of the Government of India, the Government of Madras had deputed an official and a non-official to visit Ceylon and Malaya, and to investigate the conditions of emigration to those countries. It was thought desirable that these gentlemen should complete their enquiries before the Conference was held. This necessitated the postponement of the Conference till May 1917.

2. The Government of India nominated as its representatives at the Conference Sir James Meston and Sir S. P. Sinha, both of whom had, however, to return to India before the Conference could meet formally. It is greatly to be regretted that, in consequence, they were not able to take any part in the deliberations, though they had been able to discuss the question informally with the two Secretaries of State.

3. The Conference was purely official in composition and did not summon witnesses. The following members of the respective Secretaries of State's Establishments attended :—

Lord Islington, G.C.M., D.S.O., (*Chairman*), Sir A. H. Steel Maitland, Bt., M.P.; M. C. Seton, Esq., C. B.; G. E. A. Grindle, Esq., C. M. G.; J. F. N. Green, Esq., and T. C. Macnaghten, Esq.

4. The Conference held some informal meetings during May to consider preliminaries and clear the way for the formal discussion. Ten formal meetings have been held, at the earlier of which Mr. James McNeill, Indian Civil Service, retired, was able to give the Conference valuable information regarding Indian labourers in the Colonies, while at the later meetings the Conference had the benefit of the knowledge possessed by Major de Boissiere, protector of immigrants, Trinidad. Lieutenant-Colonel W. M. Kennedy, C.I.E., President of the Assam Labour Board, and Mr. N. E. Marjoribanks, Indian Civil Service, who had been deputed by the Government of India to furnish the Conference with any information that might be required, attended all the meetings. The Conference desires to express its great obligation to all these gentlemen for the valuable advice and assistance which it received from them.

5. The following scheme of assisted emigration combined with colonization for Indians in these colonies was agreed to as one that could be recommended to the Government of India and the Colonial Governments for adoption :—

A SCHEME OF AIDED COLONISATION FOR INDIANS.

I. THE NEW SYSTEM.

The new system will be entirely free, and the indentured system together with the titles and characteristics attaching to it will be abolished. The system to be followed in future will be one of aided colonization, and its object will be to encourage the settlement of Indians in certain Colonies after a probationary period of employment in those colonies to train and fit them for life and work

there, and at the same time to afford a supply of the labour essential to the well-being of the colonies themselves.

The immigrant will, as at present, arrive in the Colony entirely free of debt and of any financial liability connected with the cost of his introduction into the colony. He will be in no way restricted to service under any particular employer except that, for his own protection, a selected employer will be chosen for him for the first six months. He will, however, be encouraged to work for his first three years in agricultural industries by the offer, should he do so, of numerous and important benefits subsequently as a colonist.

II. METHOD OF FINANCING THE SCHEME.

In order that no employer shall be able to claim that he had paid the expenses of introduction of any particular immigrant, such expenses will be borne by the Government of each Colony concerned out of a common fund raised by rateable contributions from the employers either (1) of all Indian immigrants other than those locally born, or (2) of an immigrant during the first three years of his residence, or (3) during the period laid down as necessary to qualify him for a free return passage.

III. LAND SETTLEMENT.

Steps will be taken to ensure that land may be made available at once in the simplest and cheapest manner that can be devised for all immigrants who desire it and who have completed a qualifying period of three years' employment under employers on the register. To secure this end a department in each colony will be responsible for the provision of sufficient land to meet all *bona fide* applications; for rendering it suitable for agriculture by adequate clearing, irrigation and drainage, where this is considered necessary by the department, and for the distribution of it among applicants, and the due control of their management of it subsequently. It will be the duty of this department to advise immigrants on

questions relating to the acquisition of land, to explain fully to them the conditions upon which land can be obtained and to assist them in every possible way to obtain it.

In Fiji, these objects will probably be attained by the Land Trust Committee instituted under Ordinance No. 15 of 1916. In British Guiana the Crown lands are in places not cultivable except after a large expenditure on irrigation and drainage than the individual immigrant can afford to incur. In Jamaica, it is understood that suitable Crown land is scarce, and land for the settlement of Indians can only be provided by purchase from private owners. In Trinidad, settlement is retarded by the restrictive conditions that the occupancy price must be paid in one lump sum and that the minimum area that can be granted shall be five acres. It will be the business of the responsible department in each Colony to remove all obstacles of this kind to the free settlement of Indians upon the land.

Land not exceeding five acres in extent will be granted to an immigrant after three years' employment under employers on the Register subject to a reasonable annual rent in the case of leaseholds. The rent will vary according to the fertility and position of the land and will be subject to revision every 30 years. For ten years after the grant the immigrant will be prohibited from alienating or encumbering his right in the land except with the sanction of the responsible department, and that department will have power further to resume any land not brought under cultivation within two years of the grant.

IV. CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT.

Terms of Engagement.—An employer specially selected as being able to provide conditions of employment and living, which the Governor in Council may deem to be adequate, will be chosen by the Protector of Immigrants for each immigrant on arrival. The immigrant will be required to remain with this employer

for six months, the Protector of Immigrants having power to sanction or require during that time a change of employment should he see reason to do so. After this first period of six months the immigrant will have perfect liberty to move from one employer to another upon one month's notice. At no time will the immigrant be under any indenture or any contract other than the above, and the relation between him and his employer will be purely that prevailing in the colony between any master and servant. The immigrant can only be proceeded against for any breach of engagement by way of a civil suit in the ordinary course of law, and will be liable to no criminal penalties.

Wages.—(a) A minimum wage will be fixed which will bear to the minimum wage at the time of Mr. McNeill's visit the same proportion that the cost of living when the wage is fixed bear to the cost of living then (when it was estimated at 3s. 6d. a week). This minimum wage will require revision every five years on the same proportional basis. In the calculation free rations to women and children granted in accordance with IV (3) will be excluded.

(b) All wages be paid regularly and in full i. e., without deductions.

Rations for Children.—(a) During the first 12 months after arrival in the colony children under 11 years of age will be entitled to free rations on a scale to be determined by the Colonial Government; while children under 5 years of age will be given free milk ration during the whole time that their parents remain in the employment of an employer on the Register.

(b) *For Pregnant and Nursing Women.*—Free rations will be issued for at least six months to pregnant and nursing women working under an employer on the Register.

Housing.—The provision of married quarters, separate from the 'single' quarters, will be made compulsory upon all employers of more than 20

adult male Indian immigrants, and will be insisted upon as far as practicable in the case of all other employers on the Register.

Grant of land.—Each adult male immigrant employed in an agricultural industry will be granted for his personal use and cultivation a garden plot of one-tenth acre, if he desires it, after six months' service. A larger plot, up to one-third acre, will be made available, wherever possible, to industrious workers in the nature of a reward.

Medical Treatment.—The existing regulations and provisions will continue in force, and will be applicable to immigrants under the new system. Under the present regulations, in addition to other medical care, hospital, public or private, are provided at which immigrants are treated free of charge, either as inmates or out-patients.

V. THE EMPLOYER.

All persons desirous of employing assisted immigrants during their first three years of residence will be required to apply to the Protector of Immigrants, and if the conditions of employment and living which they offer are found after enquiry to be suitable, and in accordance with the standard required, the Protector will place them on the register of approved employers. An approved employer will be any employer who is deemed qualified by the Governor in Council to employ an immigrant under proper conditions of wages, labour, medical attendance and housing, and who has received a licence to employ and has paid for it. Any employer not fulfilling the above conditions, found employing an immigrant, will be liable to a fine on prosecution in a criminal court at the instance of the Protector of Immigrants.

VI. EMIGRATION STAFF AND SUPERVISING AGENCY.

(1) A Protector of Emigrants appointed by the Local Government in India, to supervise emigration in the Province.

(2) An Emigration Commissioner appointed by the Colonial Governments with the approval of the Local Government in India, who will be a colonial civil service official.

(3) Inspectors of Emigration. Officers, who may be Indians, shall, if necessary, be appointed for this purpose. They shall be under the Emigration Commissioner, and shall supervise the work of emigration in the villages. They shall be men of standing and on a graded scale of pay. The actual area of each inspector's charge will be settled by the colonial Government subject to the approval of the local Government in India.

(4) Emigration Agents licensed by the Emigration Commissioner, the licences being countersigned by the magistrate of the district in which the agent works and also by the Protector of Emigrants. Emigration agents will be paid a fixed salary with possibly in addition small money grants at the end of the year to reward meritorious work. Men who have actually worked in the Colonies will be preferred as emigration agents provided that the Emigration Commissioner certifies their character and respectability.

(5) A Protector of Immigrants, a colonial official (in each Colony) with a good knowledge of the principal Indian languages used by immigrants and of their customs.

(6) An official of standing from India or a non-official will be deputed every three years by the Government of India to visit the colonies and report upon the conditions prevailing.

VII. DEPOTS.

In each district from which assisted emigration proceeds there will be a conveniently situated depot where emigrants will be assembled by the agents and passed as suitable by the inspector. The depots will be freely open to the emigrants and their friends and in them emigrants will be under no restraint. Depots will be open to inspection at any time by the district magistrate or any magistrate deputed by him, but the

production of emigrants before a magistrate in India will not be required. Non-official gentlemen of standing in the District will be appointed visitors to each depot.

From these district depots emigrants will be sent down to a central depot, where they will be examined medically and passed by the emigration commissioner as suitable. Non-official gentlemen will be appointed visitors to these depots also.

The emigration commissioner will be responsible for the central depots and also for the district depots which will be in charge of officers to be selected by him.

VIII. CONDITIONS OF EMIGRATION.

(1) While it is considered impracticable to insist upon any hard and fast proportion of single men to families, the emigration of whole families will be encouraged, and particularly, of families containing young married girls, but persons below the age of 18 will be assisted to emigrate only when accompanied by their parents or guardians. To discourage, the emigration of women of an undesirable class, women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted, and the rule requiring a certain proportion of women to men will be abolished.

(2) The non-working dependants of an immigrant will not be rejected medically merely on the ground that they are physically incapable of work or on the score of age.

(3) A written statement shall be given to each intending emigrant and explained to him, stating the terms of his employment and the conditions of life in the colony to which he proposes to emigrate.

(4) Emigration from pilgrim centres will be prohibited during times of pilgrimage or festivals.

IX. SURGEONS ON EMIGRANTSHIPS.

If the Government of India so desire, a proportion of the surgeons employed on emigrantships shall be Indians.

X. REPATRIATION.

(1) Any immigrant wishing to return to India will be granted for himself and his dependants half the passage money after three years', three-quarters after five-years', and the whole after seven years' continuous residence in the colony. But the acceptance of a grant of land under the special facilities outlined in paragraph III will be held *ipso facto* to extinguish all claim to a free or assisted return passage. By this it is not to be understood that the immigrant will, at any particular period, be required to make a choice between a return passage and a grant of land, but merely that the acceptance of a grant of land under the special conditions outlined above will be taken as extinguishing his right to return passage.

(2) An immigrant who has availed himself of a free or assisted return passage under these conditions, should he return to the Colony, shall have no right to a second free or assisted return passage to India.

(3) Six months' previous notice must be given by any immigrant of his intention to claim a free or assisted passage.

(4) The Protector of Immigrants shall have the right, subject to approval by the Governor in Council, to grant at any time free return passage in full in cases where he deems repatriation desirable. This right will extend to the cases of immigrants whose claim to a return passage has been extinguished by the grant of land, and who may have been reduced subsequently to indigent circumstances.

XI. CANCELLATION OF INDENTURES.

(1) No emigration will be permitted to take place under this scheme to any Colony until ordinance is passed in that colony providing for cancellation of all existing indentures, such cancellation to take effect from the date when the first immigrants under the new scheme arrive in the colony.

(2) All labourers who are at present under

indenture or who after completing their period of indenture have not yet qualified under the existing rules for a free or assisted return passage, as the case may be, shall have the option of remaining under the existing terms as to repatriation or of coming under the new terms on the condition that in the latter case the first five years of service in the colony shall be excluded in calculating the amount of service qualifying for a free or assisted passage.

XII. CONDITIONS IN THE COLONIES.

Marriage Law of Immigrants.—A marriage which in accordance with the religion or caste custom of the parties to it is valid and which is duly celebrated according to the rites of the particular religion or caste and is not repugnant to the marriage laws of the colony shall be valid, provided, it was registered before a registrar within 15 days of its celebration by the person celebrating the marriage, or, in the case of castes whose customs do not require the presence of an official celebrant by the parties to the marriage themselves.

Divorces duly pronounced according to the customs of the religion or caste to which the parties belong shall be held valid if registered.

Educational Facilities.—Indian immigrants already enjoy the same facilities for primary education as are possessed by other inhabitants of the colonies concerned. Education is universal in the West Indies. In Fiji recent legislation has been enacted in 1916, and further efforts will be made to reach the same standard there.

Political Rights.—The Indian immigrant already acquires exactly the same political and municipal rights as any other inhabitant, except only that in Fiji he is specially represented on the Legislative Council by a nominated member instead of taking part in the elections by which European members are selected. The Government of Fiji will, if desired, consider the question of adapting the electoral system so as to include Indians on the same terms as Europeans.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

British Colour-Making

The new British colour-manufacturing industry makes more progress than is popularly known. The output of coal-tar dye-stuff, says the *Sinhal Gazette*, increases in current quantity, despite an accident which severely hampered the production of alizarine. In quality the British makes are better than ever, and impartial witnesses give their admiration spontaneously to the success attained in standardising successive lots. The variety is increasing, and the production of fair quantities of an entirely satisfactory sapphirol, a bright blue for wool-dyeing, is one event which can be noticed. The manufacture of fully half a dozen of the most complex and valuable colours has been mastered in a textile works, and one of these days the country will awaken to the discovery that surprising headway has been made under circumstances of the utmost difficulty. Preparations for a much greater production of intermediates and colours are well advanced, and the records of the progress, says the journal, give the feeling that English manufacturers are by no means doing badly. Probably much more money is being made by American colour-makers, but no available reports go to show that either they or the Japanese colour-producers are earning any good name for their dyes.

Industrial Commission

It is understood that the Industrial Commission will assemble in Bombay in the first week of November and resume work under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland. The Commission will spend the whole of November in the Bombay Presidency and will then proceed to the Punjab and thence to the frontier. After touring in Assam the Commission will visit Burma and return to Delhi to write the report. Sir Thomas Holland will then return to Delhi to be present at the Lady Willingdon Exhibition which opens on November 26.

Paper Manufacture in India

The Blue Book on the trade of India in 1915-16 gives the following interesting particulars regarding the paper industry in India. There were altogether eleven paper mills working in India at the end of 1915, with an authorised capital of £330,000 and 4,665 persons employed. The output in 1915 amounted to 30,361 tons valued at £600,000. The total consumption of paper in India is at present estimated at about 80,000 tons per annum, of which 50,000 tons of paper was imported from foreign countries. Since the war began the total output of paper from Indian mills has increased by 5,000 tons, that is, while the total output before the war was 25,000 tons, it now stands at over 30,000 tons per annum. The largest of the eleven mills in India belong to the Titaghur Paper Mill Co., which run two mills, one at Titaghur and the other at Kankinara, both near Calcutta, with a combined output of over 15,000 tons of paper per annum. The mill which is next in importance is the Bengal Paper Mill of Ranegunj with an outturn of 6,700 tons, the Upper India Paper Mill Co; at Lucknow coming third with an outturn of 2,500 tons annually.

Bottle-Making Machinery

At a recent meeting of the United Provinces Board of Industries, an application from a Glass Factory to the effect that certain bottle-making machinery, recommended by the Government Glass expert, should be imported by Government and installed in their factory on condition that they should have the option of purchase of the plant within two years was favourably considered by the Board; the Secretary reporting that the Glass expert had concluded that bottle-making machinery was essential to the progress of the industry in India. The Board decided to recommend to Government that the proposal be accepted.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Lord Ronaldshay's Message

H. E. Lord Ronaldshay gave the following message to the Bengal co-operative movement.

On July 16th I visited several villages in the neighbourhood of Dacca and discussed the advantages of co-operation with the villagers. I inspected the books of the co-operative credit societies, and found them well kept. The co-operative movement in this part of the Presidency is, at present, confined mainly to co-operative credit. The advantage of pooling their credit which results in their being able to borrow money on favourable terms, is gradually coming home to the cultivators, though membership of the societies does not appear to increase as rapidly as one would expect. The societies which I saw had been in existence for three years, and so far as membership is concerned were practically where they were when they were first formed. This is probably due to the innate conservatism of the cultivator which makes him slow to appreciate the advantages of new ideas.

It is at any rate gratifying to find that those who have ventured into this new field of social economy thoroughly appreciate its benefits; and it can only be a question of time before others who are still sceptical, come in.

Cultivation in the Punjab

The following *Press communique* has been issued:—"It has already been announced in the Press that as the demand for good grains in Europe is expected to be very large next year every effort is being made to extend the area under food crops, especially wheat, in India in the next rabi harvest with the object of increasing the exportable surplus. To this end the Punjab Government has decided: (1) To allow temporary cultivation of Government waste lands on ordinary land revenue rates without *malikana* (rent paid to

Government) on the condition of growing food crops; (2) to allow temporary cultivation on similar term of areas ordinarily reserved for grazing in the canal colonies; (3) to forego the charge for *valm* irrigation i.e., the charge for a single watering before ploughing when not followed by crop; (4) to allow one watering to sow wheat, barley or gram on *banjar gadim* (old fallow) land at a concession rate of one-third of the full crop rate subject to a minimum of Rs. 1-8 an acre, full rates to be charged if a second watering is taken; (5) to make liberal grants of *takavi* loans for the purchase of seed and bullocks. These concessions with the exception of (4) will apply to all food grains and not to wheat only."

Reclamation of Lands

With reference to the announcement of the Punjab Government respecting the possibility of reclaiming for cultivation the large areas in that province rendered sterile by kallar it may be recalled that a paper dealing with this question from the scientific stand-point was read at the last Indian Science Congress at Bangalore. The writers Mr. J. B. Barnes, late Agricultural Chemist to the Punjab, and Mr. Barkat Ali, of the Punjab Agricultural College, gave an account of some of the results achieved at the Narwala farm and mentioned the fact, now officially announced, that the experiment had proved so successful that the Punjab Government were considering a proposition to apply the methods of Narwala to the reclamation of Crown lands on the Lower Bari Doab Canal on an extensive scale. If this can be done, it is estimated that the capital value of the land in the colony may be increased by some six millions sterling at a cost which could be liquidated within five years of the reclamation being effected.

Literary

THE DAY IS COME.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore writes :—

Those who defied suffering

have crossed the wilderness of death and have
shattered their prison of illusions.

The day is come.

But where is India ?

Her listless arms are idle and ashamed and futile
her days and nights, lacking in joy of life.

Touch her with Thy living breath,

O Lord ever awake !

The morning sun of the new age has risen.

Thy temple hall is filled with pilgrims.]

The day is come.

But where is India ?

She lies on the dust in dishonour, deprived of her
seat.

Remove her shame,

and give her a place in thy

House of Man,

O Lord ever awake !

LITERATURE OR WORDS ?

Sir Henry Newbolt, in the *English Review* for June, writes an article in which he endeavours to show how life may be restored to the dead bones of linguistic teaching. For the existing deadness he does not blame the schoolmaster, except in so far as he assents to an impossible system imposed upon him by "orders from above." The last phrase seems to refer mainly to school examining bodies. Grammar is science, and in teaching this science the language-master often finds that literature is crowded out. Often, too, he is made to feel that "wasting time" on literature does not pay for examination. "Life," says Sir Henry, "is a highly complex activity . . . the intellectual, the æsthetic, and the moral activities should all be trained and stimulated. Science is the province of the intellect, Art of the æsthetic power,

and Conduct of the moral sense . . . The three natural affections of the human spirit are the love of truth, the love of beauty, and the love of righteousness ; man loves all these by nature, for their own sake, and no system of education can claim to be adequate if it does not help him to develop these natural and disinterested loves." Schoolmasters, for perhaps one hour in the week, may realize the truth of these claims ; but, if during all the other hours they are forced by the conditions of their employment to think of examinations, small wonder if their teaching is apt to become lifeless.

TO THE FIRST ARMY : AUGUST 4, 1917.

Mrs. Boatrice Allhusen writes in the *Westminster Gazette* :—

Three years, oh brothers of our race and soul,

Since to the other world you fought your way ;

In honour of that fierce and hard-won goal

We lift the cup of memory to-day.

A line of steel against the advancing foe,

Unbroken through the hour of destiny,

You held, 'mid all that hurricane of woe,

The road that led to Calais and the sea.

Now once again the wind of autumn sighs,

The splash of autumn rain is charged with tears,

At thought of that triumphant enterprise.

That shall astonish through the future years.

England's tradition kept in bold disdain,

That valour must prevail—or death set free ;

Tradition learnt where cliffs in storm and rain

For ever face the thunder of the sea.

Victors have changed the world and passed away,

To be forgotten as their weapons rust,

Great conquerors have gloried in their day,

Leaving no record save their wind-blown dust ;

But still hearts quicken, and are set aflame

At the grand Time-defying elegy

That rolls and echoes through the Halls of Fame

The immortal Challenge of Thermopylae.

Educational

LORD HALDANE ON STATE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS.

"In no other country but this"—(Great Britain and Ireland,) "and this shows our chaotic condition—would people have been permitted to open schools and to teach in them without giving some proof that they were not likely to blast more chances in life than they were to do good." The State has no power to prevent anyone opening a school notwithstanding that it may do infinite damage. The state may prevent a man practising as a doctor or as a dentist without the necessary qualifications, but it cannot prevent him from being a schoolmaster. Yet perhaps the most serious of all pursuits for the community is that taken up by the schoolmaster who has under his care a vast number of boys whom he will influence permanently through their lives. I hope the time is not far distant when no school, public or otherwise, will be allowed to exist which does not teach up to the standard that is requisite for doing what is best for the national life."

EXAMINATION CHANGES.

In his article in a recent issue of the *English Review* Sir Henry Newbolt says:—"The method of examination must be changed. . . . the boy must be asked such reasonable questions as might occur in conversation between two intelligent and interested talkers, and he must be classed according as he answers them in his own way, with understanding and sincerity." Sir Henry continues: "The scheme which I have faintly outlined may prove to be unacceptable to those in authority who rivet the chains of education upon our schools. If so, we who are not in authority must do our best to correct and supplement a defective system. By all means in our power we must see that the generations which are to be touched by the great scientific minds shall be touched also by the great creative minds."

EDUCATION OF INDIAN WOMEN.

Justice Sir John Woodroffe, speaking at a recent public meeting on Female Education and the position of Indian women, said:—

There are a class of people who think that "Hinduism" (meaning thereby every-thing which so calls itself) is immobile. Such neither know history nor their own Shastras. It is true that there is a Śanatan "Dharma." But if every rule and custom which exists is unchangeable, pray what is the meaning of Desha, Kala, Patra, of Yuga, Dharma, of Lokachara and other similar terms? They all imply this, that we must take into account time, place and circumstances. We must all move on and with the vital current of our age or we shall be left stranded high and dry on the banks to wither and die. Remember that all civilizations work on woman as one of their main pivots. They are the source whence men and women spring. Honour woman. Remove all customs which stand in the way of her true freedom and advancement. If you do not, your race will pass away by the will of that great "Shakti" whose earthly representatives (vighraha), according to your Scriptures, all women are. One need not, however, believe in "Shakti" but need only have common sense to know the reason why. As that great American, Walt Whitman, said:—"Unfolded only out of the superb woman of the earth is to come the superb man of the earth. Unfolded out of the justice of the woman all justice is unfolded." In an old 'Shakta' hymn it is said:—"Striyoh devah Striyoh pranaḥ"—"Women are Devas, women are life itself." Mark the words "life itself" for all that I might say to you is concisely stated there. If you will not give women your education, others than yourselves will give theirs. I would ask you one and all to do what you can to defer the year of marriage and so extend the years of education and to make that education real."

Legal .

SON'S LIABILITY FOR FATHER'S DEBTS.

At the High Court of Madras on August 28 the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Kumaraswamy Sastri delivered judgment in an important case of Hindu Law, in which the questions raised were: (1) whether a son is liable for the debts of the father during the father's lifetime, having regard to the recent decision of the Privy Council; and (2) assuming that the son is liable for the debts of the father even during the father's lifetime, whether he is liable in respect of a debt incurred or renewed by the father after partition between him and his son. With regard to the first question their Lordships held that the Privy Council, in the recent case, did not mean to lay down a rule different from what had been laid down in the earlier cases, that the son was liable for the father, even during the father's lifetime. With regard to the second question, their Lordships, while holding that the son continues to be liable to the extent of the family property in his hands in respect of debts contracted by the father prior to partition with his son, declared that the liability does not extend to the case of a debt incurred or renewed by the father after partition.

THE LATE BABU SARADA CHARAN MITTER.

The death of Babu Sarada Charan Mitter, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court, has caused deep regret in Bengal and elsewhere. He was born on the 19th December, 1848, in the village of Panisohola, in the District of Hooghly, and had a brilliant career in the Calcutta University. In 1873 he took his degree in Law and was enrolled as a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court on the 22nd March of that year. In February, 1902, he was appointed to officiate on the Bench of the Calcutta High Court and in February, 1904, he was permanently appointed a Judge of that Court. He retired under the sixty years' rule from the Bench on the 18th Decem-

ber, 1908. Babu Sarada Charan was one of the foremost leaders of the Calcutta Bar in his time. His success at the Bar led to his elevation to the Bench and it is common knowledge that he proved to be the most masterful Judge at the time of the Midnapur bomb case. After retirement he joined the Congress and was one of the framers of the proposals in the Hindu-Moslem *Entente* during the Allahabad session when Sir William Wedderburn presided. He was also an ardent social reformer and linguist and readers of the *Indian Review* will recollect some of his contributions that have appeared in these pages from time to time. Mr. Sarada Charan was sixty nine when he died.

PATNA HIGH COURT.

Presiding over the recent Beharee Provincial Conference, Khan Bahadur Surfaraz Hussain made some remarks regarding the Patna High Court. He said:—So far as the administration of justice is concerned I have reasons to believe that criminal justice as administered by our High Court, and for obvious reasons the public are more concerned in it than in civil justice, has failed to inspire the same confidence as did that of the Calcutta High Court. It seems to be a popular view that the magistracy and police in the province are no longer so watchful and vigilant in conforming to the strict rules of the law as they were when our courts were under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court. This is evidently because there is an impression abroad that our High Court is not disposed to exact from them the same strict standard of discipline and obedience to the provisions of the law as did the Calcutta High Court. Civil justice is not so much a matter of public concern as criminal, and yet, clamour has been persistent and cannot, therefore, be ignored that under the scheme desired by the Patna High Court, the cost of civil litigation has been unnecessarily increased to an extent which amounts to almost a judicial scandal.

Medical

SMALL POX IN BURMA.

The Sanitary Commissioner of Burma in his latest report contends that small-pox is brought into Burma chiefly by sea, and that epidemics in Indian provinces on the Bay of Bengal are generally followed by an outbreak in Burma. Rangoon, it appears, is never free of small-pox, but the disease is kept in check there by the efficiency of the vaccination department. But vaccination of the residents of Rangoon alone could not prevent the spread of the disease to rural areas where the population is not so well protected as in Rangoon. Accordingly the Local Government some years ago felt called upon to take special precautions and the necessary power to deal with immigrants of the labouring classes was given by the Vaccination Law Amendment Act of 1909. Since 1915 the prevalence of the disease in India, coupled with the anticipation of a severe outbreak in 1917, has induced the Local Government to enforce the Act more vigorously. A Committee however has been appointed to enquire into its working and to make recommendations as to necessity of continuing the precautions adopted.

TEMPORARY I. M. S. COMMISSION.

In view of the present shortage of Medical Officers for Military Service in India, the Secretary of State has sanctioned granting of temporary Commission in Indian Medical Service to Medical men holding either L. M. and S. Madras, or Membership of College of Physicians and Surgeons of Bombay, or Membership of State Medical Faculty of Bengal, on conditions that they are only employed east of Suez and that they be not considered for permanent Commissions unless and until they obtain qualification recognised by General Medical Council as registrable in Great Britain.

PLAGUE IN INDIA.

In his annual report for 1916, Dr. Bentley, Sanitary Commissioner for Bengal, remarked that last year 110 deaths only were due to plague as against 199, 554, 984 and 1,995 in the four previous years. Of the plague deaths in Bengal last year 78 or 71 per cent. occurred in Calcutta. The returns for the week ending the 15th August show that apart from the Rawalpindi district, where there were 18 seizures and 9 deaths, the Punjab was practically free from plague, the only other cases recorded being one seizure in Lahore city and one death in the Jhelum district. The grand totals for India for the week were 6,493 seizures and 4,724 deaths. The Bombay Presidency and Sind have the worst records, the seizures numbering 2,823, and the deaths 2,030.

THE NEED FOR NURSES.

Sri Harcourt Butler has issued the following letter to all the Commissioners and heads of Departments at the request of the Commander-in-Chief in India. "It is proposed to hold in Rangoon, Maymyo, Mandalay, Meiktila, Shwebo and Thayetmyo a course of lecture and instruction in First Aid, home-nursing and sanitation. It is not likely that many ladies will be required for the hospitals in Burma, but in view of the great usefulness of this instruction under all circumstances, ladies over 20 years of age living in these stations, who are free from domestic ties, are requested to attend these courses. In view of the special object for which this course is being given it will probably be desirable it should be separate from the course already arranged by the St. John Ambulance Association but not independent of the association. The ladies of Burma have not been backward in Red Cross work and supplying comforts for the troops and I doubt not they will respond with alacrity to this further appeal for our brave soldiers who are making many sacrifices."

Science

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY IN WARFARE.

We find a number of interesting subjects dealt with in the May issue of the *Wireless World*. Under the heading of "The Fog of War" the Editor indicates the way in which American intervention affects the wireless situation, summarizing the situation in the phrase that "A great curtain has been let down, shrouding two-thirds of the world entirely from German ken." The wireless situation in China is briefly touched upon; whilst a number of instances in which discovery has recently been made of the enemy's employment of surreptitious wireless installations in America, Brazil, Denmark, and Russia, are used to point a moral for the benefit of panic-mongers at home.

IMPERIAL MINERAL RESOURCES.

The War Cabinet has appointed a committee to prepare a scheme for establishing an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau in order to collect information regarding the Empire's mineral resources and metal requirements and to advise on methods of development.

A NEW WATERPROOF CLOTH.

A new waterproof fabric has been introduced in France and is proving very satisfactory for hospital sheetings, etc., as well as for waterproof garments. Very thin slices of cork are cut from the block by special machinery, according to the *Journal of Industrial Engineering Chemistry*, which describes the special process. These slices are placed in chemical baths to remove the resinous parts which make the cork more or less brittle. After this treatment, the cork sheets may be folded or bent without breaking. They are then attached on both sides to layers of cloth, and the resultant material is not only very light but porous, thus providing for ventilation. It is said to be desirable in every way as waterproof fabric.

WORLD'S OUTPUT OF GRAPHITE.

Interest in graphite at present is widespread. According to the Canadian Mining Institute "Bulletin," the two principal forms in which the mineral is found are amorphous and crystalline, the former being very common. The world's production statistics for 1912, the latest available, are (in tons) as follows: Ceylon 36,660, Canada 2,060, South Africa 42, Austria 50,017, Madagascar 3,011, United States 3,835, Mexico, 3,158, Korea and Japan 8,363, Germany 13,814, Italy 14,517, Sweden 87, Norway 285, France 661, giving a total of 136,510 tons.

MINER'S ELECTRIC LAMPS.

Electric safety lamps for detecting fire-damp and other combustible gases in mines are new inventions in the line. In this apparatus the presence of fire-damp is indicated by the fluctuation in intensity of the light of an electric lamp, the fluctuation being caused by the action of a catalytic body, (e.g., platinum wire) inserted in series with the lamp. The catalytic body employed has such resistance that it becomes fused and the lamp is extinguished in the presence of a dangerous proportion of fire-damp.

PLANT SURGERY: MASSAGE.

The idea of applying massage to plants is probably Japanese in origin. Gardeners all over the world are now beginning to realise the value of the treatment. It may be successfully carried out in the case of any growing or non-woody part of the plant. Much attention is now given to the production of well balanced plants, but quite often, a part of the specimen, it may be only the stalk of a single flower, persists in growing out of character. Such a case is an ideal one for massage. Gently but firmly the wayward part is induced to assume a better position and, although an obstinate case may take some time, the plant finally yields to the persuasive touch and regains its correct posture.—*Scientific American*.

Personal

NAPOLEON AND THE KAISER.

The following contrast between the genius and character of the two Emperors will be read with interest.

There is rather a curious parallel to be drawn between Napoleon and the Kaiser. The former, after a career of almost unprecedented brilliancy, alike as a general and an administrator, succeeded in setting the whole of Europe against him. After a succession of defeats, in which his military skill transcended all records, he was sent off to Elba as a prisoner. He escaped and fortune turned against him again at Waterloo. There he should have finished his life by charging at the head of the Imperial Guard. Probably the cancer in his stomach, of which he died, had already weakened his nerve; for, when in full health, his personal courage was remarkable. As it was, this extraordinary man came to a miserable end, amid the squalid surroundings and petty squabbles of St. Helena. The German Emperor has never at any time shown either the military or civil capacity of the great Corsican-Frenchman. He has been a versatile and superficial amateur, who posed as a genius, and was flattered and kowtowed to by British statesmen merely because he was an Emperor. Now this personage is a complete failure, without ever having been a success. His much-boasted armies are being beaten in battle after battle, in spite of all the advantages of preparation and position and the tenacity of the common soldiers. While this is going on William the organiser of German infamy, as used against children, women, prisoners, hospital vessels, and unarmed ships and crews, has retired to Hamburg. Surely even cancer and Bright's disease could not prevent him from being carried under fire and showing the spirit of his race in order to encourage his troops. A Hohenzollern in decay, thinking only of how to prolong a useless existence, is a splendid advertisement just now for hereditary monarchy!

THE AUSTRIAN EMPEROR.

The Vienna correspondent of the Associated Press of America telegraphed recently the following account of the methods and character of the young Emperor Karl:—

The Emperor Karl has been a tireless worker in the effort to relieve economic conditions. His teams are still hauling coals for the poorer classes. He recently banished wheat bread from officer's messes and from general and other headquarters. From the special train which was taking his brother, the Archduke Maximilian, to Constantinople, the Emperor had all wheat bread and flour removed, saying that if the common soldiers, the people, and himself were content with black bread, the party in the train could likewise be so. That the Vienna street trams are still running all day is due entirely to the Emperor's initiative. The Burgomaster had decided that no cars should run between 9 A. M. and 5 P. M. The Emperor told him that this could not be thought of. The Burgomaster was far from complaint, but the Emperor told him that the trams must run, and that coal for the power must be found. The Burgomaster replied that he couldn't procure coal. The Emperor insisted that he must go and find some. In the end coal was procured, the cars are still running. Some official circles in Vienna and in the Monarchy are still almost swooning under the energetic measures applied by the young Emperor. Consternation reigns where formerly red tape was supreme. The Monarchy never experienced such a shake-up. Official heads continue to fall in the general clearance now going on. Sad times have also come for the army officers who have been enjoying staff sinecures. In a single instance the Emperor sent a batch of 70 to the front, replacing them by invalids. While official classes at first were inclined to offer passive resistance to the Emperor, they have now resigned themselves to the inevitable.

Political

THE RELEASE OF THE INTERNED.

There has been universal rejoicing in India over the following release order given on the 17th September night to Mrs. Besant, Mr. Wadia and Mr. Arundale :

"His Excellency the Governor in Council is pleased to rescind the order issued by him on the 7th June, 1917, under Rule 7 of the Defence of India Consolidation Rules, 1915, directing Mrs. Annie Besant, Mr. G. S. Arundale, Mr. B. P. Wadia to take up her (his) residence in one of the areas specified in the said order prohibiting her (him) attending any meeting, from delivering any lecture or speech and from publishing or procuring the publication of any writing or speech composed by her (him) and subjecting her (his) correspondence to censorship and the said order is hereby cancelled by order of the Governor in Council."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The following Press *communiqué* is issued in Madras :—

The Government have had, under their careful consideration, the advisability of associating non-official agency more closely with the administration of local affairs by the experiment of appointing non-officials as Presidents of District Boards in a few selected districts. They have now decided to appoint non-official Presidents in four districts, the local conditions of which vary to such an extent as to afford sufficient material to enable it to be thoroughly tested. In order to enable the non-official Presidents to enter upon their new duties under conditions which will permit of their devoting their energies and time to the important functions of supervision and inspection on the proper discharge of which the success of the experiment will depend, arrangement will be made to appoint as Vice-Pres-

idents officials on whose experience they may safely rely for the control of all routine and account of work and for supplying knowledge of the working of other departments and ensuring co-operation with them. His Excellency the Governor-in-Council while, as in duty bound, reserving the right to terminate it, should the public interests so require, trusts that this experiment which will thus be initiated with the cordial assent of the Collectors concerned may be justified by results.

ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

The Council of the All-India Moslem League, at its emergency meeting in the last week of August, adopted the following resolutions and cabled the first to the Secretary of State for India :—

(1) The Council of the All-India Moslem League, while thanking the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government for the declaration that responsible Government is the aim of British policy in India, trusts that the reforms outlined in the joint scheme of the League and Congress shall be granted immediately after the war as a first instalment thereof. The Council welcomes the decision of His Majesty's Government that Mr. Montagu should visit India. The announcement removing the bar against the admission of Indians to the commissioned ranks of the army has created a feeling of satisfaction. The Council, however, hopes that the rules regulating appointments thereto will be so framed as to meet the wishes of the people of India.

(2) The Council of the All-India Moslem League places on record its deep sense of grief at the untimely death of Mr. Ghulam Husain and considers that by his death the country has lost a true patriot and an earnest worker. The Council expresses its deep sympathy with the bereaved family.

General

MR. EARDLEY NORTON AND STUDENTS.

At the thirty-third annual meeting of the Students' Literary Association, Coimbatore, Mr. Eardley Norton, who was there on a professional visit, delivered an address in the course of which he said :

He had lost touch with the Indian Congress. He would have the Indians claim for more seats in the Secretary of State's Council and in the Imperial and Provincial Councils and have a decided voice with the Governor-General-in-Council and the Secretary of State-in-Council. He would like them to get a decided majority in the Legislative Councils in India. He should like to see that they (Indians) should not only have a decided majority in the Councils but also be able by a majority to pass resolutions which the Executive must carry out with result unless the Viceroy vetoed them. The resolutions should then have the force of law. The Government were well aware how to manipulate their various Councils. The supporters of a measure, if they were in a majority, were very easily converted into a minority, but they could not succeed if they would only turn their noses against the titles and ribbons which they bestowed upon them (Indians). These titles and ribbons simply entitled them to private entry and to being introduced levees and invited to dinners. As regards Home Rule, they should change the nomenclature of the political boon they clamoured for under the name of "Home Rule." As it stood, it conveyed to Englishmen no idea of the boon they asked for. They the Indians, had had the privilege of representation in the Secretary of State's Council within the time of one man's life. They should agitate, and unless they did that, they would get nothing. By agitation, he meant constitutional agitation. He did not mean bombs. He thought he once heard

of bombs in Southern India. If, as a matter of fact, they got anything, it was by agitation. But it was a matter of great regret to him (the speaker) that they had to make this demand for Home Rule at a time of great trouble to Great Britain. He was putting it upon a platform of tactics. If they could wait,—they had not to wait for long, for the War should end soon—they could then formulate their scheme of Home Rule more definitely and the people of England would surely recognise their claims.

THE BOND OF WESTERN CIVILISATION.

Mr. Balfour in a recent speech made these observations :—

"Hitherto, from the necessities of history, battles that have been waged on American soil have been battles waged between peoples of the same speech and of the same traditions. In the future the ideas which, even in the moment of struggle were always fundamentally and essentially the same, find a sphere of action outside even the ample limits of the United States, and bind us together in a world task. That is the great thought. We are not brought together in this colossal struggle, we are not working together at this identical moment—this great and unsurpassed moment in the history of the world—aiming at narrow or selfish objects ; or bound together partly by antiquated traditions. We are working together in all the freedom of great hopes and with great ideals. Those hopes and those ideals we have not learnt from each other. We have them in common from a common history and from a common ancestry. We have not learnt freedom from you, nor you from us. We both spring from the same root. We both cultivate the same great aims. We both have the same hopes as regards the future of Western civilization, and now we find ourselves united in this great struggle against a Power which if it be allowed to prevail is going to destroy the very roots of that Western civilisation from which we all draw our strength."

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CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS FOR INDIA

The following expressions of opinion on the important question of constitutional reforms for India, received as forewords to Mr. Natesan's new book on "What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire," are reproduced here with a view to give them a wider publicity. [Ed. "I.R."]*

I. Sir Narayan G. Chandavarkar, K.C.I.E.

The present administration in India is virtually an administration of the Indian Civil Service, which is almost entirely composed of British officials. They are indeed capable and conscientious and have done good work ; but they are the slaves of a system, which makes the Service a close Service, wedded to red tape and routine, slow to discern and move with the times, jealous of outside and independent criticism and, owing to their comparative aloofness from Indian society, due to social and other causes, more or less out of touch with, because unable to find out, real Indian sentiment and public opinion. The result is that, in important matters affecting the Indian conditions, knowledge comes too late to the Service and to the Indian administration which it practically controls, too late *i.e.* after things have gone wrong, public dissatisfaction has become acute, and mischief has been done. Some of the best members of the Service have themselves admitted that. For instance, refer to the speech of the late Mr. Crosthwaite on the Jhansi Encumbered Estates Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council in May 1882 and to Mr. George Cambell's speech in the House of Commons on Feb. 28, 1879.

The Mesopotamia Commission's report, condemning the system of Indian administration, only repeats the lessons of the Mutiny of 1857, of the

Orissa Famine of 1866, of the sensational muddle of the Indian finances in 1880, of the famine administration of 1877, and of the legislative and administrative measures relating to the chronic indebtedness of the Indian *ryot* (agriculturist) and to the land revenue systems of India and to the partition of Bengal.

As Lord Northbrook in substance said, when he was Viceroy, in a despatch of 1875 to the Secretary of State for India, and subsequently also in the House of Lords, the present system of Indian administration suffers seriously for want of a constitutional machinery fitted to find out Indian sentiment and public opinion as the basis of legislative and administrative and especially financial measures.

There can be no other way to remedy that serious defect of the system than to provide a Constitution which shall make the administration primarily and at one end responsible to Indian public opinion, and finally, at the other end, to the British Parliament.

I am, therefore, generally speaking, in agreement with the proposals for Indian reform made in the memorandum of the nineteen non official Indian members of the Imperial Legislative Council and in the scheme adopted by the National Congress and the Muslim League at their respective sessions held at Lucknow in December, 1916. The best merit of the memorandum and of the scheme is that they aim on the whole at what Lord Ellenborough, who had been Governor-General of India for some years, and afterwards President of

* *What India Wants: Autonomy within the Empire.* By Mr. G. A. Natesan, B.A., F.M.U. Price 4s. 8. To Subscribers of the "I.R.," As. 6. G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras.

the Board of Control during the regime of the East India Company, wrote in 1859:—"We must abandon the exclusive British system and nationalise our Government."

The memorandum and the scheme have been condemned in some quarters as being revolutionary on the main ground that their proposals transfer power from the Indian Civil Service, who (it is said) are best fitted to represent the masses in India, to the Indian educated classes, who (it is maintained) are not the true representatives of the masses. We may, without fear of the result in favour of the Indian educated classes, invite one test, which is a sure test, on this question. If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now, with special reference to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturists, who form seventy-five per cent. of the people in India, we shall incontestibly find that measures advocated in their interests by the educated Indians through their newspapers and public associations and at public meetings had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances. It is the view of the Indian educated classes regarding the ryot's lot which, generally speaking, has after more or less painful experience to some extent won; and the official view has yielded in the end.

In publishing this book on "What India Wants," and presenting to the British and the Indian public the view of the best mind of India on the change required in the Indian administrative system, Mr. Natesan is rendering very useful service to England and India alike. Such a book as this ought to clear the air and give us the Indian situation in its full and true perspective at this moment when England is proving ready to further justify her mission in India and to prove once more true to her ancient tradition of helping nations to govern themselves as parts of her world-wide Empire.

II. Hon. the Raja Saheb of Mahomedabad.

The psychological moment when Britain should take a definite step towards conferring on India the right of managing her own internal affairs has in my opinion arrived. Any delay would be fraught with possibilities of danger.

India does not desire what have been termed catastrophic changes in the government and the administration of the country; but what she does desire is that she should be put on the road to self-government within the Empire; and that no obstacles should be placed in her way. To this end the reforms contemplated in the memorandum of the nineteen non-official members of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council, and the scheme prepared jointly by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Moslem League are the minimum which the United India urges the freedom-loving British public to promulgate in this great "dependency" of the Empire.

III. Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E.

The appearance of Mr. Natesan's book on "What India Wants" is an event of first rate importance at this juncture. It presents in a succinct form facts and arguments for giving full Self-Government to India within the Empire. It gives the history of the British connection with India from almost the beginning of the last century and rightly starts with quoting the words of the Marquis of Hastings who laid the foundations of the Modern Indian Empire after putting down the lawless Pindaries and subverting the Mahratta power. The rulers of those days, possibly animated by the generous spirit of the French Revolution, looked upon the possession of India as a Trust and themselves as charged with the duty of preparing the people, who were the inheritors of an ancient civilization, to rule themselves. They contemplated their early retirement from the country when their work had been done and looked upon such retirement with complacency and with a sense of duty rightly discharged.

These generous sentiments were later on embodied in a legislative enactment, the Charter Act of 1833. But from this year onwards a change would appear to have come over the British Authorities as regards the spirit in which effect should be given to the explicit declaration of policy made in the Act, *viz.*, Equality of treatment of Europeans and Indians as regards holding offices in the Government of the country. The book traces this change in the attitude of the authorities and quotes the utterances of responsible rulers to show how by the time the Charter had to be renewed in 1853, no progress had been made in giving effect to the liberal principles laid down in 1833. From the time of the Royal Proclamation of 1858, there was even a retrograde tendency and the regulations were so framed as to place positive obstacles in the way of Indians getting equality of treatment in spite of the noble utterances of the great Queen.

Mr. Natesan shews how the Council Act of 1892 in passing which such high hopes had been raised proved a dismal failure, and how the purposes of Act of 1909 which was looked forward to as giving Indian representatives an effective control over the everyday administration of the country were defeated by the regulations framed under it and the spirit of hostility shewn by the Executive towards the representatives of the people. A good case has been made out for transferring the Government from the Bureaucracy to the people. The author of the book has discharged the task undertaken by him with rare ability and the small handy volume though unpretentious in look, marshalls facts and arguments in a manner that must drive even a most casual reader to the irresistible conclusion that India stands in need of a radical change in her system of Government. This admirable book will be invaluable to those who have to frame proposals for the introduction of Self-Government in its full sense and those who have to guide the investigations of Mr. Montagu when he visits India.

IV. Raja Sir Harnam Singh, K.C.I.E.

I have read Mr. Natesan's brochure entitled "What India Wants" with interest and some care. In my opinion it contains an admirably compressed historical account of the progress of constitutionalism in India. The necessity and advisability of the first demand in the memorandum of the nineteen is amply proved by this account and by the paragraphs cited from the speeches and writings of some of the best British statesmen both in India and England. A very good case is also made out for the urgent necessity of some definite steps being taken to confer a substantial amount of Self-Government on this country both as an earnest of the future and because the country has now reached the stage where it must make an experiment for itself and when even such mistakes as the people of India may make in the course of that experiment will be more fruitful and will conduce more to the ultimate progress of the country than the best form of external Government. Opinions may differ on the details as to the nature and amount, if one may so phrase it, of the Self-Government to be bestowed but I do not think there could be found a single dissentient voice among the best minds of India to-day on the principles involved in the memorandum of the nineteen. I think the circulation of Mr. Natesan's book in England would furnish information in a succinct form to the leaders of British public opinion who may not always have the time to look into Indian politics for themselves. I have every confidence that with a full knowledge of the facts the British democracy will realise that wise statesmanship requires the grant of Self-Government to India in the near future—since a beginning has to be made, this seems to be the most opportune time for Government to do so, at least to lay the foundation of Self-Government which is the goal the people are aspiring to.

It might be said the author has dwelt on one side of the picture overlooking the difficulties in the way. But I doubt if the difficulties are great or insurmountable. The country will not be satisfied without having Self-Government throughout India.

V. Hon. Pundit M. M. Malaviya.

Mr. Natesan's admirable brochure entitled "What India Wants" is a valuable contribution to the cause of Indian constitutional reform. The historical summary of the movement for self-government which he has given will show that though like many other movements it has received a great impetus from the present war, it is as old as the Indian National Congress and represents the result of the deliberations of the most thoughtful Indians during the last thirty years. The second part of the pamphlet makes an excellent presentment of the case for the reforms advocated in the memorandum of the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council and elaborated in the scheme adopted by the Congress and the Moslem League.* Altogether it is a very useful and timely publication, and will, I doubt not, be helpful in promoting a correct understanding and appreciation of the constitutional changes of which India stands in need.

VI. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, *Bart.*

This admirable little summary of the demands of educated Indians deserves to be widely read. Differences of opinion may legitimately exist as to many of the proposals embodied in the scheme of reforms put forward jointly by the Congress and the Moslem League. There may be a divergence of views regarding the pace at which it would be safe to allow India to march towards her destiny. But the essential principle, viz. that her proper place is among the self-governing units of the Empire, has been accepted by the best minds in the country, and has been recently declared by the Secretary of State and emphatically reasserted by His Excellency the Viceroy, to be the true end and aim of British policy in India. This solemn declaration, which is a striking proof both of good faith and of statesmanship, must help to clarify the atmosphere and to create a better understanding between the two people, which augurs well for the future of England and India alike. Any effort which may be made in

this connection to bring about a closer appreciation of each other's point of view should be warmly welcomed and encouraged. Mr. Natesan's clear, concise and vigorous exposition of the demands of India stands in this category, and ought to be carefully studied even by those who find themselves in disagreement with the scheme of reforms dealt with in this neat little brochure.

VII. Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjee.

Mr. G. A. Natesan has done a valuable service to the cause of Indian political progress by bringing out a little book which he styles "What India Wants." It is a vigorous plea for autonomy within the Empire and is a spirited appeal to the British democracy. It contains a vast amount of useful information and will be specially helpful at the present time when a scheme of readjustment is being seriously taken in hand by the responsible Rulers of India. It is a book which I think every student of present day Indian politics should provide himself with. It will be a valuable guide to every member of the Indian National Congress and the Moslem League in his efforts to help the political progress of India. I have myself found the book very useful in many ways.

VIII. Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyar, K. C. S. I.,

At a time when the air is thick with proposals all the world over, for political reconstruction after the war, it would be singular, if India alone were left unaffected by the movement. While the discussion of such proposals is regarded with favour in other parts of the Empire, it has been deprecated in this country as being inopportune and mischievous. The proposals put forward in the Congress-Moslem-League scheme of post-war reforms have on the one hand been denounced as revolutionary and impracticable and have on the other hand been represented as the irreducible minimum of reforms required. The ultimate decision will of course rest with His Majesty's Government and indirectly with the British Public. Mr. G. A. Natesan's booklet is an

attempt to acquaint the British Public with the demands of the educated classes and the circumstances which have led to the formulation of these demands. Barring certain small sections in one Presidency, there can be little doubt that the Congress scheme represents the wishes of the educated classes in India and is therefore entitled to serious consideration. The constitutional changes wanted are in the direction of giving a real and effective voice in the administration of the people of this country and not the mere multiplication of throats to voice their wishes.

Mr. Natesan's booklet will be welcomed by the public as a timely and valuable exposition of the demands of the educated classes.

IX. Sirdar Jogendra Singh.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore in a moving poem which he published in a recent issue of the *Modern Review* in a pathetic parable asks the question :—

"The day is come
But where is India?"

The world has, perhaps, never seen an age with a larger faith or a nobler spirit of sacrifice. Democracy has proved itself. The morning sun of the new age has risen.

"The temple hall is filled with pilgrims
But where is India?"

What India wants is her place amongst the nations of the world. India wishes to share in the great movement of human progress, to offer her treasures of sweetness, reverence and knowledge to the Commonwealth of nations which meet under the British flag. India now seeks opportunities of growth under the impulse of new ideals which are not divorced entirely from the old. The orthodox may deplore a decline in the old idolatrous moods which ruled India yesterday, but the stirring of new life marks an awakening and the people are moving forward to partake in

the new redemption. India, therefore, expects all those who claim to be her friends to befriend her in this her hour of redemption and help her to achieve ideals of human freedom and human equality.

Mr. Montagu outlined the policy of His Majesty's Government and India expects Indians and Englishmen to come together and take in full faith the first steps towards the attainment of responsible self-government. The Englishmen in India owe to themselves and to His Majesty the King Emperor whom they serve to lay firm the foundations of the Empire in the hearts of the people. It lies with them to win affection for the King-Emperor or lose it. India wants all her friends to combine and surmount the difficulties, making her path smooth, helping in the advance which has been promised, and preparing her for a larger enfranchisement.

The advance towards self-government will help the administration in making it more fruitful and many things which baffled achievements from outside will be easily attained when the things move from within. The coming events proclaim the dawn of a new era in which both Englishmen and Indians should rejoice, for it promises fulfilment of the great ideals which have inspired British statesmen; ideals solemnly proclaimed and which Mr. Natesan has so judiciously brought together in his small book "What India Wants". The united effort towards the attainment of these ideals holds forth promise of future greatness not only for India but the whole British Empire.

X. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.

Mr. G. A. Natesan has added to his numerous services to India by the publication of a little book written by himself and entitled, "What India Wants." Readers who wish to know the Indian case for constitutional advance in the internal governance of the country will find it in its

pages expounded with much vigour and directness and supported by an array of quotations which is both full and weighty. Few students of Indian affairs of the day will dispute its claim to be regarded as in the main a trustworthy presentment of the ambitions of the progressive school of political thought in the country. Mr. Natesan makes out that these ambitions are in the line of continuous growth of the Indian polity and involve no violent departure from the principles or methods of administration hitherto recognised by authority. What he advocates is a courageous and large step in realising those principles after the war, a step which may be taken, in the judgment of experienced Indian politicians with perfect safety, and which, too long delayed out of regard for vested interests, will be hailed as a measure of justice and beneficent statesmanship calculated to place this great country, as nearly as practicable at present, on a level of equality with the Self-Governing Dominions and enable her to share adequately in the mighty upheaval of the forces of freedom and national self-realisation which is expected to follow the termination of the war. Those who appreciate justly the value of India to the Empire and would ensure permanency of her connection with it will find in Mr. Natesan's booklet much guidance and necessary knowledge.

XI. Mr. M.-K. Gandhi.

I have read Mr. Natesan's booklet with the greatest pleasure. It is a fine *Vade mecum* for the busy politician and worker. Mr. Natesan has provided him with a connected narrative of the movement of self-government in a very attractive and acceptable form. By reproducing in their historical sequence the extracts from official records he has allowed them to speak for themselves. The book is in my opinion a great help to the controversialist and the student of our present day politics who does not care to study musty blue books or has no access to them.

With reference to the joint scheme of Self-Government, though I do not take so much interest in it as our leaders, I feel that from the Government standpoint it must command their attention as a measure which has agitated the public mind as no other has, and I venture to think that there will be no peace in the country until the Scheme has been accepted by the Government.

XII Mr. Syed Hasan Imam, *Bar-at-Law*.

Mr. G. A. Natesan in his book "What India Wants" sets out in a short form some of our grievances. We have an abiding faith in the justice of the British people and whatever the antagonism of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy to our aspiration, however much their desire to keep us in a position of inferiority, I have no doubt that our appeal to the great British nation to raise us from degrading servitude to the dignity of British citizenship will not be in vain. We ask for equality of treatment and for an effective voice in the internal administration of our country. Great Britain that is now fighting the battle for smaller or weaker nationalities, has undertaken in this war to demonstrate to the world that her policy is a policy for humanity and she has in no uncertain language given the assurance to our people that we are not outside the pale of her human sentiments. Mr. Natesan's book within its limited compass correctly states the principle of our demands and deserves to be widely read in Great Britain.

XIII. Mrs. Annie Besant.

With pleasure I recommend this booklet to the Democracy of Great Britain and Ireland, as a succinct and accurate compendium of the demand of India for Self-Government within the Empire. The need for acquiescence in this demand is pressing, for—not to speak of the birthright of freedom belonging to every Nation—the Imperial Parliament has neither the time nor the

knowledge to deal properly with Indian affairs. It leaves matters entirely to "the man on the spot," and takes his own account of his proceedings, although, as in Mr. Chamberlain's case, he may state to Parliament the exact opposite of the facts. India wants to manage her own affairs, for she has competent men, full knowledge of conditions, and time to discharge her public business. The control of Parliament, exercised for one day by "a beggarly array of empty benches" at the fag-end of a session, has become a farce and she needs men who will attend to her business as the legislative members of other Nations attend to theirs.

The vital point of the Congress League Scheme is the control of the purse by the Legislative Council; this is not responsible government but it makes responsible government inevitable. By the control of the purse by the House of Com-

mons England won her freedom, and a similar result will follow here.

I especially recommend to the English reader the section of "the Reconstitution of the Indian Councils," as it will show him why the Minto-Morley reforms have proved to be infructuous, and will explain the Hon. Mr. V. K. Ramaswamiachariar's contemptuous statement that the Council meetings were "a farce". Out of 104 resolutions proposed in Indian Councils by Indian members, in the Budget debates of 1917, not one was accepted. Under such conditions does the Indian member work. One admires the perseverance and courage of the men who devote their time and their brilliant abilities to this thankless task, and sees alike in their capacity and in their failure to serve their country another argument for Home Rule.

"THE GOD BEHIND THE VEIL"

BY

MUSHTARI BEGAM.


They lie who say there is no God behind.
Whose is the artist's brush that paints the skies
Such gorgeous hues of crimson, blue and gold,
The alabaster snows of mountain heights
That gleam so vivid 'gainst you dome of blue?
Who gives such plumes of blue to fisher-birds,
The splendour of the peacock's stareyed tail,
The cooing dove its tints so exquisite,
And flashing orange to the butterfly?
Where is the hand so delicate, that it
Could paint the wonder of the Lotus bloom,
Or give such scent divine to jessamine?
What equals, made by man, the Nigris eye
What velvet like the petal of a rose?
Look at the mighty Banyan's spreading growth,

What work of man can match the cedar rare?
O mapt'rous nature, what compares to thee
With all thy subtle messages of truth
Or hie thee to the hills and see the stream
Leap down in foaming torrents far beneath,
Such crystal sparkling diamonds are there
That all the wealth of nations could not buy.
Or take the glory of a human face
The rounded cheek so soft and delicate,
The scarlet thread of lips so beauteous,
Long lashes veiling eyes of glorious hue.
What of the inner beauty too, that shines
From out a face and through all things that be
These all shout out, as from a mountain top
They lie who say there is no God behind.?

ENGLISH MYSTICAL VERSE

BY

THE HON. REV. G. PITTENDRIGH.

 HIS is a very excellent collection like all the books of the same type published by the Oxford University Press. Poems are gathered from about one hundred and eighty authors, and the list of those who have granted permission to the editors to quote poems covers about five pages. This fact, apart from any study of the contents, affords collateral proof of extraordinary and painstaking effort. A perusal of the poems selected reveals the fact that the editors' conception of mysticism is of the broadest. They refrain from defining the word. They include in their collection poems that in no specific sense can be called mystical,—poems that in some sense deal with the spiritual or inner aspect of life.

Take e. g. from Mary Elizabeth Coleridge these lines :—

Sunshine let it be or frost,
Storm or calm as Thou shalt choose ;
Though Thine every gift were lost,
Thee Thyself we could not lose.

Or, George Meredith's dainty piece "Outer and Inner" :—

From twig to twig the spider weaves
At noon his webbing fine.
So near to mute the Zephyrs flute
That only leaflets dance.
The sun draws out of hazel leaves
A smell of woodland wine.
I wake a swarm to sudden storm
At any step's advance.

Many similar poems might be quoted from the volume that pierce below the surface of things, but cannot in any sense be regarded as definitely

mystical. Probably it would be more correct to say that the poems are religious, but not theological, although even this would not be literally true.

It will be interesting to Indian readers to learn that three of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's poems find a place in the book.

These are more truly mystical than many of the poems. We quote the following verses :—

In childhood's pride I said to Thee :
' O Thou, who mad'st me of Thy breath,
Speak, Master, and reveal to me
Thine inmost laws of life and death.

' Give me to drink each joy and pain
Which thine eternal hand can mete,
For my insatiate soul would drain
Earth's utmost bitter, utmost sweet.'

Lord, Thou didst answer stern and low :
' Child, I will hearken to thy prayer,
And thy unconquered soul shall know
All passionate rapture and despair.

' Thou shall drink deep of joy and fame,
And love shall burn thee like a fire,
And pain shall cleanse thee like a flame,
To purge the dross from thy desire.'


It is impossible to read this collection without the impression how utterly erroneous is the constantly reiterated statement that the West is materialistic. English Literature from its dawn to the present day is the very reverse of this. Trade and industrialism have done much to materialise life, but the literature of England, that which expresses the soul of England, has never bowed the knee to Baal.

* The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse :—
Chosen by D. H. S. Nicholson and A. H. E. Lee, Oxford,
Clarendon Press, 1916.

The Reduction of Infant Mortality

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BY MRS. SAINT NIHAL SINGH

 ONE of the greatest problems confronting men of action is the reduction of infant mortality, to half, or even less, of what it is to-day.

It has been computed that a baby dies somewhere in the world every three seconds. This means that the lives of about 10,500,000 infants are snuffed out every year.

The civilised world pays almost as heavy a toll to Death as the uncivilised. The nations that call themselves enlightened lose over 3,000,000 babies annually.

Out of every hundred children born into the world last year, only 75 are living to-day. Next year there will be five less of them—that is to say, only 70 of them will survive. Many more will die off during their second, third, fourth, and fifth years, reducing the number to something like 60 four years hence.

In some countries the death-roll of children is less heavy than in others. New Zealand is in the proud position of losing the smallest percentage of babies born. Unfortunately, India is one of the lands where infant mortality is the heaviest. According to the *Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India for 1912*, it is estimated that 216·01 males and 198·71 females or a total of 414·72 babies under one year of age, out of every 1,000 of the population, died in that year; and that 50·87 males and 44·48 females or 95·35 little ones between the ages of 1 and 5, out of every 1,000 of population, died in the same year.

Medical authorities of many nations agree that if Government and individuals organise in a vigorous crusade against infant mortality, they can, within a few years, reduce it to one-half of what it is to-day.

Experience in New Zealand has proved that this is no idle boast. Ten years ago Dr. Truby King, a medical man of Dunedin, determined that an

organised effort should be made to lower the rate of infant mortality. At that time eight babies out of every hundred were dying there during the first year of their life.

With the influential support of Lord Plunket then Governor of New Zealand, and Lady Plunket, he founded a society known as "The New Zealand Society for the Health of Women and Children," chiefly consisting of and largely officered by women, to exterminate the deadly enemies of infant life. It took for its motto: "It is better to put a fence at the top of a precipice than to maintain an ambulance at the bottom" a good paraphrase of the old sur: "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure."

Literature describing, in plain, ordinary English, the causes that bring about the death of babies and remedies that can be easily applied to save them, was prepared and broadcasted. The publications included "What Baby Needs (Whether Well or Ill); "What is Best for Baby;" "Feeding and Care of Baby;" "Feeding by the Clock;" and reprints of addresses delivered before the Society by medical authorities.

A service of competent nurses, full of enthusiasm for the crusade on behalf of children, was created. The "Plunket Nurses," as they were called, were placed at the disposal of actual and expectant mothers, entirely free of charge, to render them all possible assistance. The nurses and officers came into personal touch with the women whom they wished to help. They saw them in the home and at the clinic (of which more later). Where personal attendance was impossible, they wrote letters—heart-to-heart talks on paper from one woman to another, bound to each other by the tie of that maternal instinct innate in every woman.

Work along these lines brought infant mortality down a-flying. Within six years the death rate of babies under one year of age was reduced

to less than half what it was when the Society began its propaganda.

Dunedin has become the centre of baby-saving in New Zealand. The head-quarters of the Society for the Health of Women and Children are there. A clinic, known as the "Plunket room", is maintained there, where babies are weighed and examined to determine whether they are being given the right kind of food in sufficient quantities, and whether it is agreeing with them or not. In the Karitane-Harris Hospital at Dunedin accommodation is provided for the mothers as well as for their ailing babies, to enable the doctors to make a thorough diagnosis of the infant's ailment before and after feeding, and to afford the mother relief from work and worry, which, in many cases, is all that is needed to restore the child to health.

No other country has engaged in so comprehensive an effort for child-saving as this, and consequently, there is nothing outside New Zealand comparable with the results accomplished there. Communities in Europe and America have, however, made isolated endeavours, some of which have been crowned with success.

Take, for instance, the case of Montclair, New Jersey, one of the most pleasant suburbs of New York City. It was found, in 1912, that twice as many babies died in ward 4—the most congested part of that town—as in other wards. A baby clinic was at once established. Arrangements were made for nurses to visit the mothers. Municipal officials gave special attention to the the careful supervision of the housing and sanitation of the district. In two years infant mortality in this ward fell below the average of the town.

A survey of infant mortality in Montclair, made by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labour, shows how children thrive in healthy suburbs, where Municipalities do not stint spending money upon sanitary measures, and place their health departments under qualified,

energetic officials. This town has about 22,000 inhabitants. Its climate is salubrious. Its scenery is pretty, and nature's handiwork has been further beautified by man. Wealthy men who carry on business in New York live there in large, commodious houses, with ample front and back yards—or "compounds," as they would be called in India. More money is spent upon sanitation in Montclair than in any other town of its size in New Jersey. It has a splendid system of sewers and of water supply. A double check is imposed upon the milk supply. The dairies in the rural districts are under strict inspection, and the results are published so that the housewives of Montclair know exactly what they are getting from the individual dairymen whom they patronise. A trained bacteriologist analyses samples of milk in the fully equipped laboratory maintained by the municipality.

The greatest possible vigilance is exercised to ensure the prompt registration of births. A card containing the following announcement is sent to the mother of every baby as soon as information regarding the birth is received by the Registration Officer :

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

The attention of parents is called to the fact that a clinic for babies is held at the day nursery, Glen Ridge Avenue and Grove Street, Montclair, N. J., at 3 o'clock every Thursday afternoon. If your baby is sick, or if its food does not agree with it, you may obtain medical advice free by taking the infant to the clinic at the hour mentioned. If your baby needs attention on some other day of the week, and you have no physician, telephone to the Board of Health Office (Montclair 2700) and ask to have a nurse call at your home. There is no charge for her service. (Signed) Montclair Board of Health.

The clinic referred to is maintained through the co-operation of social, civic, and private agencies. A qualified medical man attends it regularly, one day a week, and gives free advice to mothers as to "feedings and infant hygiene."

Every mother receives an artistic copy of the birth-certificate filed in the office of the Board of Health, to serve as

...a permanent record, a record by which a child may be admitted to school...a record by which he may prove

his right to vote, or to marry, or to come into possession of money.....it is imperative for the future good of the infant that all facts recorded...shall be accurate, and you are, therefore, requested to return this certificate for correction if any inaccuracy is noted.

In consequence of the natural advantages enjoyed by the residents of Montclair, and the effort made by civic, social, and private agencies on behalf of children, infant mortality is low in that town. Whereas, in 1910, 124 out of 1,000 infants died in the United States, the rate was only 84.6 per 1,000 in Montclair.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, the Chief of the Children's Bureau, writes, in the course of the introduction that she contributed to the report on another survey made by her Bureau into infant mortality in Johnstown, Pennsylvania—a small mining and industrial town where health conditions are not of the best, where men and women are generally ill-informed and over-worked :

...Civic action can remedy defective sewage and scavenger systems and dirty unpaved streets which are instrumental in creating conditions that endanger the lives of infants. The extension of city water to all houses; improved methods for sewage disposal, garbage collections, and general scavenging; the paving of streets and inhabited alleys; the widening of alleys; the improved guarding of streets and alleys the relief of house and lot congestion; the abolition of wells and yard privies; sewer connection for all houses; the abatement of the smoke nuisance—all these are needed improvements for infant health and the general health of Johnstown.

The Chief of the Children's Bureau laid emphasis upon the fact that public responsibility does not end when the municipalities have insured decent sanitary conditions. She observed :

... There is a growing tendency on the part of municipalities to accept responsibility for furnishing information and instruction to its citizens. Some cities have reduced their infant mortality rate by having expectant mothers instructed in prenatal care; others by sending instructive visiting nurses, immediately after the birth of the child, into homes that need them. Other means which have been found effective in reducing excessive infant mortality rates are baby welfare stations, consultation stations for expectant and nursing mothers, and the distribution of sound literature on prenatal care, the care and feeding of infants, the care of milk, and other hygienic matters.

Miss Lathrop made it plain that such action can do only a limited amount of good. She wrote "Children suffer and die because their fathers are

underpaid and their mothers are over-worked and ignorant." There are many "hazards to the life of the off-spring," she declared, "which individual parents cannot avoid or control, because they must be remedied by community action." She continued.

... All this points toward the imperative need of ascertaining a standard of life for the American family, a standard which must rest upon such betterment of conditions of work and pay as will permit parents to safeguard infants within the household. Toward the slow working out of the essentials of such a standard it is hoped that the Bureau's continued studies into infant mortality may contribute.

This extract should be carefully pondered. It shows the real seat of the trouble. Urban and domestic sanitation and knowledge of child life can go a long way toward reducing infant mortality and assuring children decent conditions for physical, moral, and intellectual growth; but they cannot do everything. The problem is fundamentally economic; and the future of the children is very largely bound up with the economic betterment of the parents.

The baby-week held in the United Kingdom in July emphasized the fact that the children of the well-to-do suffer as well as those born in the slums. The East End mother has to leave her infant at home, or at a crèche, while she goes out to work. The West End mother turns her baby over to a nurse-maid while she dissipates her energy at social functions, or plays auction bridge, or amuses herself with her lap dog, or engages in the particular philanthropy that is her fad for the moment. The nurse may or may not be trained to care for the child. In any case, the little one is left to associate, the greater part of every twenty-four hours, during the plastic period of its life, with a more or less uncultured person. The child of the aristocrat is, as a rule, brought up on the bottle, and never knows the taste of its mother's milk. The slum baby is more likely to be breast-fed, but its mother is usually so tired and under-fed, or sometimes so saturated with liquor, that her milk is unsuitable for the

baby, and may even be poisonous for it. The chief advantage that the West End child enjoys over the slum-baby is that its mother, who may be quite as ignorant of baby-care as the woman of the East End, can and does call in medical aid as soon as her little one shows signs of indisposition; and she is able to procure pure milk for it and to surround it with conditions conducive to health: whereas the baby of the East End often is left to pine away and die. 'Top and bottom, and in between, it is a case of "heads I win, tails you lose," in the game of life. Death holds the stakes, and the odds are against most babies who are born into the world.

As the result of the baby-week, thoughtful Britons are convinced that it is necessary for them to make a comprehensive effort to save the babies. They feel that the duty of the State to the rising generation has not been performed when the note of alarm has been sounded, or even when the community has provided sanitary conditions inside and outside the home, and placed ice and pure milk and medicine and creches and hospitals within the reach of all. Much remains to be done to insure that life shall hold something for the babes whose lives have been saved.

The over-care of the State should continue after the little ones have been seen safely through the critical first five years of their lives. If they have no parents, parents should be found for them real foster-parents, not an institution where they will become weak-willed automatons. If their parents are too poor to be able to bring up their offspring, they should be subsidized to enable them to do so. Experience has proven that it is better for the children and really cheaper for the State to leave them in their own homes, and to give financial assistance to their parents, than to maintain institutions for their care. Thirty States in the American Union provide "Mothers' Pensions" for widows, subsidies that supplement

their income to enable them to bring up their fatherless children.

The problem of infant welfare in India is complicated by three causes, namely:

- (1) the low economic condition of the Indian masses;
- (2) their illiteracy; and
- (3) the utter inadequacy of expert medical aid available before, at, and after child-birth.

The poverty of the people makes it impossible for them to employ medical aid even if it were available. The only effective way in which a crusade can be carried on against infant mortality in India is for the State to provide an adequate service of women doctors and midwives. That would mean the training of thousands of doctors and midwives, and the creation and maintenance of the service will involve much expense.

Whatever amount of energy and money may have to be expended on this object would be wisely spent. Thousands of babies and mothers would be saved annually, and the children and women would be healthier and happier.

In view of the illiteracy of the Indian masses, propaganda by pamphlet or through the newspaper is impossible, and, therefore, the maintenance of a service of health visitors to supplement that of doctors and midwives is more necessary in India than it is in Europe and America, where nearly everyone is literate. These visitors, by their wise counsels, have been the means of saving countless lives and bringing health and happiness to thousands of homes in many countries of the Occident. Any expense that India may incur upon them ought to be looked upon as a sound investment.

An American authority has computed that the economic value of the average new-born infant is \$90 (Rs. 270). That is to say, it may be expected to return that much to the State over and above the cost of its rearing and education. The amount is very low, because the child's prospect of survival is very poor. It is worth a good deal

more money, prospectively, to the State after it has lived for one year, and still more when it has safely passed through its first five years of life. Working on this theory of economic value, it has been figured out that if 100,000 babies die every year, an actual loss of \$9,000,000 (Rs. 27,000,000) is involved; and that, therefore, it is a wise policy, from the point of view of the investment it represents, to expend a small percentage of that amount to save the children's life.

There is a lesson in this for India. To be sure, the economic value of an Indian baby's life is not so great as that of the American infant, for the scale of wages and of life in general is much lower in India, and the population of India is much more congested, offering an entirely different proposition to the actuary who computes the average prospective economic value of the Indian new-born babe. Value it has, however, in pro-

portion to the length of time it may be expected to live, and the State would not lose in the long run if it spent a small sum in order to realise a larger one eventually.

Private action cannot, of course, take the place of Government action. The task is too large and too complicated to be solved unofficially. But private effort can do much to ameliorate conditions.

At least, baby clinics could be started in the over-crowded wards of Indian cities. Literature dealing with prenatal and post-natal care could be compiled and broadcasted among literate parents. Social workers could be sent to the homes of expectant and actual mothers to press the necessity of sanitary reforms that cost but little. Such measures would appreciably reduce infants' mortality in India and improve the health of children and their mothers. (C.5.)

THE MORAL BASIS OF CO-OPERATION*

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

THE only claim I have on your indulgence is that some months ago I attended with Mr. Ewbank a meeting of mill-hands to whom he wanted to explain the principles of co-operation. The chawl in which they were living was as filthy as it well could be. Recent rains had made matters worse. And I must frankly confess that had it not been for Mr. Ewbank's great zeal for the cause he has made his own, I should have shirked the task. But there we were, seated on a fairly worn out *charpai*, surrounded by men, women and children. Mr. Ewbank opened fire on a man who had put himself forward and who wore not a particularly innocent

countenance. After he had engaged him and the other people about him in Gujarati conversation, he wanted me to speak to the people. Owing to the suspicious looks of the man who was first spoken to, I naturally pressed home the moralities of co-operation. I fancy that Mr. Ewbank rather liked the manner in which I handled the subject. Hence, I believe, his kind invitation to me to tax your patience for a few moments upon a consideration of co-operation from a moral standpoint.

My knowledge of the technicality of co-operation is next to nothing. My brother Devdhar has made the subject his own. Whatever he does, naturally attracts me and predisposes me to

* Contributed to the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference held on 17th September, 1917.

think that there must be something 'good in it and the handling of it must be fairly difficult. Mr. Ewbank very kindly placed at my disposal some literature too on the subject. And I have had a 'unique' opportunity of watching the effect of some co-operative effort in Champaran. I have gone through Mr. Ewbank's ten main points which are like the commandments, and I have gone through the twelve points of Mr. Collins of Behar, which remind me of the law of the twelve tables. There are so-called agricultural banks in Champaran. They were to me disappointing efforts, if they were meant to be demonstrations of the success of co-operation. On the other hand, there is quiet work in the same direction being done by Mr. Hodge, a missionary whose efforts are leaving their impress on those who come in contact with him. Mr. Hodge is a co-operative enthusiast and probably considers that the result which he sees flowing from his efforts are due to the working of co-operation. I who was able to watch the two efforts had no hesitation in inferring that the personal equation counted for success in the one and failure in the other instance.

I am an enthusiast myself, but twenty-five years of experimenting and experience have made me a cautious and discriminating enthusiast. Workers in a cause necessarily, though quite unconsciously, exaggerate its merits and often succeed in turning its very defects into advantages. In spite of my caution I consider the little institution I am conducting in Ahmedabad as the finest thing in the world. It alone gives me sufficient inspiration. Critics tell me that it represents a soulless soul-force and that its severe discipline has made it merely mechanical. I suppose both—the critics and I—are wrong. It is, at best, a humble attempt to place, at the disposal of the nation, a home where men and women may have scope for free and unfettered development of character, in keeping with the

national genius, and if its controllers do not take care, the discipline that is the foundation of character, may frustrate the very end in view. I would venture, therefore, to warn enthusiasts in co-operation against entertaining false hopes.

With Sir Daniel Hamilton it has become a religion. On the 13th January last, he addressed the students of the Scottish Churches College, and in order to point a moral he instanced Scotland's poverty of two hundred years ago and showed how that great country was raised from a condition of poverty to plenty. "There were two powers," he said, "which raised her—the Scottish Church and the Scottish banks. The Church manufactured the men and the banks manufactured the money to give the men a start in life . . . The Church disciplined the nation in the fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom and in the parish schools of the Church the children learned that the chief end of man's life was to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever. Men were trained to believe in God and in the themselves, and on the trustworthy character so created the Scottish banking system was built." Sir Daniel then shows that it was possible to build up the marvelous Scottish banking system only on the character so built. So far there can only be perfect agreement with Sir Daniel, for without character there is no co-operation is a sound maxim. But he would have us go much further. He thus waxes eloquent on co-operation: "Whatever may be your day-dreams of India's future never forget this that it is to weld India into one, and so enable her to take her rightful place in the world, that the British Government is here; and the welding hammer in the hand of the Government is the co-operative movement." In his opinion it is the panacea of all the evils that afflict India at the present moment. In its extended sense it can justify the claim on one condition which need not be mentioned here; in the limited sense in which Sir Daniel has used it, I venture to think, it is an

enthusiast's exaggeration. Mark his peroration : "Credit, which is only Trust and Faith, is becoming more and more the money power of the world, and in the parchment bullet into which is impressed the faith which removes mountains, India will find victory and peace." Here there is evident confusion of thought. The credit which is becoming the money power of the world has little moral basis and is not a synonym for Trust or Faith, which are purely moral qualities. After twenty years' experience of hundreds of men, who had dealings with banks in South Africa, the opinion I had so often heard expressed has become firmly rooted in me, that the greater the rascal the greater the credit he enjoys with his banks. The banks do not pry into his moral character : they are satisfied that he meets his overdrafts and promissory notes punctually. The credit system has encircled this beautiful globe of ours like a serpent's coil, and if we do not mind, it bids fair to crush us out of breath. I have witnessed the ruin of many a home through the system, and it has made no difference whether the credit was labelled co-operative or otherwise. The deadly coil has made possible the devastating spectacle in Europe, which we are helplessly looking on. It was perhaps never so true as it is to-day that as in law so in war the longest purse finally wins. • I have ventured to give prominence to the current belief about credit system in order to emphasise the point that the co-operative movement will be a blessing to India only to the extent that it is a moral movement strictly directed by men fired with religious fervour. It follows therefore, that co-operation should be confined to men wishing to be morally right, but failing to do so, because of grinding poverty or of the grip of the Mahajan. Facility for obtaining loans at fair rates will not make immoral or unmoral men moral. But the wisdom of the state or philanthropist demands that they should help, on the onward path, men struggling to be good.

Too often do we believe that material prosperity means moral growth. It is necessary that a movement which is fraught with so much good to India should not degenerate into one for merely advancing cheap loans. I was therefore delighted to read the recommendation in the Report of the Committee on Co-operation in India, that "they wish clearly to express their opinion that it is to true co-operation alone, that is, to a co-operation which recognizes the moral aspect of the question that Government must look for the amelioration of the masses and not to a pseudo-co-operative edifice, however imposing, which is built in ignorance of co-operative principles. With this standard before us, we will not measure the success of the movement by the number of co-operative societies formed, but by the moral condition of the co-operators. The Registrars will in that event ensure the moral growth of existing societies before multiplying them. And the Government will make their promotion conditional, not upon the number of societies they have registered, but the moral success of the existing institutions. This will mean tracing the course of every pice lent to the members. Those responsible for the proper conduct of co-operative societies will see to it that the money advanced does not find its way into the toddy-sellers' till or into the pockets of the keepers of gambling dens. I would excuse the rapacity of the Mahajan if it has succeeded in keeping the gambling die or toddy from the ryot's home.

A word perhaps about the Mahajan will not be out of place. Co-operation is not a new device. The ryots co-operate to drum out monkeys or birds that destroy their crops. They co-operate to use a common thrashing floor. I have found them co-operate to protect their cattle to the extent of their devoting their best land for the grazing of their cattle. And they have been found co-operating against a particularly rapacious Mahajan. Doubt has been expressed as to the success

of co-operation because of the tightness of the Mahajan's hold on the ryots. I do not share the fears. The mightiest Mahajan must, if he represent and evil force, bend before co-operation, conceived as an essentially moral movement. But my limited experience of the Mahajan of Champaran has made me revise the accepted opinion about his 'blighting influence.' I have found him to be not always relentless, not always exacting of the last pie. He sometimes serves his clients in many ways or even comes to their rescue in the hour of their distress. My observation is so limited that I dare not draw any conclusions from it, but I respectfully enquire whether it is not possible to make a serious effort to draw out the good in the Mahajan and help him or induce him to throw out the evil in him. May he not be induced to join the army of co-operation, or has experience proved that he is past praying for?


I note that the movement takes note of all indigenous industries. I beg publicly to express my gratitude to Government for helping me in my humble effort to improve the lot of the weaver. The experiment I am conducting shows that there is a vast field for work in this direction. No well-wisher of India, no patriot dare look upon the impending destruction of the hand-loom weaver with equanimity. As Dr. Mann has stated, this industry used to supply the peasant with an additional source of livelihood and an insurance against famine. Every Registrar who will nurse back to life this important and graceful industry will earn the gratitude of India. My humble effort consists firstly in making researches as to the possibilities of simple reforms in the orthodox hand-loom, secondly in weaning the educated youth from the craving for Government or other service and the feeling that education renders him unfit for independent occupation and inducing him to take to weaving as a calling as honourable as that of a barrister or a doctor, and thirdly by helping those weavers who have abandoned their occupation to

revert to it. I will not weary the audience with any statement on the first two parts of the experiment. The third may be allowed a few sentences as it has a direct bearing upon the subject before us. I was able to enter upon it only six months ago. Five families that had left off the calling have reverted to it and they are doing a prosperous business. The Ashram supplies them at their door with the yarn they need; its volunteers take delivery of the cloth woven, paying them cash at the market rate. The Ashram merely loses interest on the loan advanced for the yarn. It has as yet suffered no loss and is able to restrict its loss to a minimum by limiting the loan to a particular figure. All future transactions are strictly cash. We are able to command a ready sale for the cloth received. The loss of interest, therefore, on the transaction is negligible. I would like the audience to note its purely moral character from start to finish. The Ashram depends for its existence of such help as friends render it. We, there, can have no warrant for charging interest. The weavers could not be saddled with it. Whole families that were breaking to pieces are put together again. The use of the loan is predetermined. And we the middlemen being volunteers obtain the privilege of entering into the lives of these families, I hope for their and our betterment. We cannot lift them without being lifted ourselves. This last relationship has not yet been developed, but we hope at an early date to take in hand the education too of these families and not rest satisfied till we have touch them at every point. This is not too ambitious a dream. God willing, it will be a reality some day. I have ventured to dilate upon the small experiment to illustrate what I mean by co-operation to present it to others for imitation. Let us be sure of our ideal. We shall ever fail to realize it, but we should never cease to strive for it. Then there need be no fear of "co-operation of scoundrels" that Ruskin so rightly dreaded.

SOURCES OF OUR SUPPLY OF DRUGS 657

BY

MR. ANANDAPRAKASH, M.S.C.I., (LONDON.)

 THE questions of the sources of our supply of drugs in their finished state or in the shape of raw materials are engaging the serious attention of the authorities and the people concerned.

How far the United Kingdom and the British Dominions are affected by the war in their supply of drugs and how far we are so affected in India should be considered now. India has very limited enterprises in making her own drugs and she naturally depends on the United Kingdom, the central European countries and partly America for all her supplies in the line. The war has affected greatly the drugs-business and in India we have more or less drugs-famine, if we may say so. There is now only a limited supply of certain drugs and no supply whatsoever of some, and the prices commanding are fictitious. The result being that we have had to resort to make-shift business and make the best of the situation. On many occasions we have been disappointed in getting particular drugs and have been told by druggists and dealers that they have just sold the last pot or phial at a fancy price. They are in many cases important and rare drugs and sometimes German-made too. So we see that this "made in Germany" business sometimes directly affects us individually.

As our supplies of drugs in India depend much on that of British production and trade, and as the interests of India are directly and intimately connected with the United Kingdom, it will be interesting to know the exact state of things there. Recently, during discussions before the Royal Society of Arts meeting in London, some true and important facts have been brought to light regarding the subject of drugs industry and trade of Great Britain.

The subject is divided into three main sections:

1. What drugs have been in use before the war and to what extent was the United Kingdom dependent upon Central Europe for their supply?
2. The difficulties arising out of the war and to what extent these have been overcome.
3. The state of things to come after the war.

Coming to the first subject of the use and origin of drugs in the pre-war period we will first consider the vegetable drugs. Of the large number of vegetable drugs described in text books and *Materia Medica* some are now and then

prescribed by medical practitioners; some are the ingredients of domestic medicines; some used by patent medicine manufacturers and some are seen only in museums. It is on account of varying constituents and unstable nature of plant drugs that they are not much used. During peace time about eighty kinds of drugs of vegetable origin have been used in hospitals in England. Of this number some have been used for colouring, flavouring and perfuming and obtained from alkanet root, orange peels, orris root etc. While the gum class, as tragacanth has been used for pharmaceutical as different from medical purposes.

Very few of the important plant drugs are obtained from Central Europe. The medical plants formerly derived from enemy countries are aconite root, belladonna root and leaves, colchicum corn, digitalis leaves, gentian root, henbane leaves, opium and valerian root. Several of these, however, are cultivated or grow wild in the United Kingdom, such as digitalis, meadow saffron etc. Many others go from distant shores of the British Empire and other Neutral countries. To enumerate some of the principal items: Cinchona bark goes from India, Ceylon and other countries; cinnamon bark from Ceylon; Buchu leaves from South Africa, senna leaves from India and Egypt, quassia from Jamaica; nux vomica seeds the sources of strychnine, castor oil seeds and sandal wood oil from India.

From the allied and neutral countries of Europe: Ergot goes from Russia and Spain and squill from the Mediterranean shores. Of the non-British and non-European countries, Japan supplies camphor; the United States of America sends cascarin bark; Africa exports calumba root and China rhubarb roots. Although opium used, to be obtained from Eastern Europe and Persia formerly, since the outbreak of the war Indian opium has been imported in England for the production of morphine—in fact the world's supply of this alkaloid is now prepared from Indian opium. So with the exception of some plants and vegetable products the United Kingdom do not depend on the Central Powers for much of the drugs of vegetable origin.

Of the substances obtained from the animal kingdom, lanolin, a very useful basis for ointments was exclusively of German origin. Other articles such as honey, bees-wax, pepsin etc., are

obtained from many countries and no country has any monopoly.

Of the principal fifteen Alkaloids or their salts, seven namely apomorphine, acetomorphine, morphine, codeine, caffeine, strychnine, and emetine were and are manufactured in England in a large scale. Germany also made and sold these drugs but it is difficult to determine what proportion was of German make and what of British make. Quinine is produced in England, the United States of America, France, Germany and Italy; so it cannot be claimed that English quinine had a monopoly of the world's trade. Cocaine and theobromine were manufactured in the United Kingdom but not on a very large scale. For the remaining alkaloids such as atropine, eserine, and hematropine—so important in ophthalmic practice—and some others of less frequent use Great Britain depended mostly on the productions of the enemy countries of central Europe.

Of the acids lactic, tannic and some others were of German origin. Others have been British products. The raw material of citric acid is an Italian Government monopoly.

For the group of important salts such as calomel, corrosive sublimate, silver nitrate, sodium carbonate, bismuth carbonate, potassium iodide and bromide and many others, the United Kingdom had to depend on her own production. The raw materials for many of these had, however, to be got from Germany; others were found in England; bismuth was imported from America and mercury from Spain.

Simple compounds of carbon: The majority of the various simple compounds of carbon are of very great importance. The general anæsthetics such as ether, chlorform and ethyl chloride; the antiseptics such as carbolic acid, creosote and iodoform and also alcohol and glycerine have been produced in large quantities in England. The other less important compounds of the group were of German, or American origin.

Complex compounds of carbon: For thirty out of forty important compounds the United Kingdom was dependent on central Europe in the pre-war period. These are some very important drugs, such as: antipyrin, chloral hydrate, novocain, phenacetin, resorcin, saccharin, salicylic acid, aspirin, salol, veronal, salvarsan, neo-salvarsan, etc.

The above gives an idea as to what was the productive capacity of the United Kingdom in the pre-war period and to what extent she was dependent on other countries, specially Germany and Austria, for her supply of drugs and raw

materials for such. We now proceed on to the next principal section as to the difficulties arising out of the war and how far the shortcomings have been remedied and the difficulties overcome.

With the outbreak of war there was shortage of articles and a consequent outbreak of profiteering too. The real difficulties are said to have been few but formidable. The real difficulties arose with the stringent measures of British blockade of Germany. The sources of raw materials were thereby completely cut off. Great difficulties were felt with the supply of potash, bromine and some synthetic drugs. The world's supply of bromine was derived from Germany and the U. S. A. With the outbreak of war Americans were left masters of the situation and the price of potassium bromide at one time went up to 25 times the normal value. Even in the United Kingdom there were much variation in the prices of drugs the raw materials of which were obtained within the Empire and controlled by British enterprise and capital. But it should not be forgotten that the resources of the Kingdom were taxed to the utmost to meet the altered condition of affairs. Capital, labour, resources and supply were all commandeered for the war. During the early months of the war very little was done. But starts were made later on and the results being that quite a number of drugs were made and are being made now and for which Great Britain was quite dependent on the enemy countries. Detailed records of recent achievements will not be necessary. Suffice it to say that the preparation of salicylic acid, aspirin, atropine were successfully tackled. Absolute alcohol, lanolin, lactic acid, phenacetin, saccharine, salol, novocain, salvarsan and potassium permanganate and various other drugs are being successfully prepared now by British capital and labour.

Therefore the above records show that inspite of the hard times much have been done and are being done now to overcome the difficulties.

The last important item is the period after the war and how things are going to be rearranged or built fresh. With the passing of the war provisions are sure to be made for capital, labour, machineries and supply of raw materials etc. The scientists and capitalists of the land are fully equal to the solution of all questions arising out of the drugs business. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the enemy will with renewed vigour put forth her best efforts to regain the lost trade in drugs. State subsidies, comparatively cheap labour and masterly organisations will be the chief resources of their strength. Ample provi-

sions should, therefore, be made to fight out the enemies' position in this trade and industry. It is too premature to say what should be the most effective weapon. Government aid, in legislation, State subsidy, tariff wall, and regular boycotting are some of the means suggested.

Difference of opinion exists as to the form which Government assistance should take. The question of legislative assistance is not a simple one too. Is tariff to be imposed only on German made drugs? Some British manufacturers and scientists recognise that legislature protection does not by itself constitute a royal road to success. Again there are complaints for which there are justifications. Men of the medical profession have a peculiar fondness for German made drugs and reagents for research, and laboratory works. New British made drugs put in the market are codly received by physicians, while the same drugs under German name and label would be welcome.

Let us now proceed to see how the three points, in consideration at the outset, are applied to the case of India.

During the pre-war period the supply of drugs in their finished state or in the shape of raw materials—in the latter case excepting those to be obtained in India—were regulated by the manufacture and trade of the other important drug producing countries of the world. The United Kingdom and Germany had a great share in this business and we had naturally to depend on them mostly. German-made goods reached us directly as German made or coming *via* England reached as branded as 'made in England's'; and similarly English made goods reached us directly or came *via* Germany being branded as 'made in Germany.' Anyhow directly or indirectly British and German drugs reached as in some shape or another and a flourishing trade was maintained. Germany had specialised in some drugs and Great Britain was fully dependent for the supply of those drugs on Germany, and we in our turn depended on one or both of these countries for our portion of supply.

In India we had a limited enterprise in the making of some of the minor drugs, while many such important drugs, the raw materials of which were abundant, were not seriously taken up. The backwardness had been as usual, due to want of enterprise, initiative and fore-thought.

The next point in consideration is of the difficulties arising out of the war and to what

extent those have been overcome. By our successful blockade of Germany the drugs for which we were solely dependent on them have completely ceased to reach our country. There is thus a regular real famine in the German specialised drugs in the Indian market. Great Britain, with all her resources utilised by the Government, has little or no chance to enter into fresh enterprise to make German monopolised drugs. Already some attempts have been made and success to some extent have been achieved. Therefore German substitutes made in England and even original British-made drugs are reaching us in small quantities. Thus we in India have now to be content with fitful and meagre supply of drugs.

This disturbed state of things have moved some of our pioneers and enterprisers to do something in the line of drugs making. Suitable substitutes are being prepared and even new and original attempts are being made. Some standard drugs are being successfully made by many Indian and European concerns all over India. New sources and supplies of drugs are being thought and found out. In fact there has been a great upheaval in the industrial line of drugs manufacturing.

The next most important point to be considered is the state of things to come after the war. This requires serious attention of all concerned.

India is the producer on an extensive scale of such raw materials as cinchona bark, senna leaves, nuxvomica, castor and sandal oils, opium, honey, bees wax, pepsin etc and innumerable other organic and inorganic substances. Moreover she could easily command many other stuff that go from the East to all the drug producing countries of the world. India's resources are great and limitless.

In the normal times to come and during the great industrial strife that is to take place then, the infant Indian industry in drugs is to stand the competitions and survive. India is powerful in potentialities but lacks brain and motive power. It depends only on organisation. Co-operation between the Government and the people, co-operation between capitalists and scientists, co-operation between medical research workers and manufacturers, co-operation between manufacturers and trader, and the all important patriotic co-operation of the people are necessary for the permanent establishment of the drugs industry in India.

“SALAHUDDIN”

BY

FAIYAZ ALI, B.A. (ALIG).

USUF surnamed 'Salahuddin' was born in 1138,—at a time when Muslim countries, north of Damascus, lay humiliated under the feet of foreign foes, and enemies honey-combed the land. The Star of Islam had sunk to its nadir. Young Salahuddin felt the degradation of Islam, and he secretly vowed to bring back life and blood to its politically anæmic body, to reinstall it once more on its former high pedestal. He followed his uncle Sher-koh, Generalissimo of Nuruddin, king of Damascus, on his two expeditions into Egypt, and it was here in Egypt, that Salahuddin established his military character by the famous defence of Alexandria, and earned his initial distinctions. When in 1169 Sher-koh died, and the office of Vazirate fell vacant, the Fatimide Caliph entrusted Sher-koh's young nephew with the portfolio of State. Salahuddin's feet now rested on the first rung of the ladder. His smouldering talents blazed forth at the magic touch of power. He shuffled off the coil of the anchorite and assumed the robe of the Spartan. Al-Aziz, the Fatimide Caliph was one of those imbecile scions of Royalty, who usually accompany and accelerate the dissolution of decadent Empires. He was thoroughly incompetent to preside over and forge the destinies of a great country. Salahuddin took stock of the situation, and proceeded to make capital out of it. He was at the helm of affairs. He took the tide at its flood. Al-Aziz was slowly, but surely, reduced to a pageant of Royalty, a mere figure-head. Salahuddin was now the power behind the throne. He at no distant time became the owner of the throne. Al-Aziz was deposed in 1171 and the long line of the Fatimide Caliphs came to an end. Henceforth Salahuddin was the *de facto* king of Egypt, while Nuruddin was only so *de jure*. Salahuddin's brother, Turan Shah, subjugated Yemen, and Nuruddin's opportune death was no inconsiderable accessory to Salahuddin in the consolidation of his quasi-independence over Egypt, Hejaz and Yemen. On Nuruddin's death his son Ismail, then only 11 years age, ascended the throne, under the regency of one Gumushtagin. Gumushtagin's jealous eye soon detected in Salahuddin the only rival whose existence was potential for trouble. He set the machinery of diplomacy in motion to remove the serpent of the Nile from his path, but Salahuddin was too astute and seasoned

a diplomatist to be thus hoodwinked. He resolved to make sword the arbiter of their claims. Pursuant to this plan he surprised Damascus and ousted Gumushtagin but ordered the *khutba* to be read in Ismail's name in testimony of his own vassalage. The political centre of gravity now shifted to Salahuddin. As a regent he proved himself a pillar of the State, while in seasons of trouble he was a real tower of strength. In 1181 Ismail died and Salahuddin was acclaimed Sultan of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Hejaz and Yemen. By the end of the following year he was acknowledged Surzerain by all the princes of Western Asia, and henceforward he became the Cynosure on which the eye of every Moslem was fixed for guidance in the project of dislodging the Christians from Muslim lands.

A truce had been arranged between the Sultan and Baldwin IV, King of Jerusalem. Rainald of Chatillon wantonly broke the truce by plundering a caravan, which, it was reported, was escorting the Sultan's sister. This was the last straw. Salahuddin determined to chastise such a pronounced breach of treaty obligations. He advanced with an army. Meeting the Crusaders at Tiberias he put them to a terrific rout. 10,000 Franks paid for the insult with their life's blood while Guy de Lusignan the then king of Jerusalem together with other principal chiefs were taken captives. This crushing defeat spelt the death of Christian domination in Asia. The victorious Sultan followed up the splendid success with unremitting vigour, and captured most of the Crusaders' important strongholds. The Castle of Tiberiad fell, and the wife of Raymond of Tripoli though taken prisoner was escorted back to her husband with every circumstance of chivalry and respect, and a like deference was shown to the wives and children of the Crusaders' on other similar occasions. Having finished with smaller strongholds, Salahuddin at length turned on Jerusalem, the focus of Christian and Moslem efforts, the bone of contention for the previous one hundred years. Ever since Salahuddin was an unripe youth, the conquest of Jerusalem had formed the burden of his thoughts.

Sixty thousand soldiers, each a candidate for martyrdom, defended the walls of the Holy City. In the beginning the Sultan made humane advances to the garrison, but these were refused with much caustic insolence. At this Salahuddin

was exasperated, and vowed to copy the precedent of Godfrey, and avenge his massacre. In justice to him, it may be said, that the barbarous treatment accorded to the Muslims of Jerusalem on the occasion of its first capture was sufficiently potent in its detail of horror to excite a spirit of retaliation even on a person so humane as Salahuddin. The siege was pressed with such vigour, that the Crusaders lost heart, and sued for mercy "in the name of the common Father of Mankind." The memory of the sanguinary Godfrey and the contemptuous refusal by the garrison of his magnanimous offer, still living in his mind, was calculated all the more to rivet the implacability of his desire for vengeance; but this appeal for mercy awakened his dormant pity, and he chivalrously forbore. "Never did Salahuddin show himself greater than during this memorable surrender."* Those who could not disburse their ransom were ransomed in large numbers by the Saracen Amirs. The Sultan crowned his generosity by proclaiming, that those who were incapable of paying the ransom money were at liberty to troop forth. And their going continued from morn till night. Such was the charity which Salahuddin did to poor people without number† The conquest of Jerusalem at once constitutes the finest chapter of his life and the noblest commentary on it. It gave the *coup de grace* to his fame. It was a victory grander than that of Salamis or Marathon, grander because the less bloody and the more humane. "If the taking of Jerusalem," says Stanley-Lane Poole, "was the only fact known about Salahuddin it was enough to prove him the most chivalrous and great hearted conqueror of his or perhaps any age." Success henceforward waited on his arms. Cities, castles and fortresses fell like ripe fruits into his hands, but there occurred a hitch in the end. Salahuddin marched on Tyre, but the city being vigorously defended, he did not think the game worth the candle, and he withdrew‡ This was an egregious political blunder. To Tyre had gravitated the remnant of the dispersed atoms of Christian power in Asia. In leaving Tyre alone he allowed a golden opportunity to slip of crushing the last spark of life out of the Crusaders' resistance. After this the complexion of his affairs ominously changed, and a crisis of gloom began to gather over his path of success. For a time he went under an eclipse. • Low on the fringe of the

Western horizon dark and sinister clouds were gathering. Muffled mutterings of thunder were heard. A tremendous storm was brewing. The sky was overcast. . . . Europe was in arms. . . . The whole of Christendom was ready to hurl itself against Islam, to close with it in one final death-grapple. . . . Never had the world been shaken by such a terrific cataclysm. . . . Jerusalem had fallen. Jerusalem must be retaken. "To Jerusalem! to Jerusalem!" was the battle-cry.

The "mortal" news of the fall of Jerusalem ran through Europe like wildfire, bringing the desire for its recapture to a white heat. Pope Gregory VIII preached solidarity, while Baldwin of Canterbury fulminated in England, and Berter of Orleans thundered in France. All was hurry and scurry, bustle and confusion, in Europe and in Asia as well. In the frenzy of the moment even women enrolled themselves for war.* The conflagration extended from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Thames to the banks of the Euphrates. Tyre had become the nucleus of the fresh accretions to the strength of the Crusaders. From Tyre the Christians generalised by Guy de Lusignan, advanced to lay siege to Acre. Reinforcements from all points in the compass constantly swelled the ranks of the besiegers of Acre. Salahuddin had slept over his opportunity, and now he was called upon to face terrific odds. The fate of Islam hung as if, by a thread, a frail thread at best, with a wilderness of swords drawn out to cut it; and with only one man to defend it—that was Salahuddin—all alone! To solve a situation surcharged with such ominous possibilities, and involving such stupendous issues—that was the riddle. Salahuddin attempted it. Salahuddin solved it—in the end. The siege of Acre lasted for quite two years (1189—1191). It is a tedious episode of desultory warfare in which victory oscillated with peculiar vicissitudes. Acre by now had become the point of confluence for all the crusading armies. Daily and nightly the mighty deluge was gathering strength, till at length the appearance of Richard Cœur de Lion of England and Philip king of France on the scene knocked the last nail in the coffin of Muslim hopes. All resistance collapsed. Acre surrendered. The favourite industry of bloodshed was revived once more. Richard immolated 3,000 Muslim defenders after lulling them into a false security by profuse promises of safety. Mercy it appears was treated among the Crusaders as the Cinde-

* Stanley Lane Poole.

† Ernoul.

‡ Ernoul.

* Syed Amir Ali.

rilla of virtues. It simply did not exist among them.

Acre was taken all right, but it proved an embarrassing luxury. Richard's circle of allies was a fluctuating one, and people came and deserted in numbers. Philip of France, not feeling very sanguine about the prospect of fighting under the fierce Eastern Sun for an object almost as easy of access as the mirage, of the land on which he found himself, sailed for his country on a flimsy pretext, leaving Richard and others to take care of themselves. And as it never rains but pours, Acre, furthermore, became the Capua of the Crusaders. It was converted into a hot-bed of profligacy and demoralisation. Dissipation was rampant to an extent, "that put wiser men to the blush."* After not a little trouble, Richard managed to march with 100,000 reluctant soldiers towards Ascalon. Salahuddin under a panic for Jerusalem razed Ascalon to the ground with a view to checkmate Richard, and frustrate his designs against the Holy city, while all this time he relentlessly, but none the less artfully, pursued his Fabian strategy with remarkable success. The Crusaders' hearts sank within them, their resolution ebbed away. Richard turned back despairingly from within sight of the Holy city. Thus fell to pieces the hopes of the Crusaders like a house of cards. Although, no doubt, Richard's heavy arm once or twice seemed for the moment to drown Salahuddin's hopes, the Sultan, notwithstanding shot up to the surface with the buoyancy of a life-belt, while Richard in spite of his apparent success began to sink in his heavy armour completely exhausted. At last he became anxious for peace and a contributory cause to his anxiety was the receipt of disquieting intelligence of John's ambition in England, and the invasion of Normandy by the wily Philip of France. The terms of peace for a long time remained *sub judice*. Salahuddin was firm in his demands and refusals. Richard even consented to marry his sister Joan to Al-Adil, Salahuddin's brother, but the scheme ended in smoke. At length and at last after much higgling and haggling a treaty was signed at Ramla in 1192. Richard embarked for England "to seek a long captivity and a premature grave."†

The clouds had lifted, the sky was clear. Peace again brooded over the disturbed land. Thus ended ingloriously the Third Crusade. "Before the great victory at Tiberias in July 1187, not an inch of Palestine west of the Jordan was in

Muslim hands. After the peace of Ramla in 1192, the whole land was theirs except a narrow strip of coast from Tyre to Jaffa."* There was nothing in the terms of the treaty that could call the blush of shame or discomfiture to the manly brow of the great Eastern Sultan. The contemptuously small gains of the Crusaders were totally incommensurate with their prodigious losses. One single man had kept the whole world at bay—this in itself constitutes an imperishable monument of his dynamic leadership. Single-handed he had coped with the whole of Christendom. Baldwin had thundered and Berter had flashed, and Europe had risen as one man to wrench back Jerusalem from the clutches of the 'infidels.' The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa of Germany and Richard Coeur de Lion of England, William of Sicily and Philip Augustus of France, Leopald of Austria and the Duke of Burgundy, with a legion other Barons of fame and high repute had warmly responded to the ringing call of Pope Gregory, and had been galvanised into sudden life by the fiery eloquence of fanatical priests and red-hot monks. Christian princes of Syria and Palestine had thrown their weight into the scale. A Geoffrey, a Chatillon, a Lusignan, a Humphrey and a dozen others into the bargain, had marched to the tune of the Crusader's martial music, had consecrated their lives to the Holy cause. The thunder of the careering cavalcade of the Templars and the Hospitallers had resounded on the plains of Syria, and re-echoed in the hills of Palestine. But everything like the bubble had burst. Frederick was drowned, Philip had sneaked away, Richard had fought himself out of Asia and Leopald and Burgundy had followed in his wake. But Jerusalem, the focus of all these titanic efforts, the root-cause of all this dreadful fermentation, the beacon of Christian hopes, had remained intact. Jerusalem was still in the iron grasp of Salahuddin as safe and secure as it ever could be—perhaps never safer.

The tremendous avalanche of militant humanity had not shaken the power and station of the Sultan one single jot. His soldiers had followed him through thick and thin with an enthusiasm sustained throughout at a high level. The country was deluged with blood and bathed in tears, but they had never so much as murmured at the incessant tolls upon their valour and their blood. And when the tocsin of *Jihad* had sounded Syrians, Arabs, Kurds, Egyptians, Turks, all with one accord had flocked to his victorious standard. None had dared to resist his over-mastering curb-

* Itinerary.

† Gibbon.

* Stanley-Lane-Poole.

chain. The spectre of foreign domination was finally laid to rest. Every Asiatic Prince had long been fashioned to his yoke, every part of Hejaz, Yemen, Palestine, Egypt, Syria, had been rendered previous to his arms and authority. His star was in the zenith once again. The cherished dreams of youth had been materialised. The brief spell of life that remained to him, he passed among his deeply loved children. He died peacefully on Wednesday the 4th of March 1193 at the age of five and fifty. He had spent every farthing he had in charity, and the expenses of his funeral had to be borrowed. "The ceremony was as simple as a pauper's funeral."* The great physician Abdul Latif says that no one among the kings, except Salahuddin, was ever *sincerely* mourned by his subjects. Salahuddin was enshrined in the hearts of his subjects, and thus he had at his hand a lever that could put the whole Muslim world into a tremendous motion.

Gentleness was the keynote of his character. No element of pride ever lurked in his great soul. When strengthening the fortifications of Jerusalem, he had actually carried stones on his shoulders like other ordinary labourers. He abnegated every shade of luxury and ostentation, and never patronised gaudy costumes, costly dishes or gorgeous palaces. He was simple, laborious and ascetic.

On Monday and Thursday he presided over the Court of Justice, and if a man had a suit to prefer against a prince of the blood, or against the Sultan himself, he considered it incumbent on the defendant to appear in person before the Kazi like other less exalted mortals. But if Salahuddin won the case he treated the defeated suitor to a robe of honour and some princely present or the like, and sent him home "happy and astonished."† His mercy was so extensive, his heart so open, his views so catholic, that he did not grudge even his bitterest enemies his sympathy and consideration. He evidenced a particular love for children, and looked upon every orphan as his special charge. Deep down in his heart welled up the rich milk of human kindness. "His heart was humble and full of compassion, and tears came readily to his eyes."‡ Although by nature he was averse to war and bloodshed, yet when it came to fighting 'in the path of God' his native mildness yielded to his latent leonine courage. His munificence ran riot on every possible occasion, and so it came about

that when he died he left behind him in his private coffers only the paltry sum of 1 Tyrian Dinar and 47 silver Dirhems (scarcely 25 rupees). "He left behind him neither house, nor goods, nor acres, nor village, nor any sort of personal property. The great Sultan died almost penniless."*

The glow of his generous and humanitarian spirit fecundated in all directions into the shape of new colleges, mosques, almshouses, hospitals and so forth. He was a great patron of letters, and remunerated learning with no niggard hand.† He was endowed with a singular compass of intellect, and delighted in conversing with learned men, and reasoning with the flavouring element of his pungent wit the various topics of discussion. His court was a constellation of poets, philosophers, jurists, historians, *literateurs*, theologians and other luminaries of various systems. Capacity and learning was an "open sesame" to the highest offices of state; the most munificent compensations sought out the very faintest glimmerings of genius or literary merit. The road to fortune and eminence was thrown open to every individual whose pretensions were seconded by sterling worth. The peculiar feature in his generosity was that he spent everything on others and very little on himself. His manifest superiority in many respects when collated with Richard, Philip and Company admits of no doubt. He stands head and shoulders above them all. They are dwarfed besides him. Salahuddin in himself is a unique personality, but Salahuddin in contrast is a grander personality, if possible. Before the scintillations of his noble qualities all other glories pale. He was the exclusive master of those noble traits of which there was a dire dearth in the camp of the Crusaders. He had stimulated the torpid elements in the Muslim world, and fused different layers of the population into one compact patriotic brotherhood. All in a word he united in himself a rare combination of the cardinal virtues of human nature. *He had warred with a world and vanquished it.* He had weathered the roughest storms that ever burst on man. The institution of the heavy tax, called the "Saladin Tenth" is the measure of the terror he inspired in Europe. The tax was to be paid by every Christian on pain of instant excommunication. Not even the clergy were exempt from the heavy impost. These are bold, salient facts writ large in imperishable letters upon the scroll of history, and those who run inay read them.

* Stanley-Lane-Poole.

† Ibnul Shaddad.

‡ Michaud.

* Stanley-Lane-Poole.

† Ibnul-Athar,

NANYADEVA

The first historic King of Mithila.

BY

ISWAR DAS JALAN, M.A.

MOST people who are ignorant of the history of Mithila (modern Tirhut) might be under the impression that this country had been always under the rule of a Brahmin chief as it is at present. But this is not the verdict of history. The country passed under a Brahmin ruler only about 600 years ago. Before this period, even from the ancient times up to the 13th century Kshatriyas were the ruling chiefs. Apart from the authority of the Puranas, in which we find Maharaja Janak, a Kshatriya chief, as ruler of Mithila, there is no other authentic historic record until we come to Raja Nanyadeva (who flourished in the beginning of the 11th century) by which we can trace a connected history of this country.

Raja Nanyadeva ascended the throne in the year 1032 A. D. He was not a product of this country but was an invader from Karnatic. He belonged to the Parmar Kshatriya caste and with a force of 14,000 infantry and cavalry subjugated Mithila and Nepal and made Nanyapur (a village in the Muzaffarpur district known as Koili Nanpur) his capital. A very amusing story is told about the method of acquisition of fabulous wealth by this king. It is said that when he came here he happened to see a serpent, on a raised plot of land, on the expanded hood of which the following verse appeared.

रामो वेत्ति नलो वेत्ति वेत्ति राजा पुरुरवाः ।

अलकेश्य धनं प्राप्य नान्यो रजा मविष्यति ॥

[Rama, Nala and Pururava are the witnesses. Nanya having got the wealth of Kuvera (the God of wealth) will become a king.]

Thereupon the king got the spot excavated and to his great surprise found an enormous quantity of wealth. The place where the serpent was found is still deemed very sacred and the inhabitants of the village Nanpur do worship the serpent there even to the present day.

About eight years after, in 1040, he built a fortress in Simraun, a village in the district of Champaran on the frontier of Tirhut and Nepal, in which he sometimes resided. The following verse which appears on the foundation stone of the fortress fixes the date of the foundation :

नन्देन्दु विष्णु त्रसित शाकवर्षे

त्रय्यानामे त्रिदशे सुनि सिद्धितयात् ।

त्वाति शनैश्चरदिने कर्गवर्ग लप्ते

नाथ देव नृपति व्यदधति वाक्तात् ॥

[King Sri Nanyadeva laid the foundation stone on Saturday, the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Sravan in 1019 Saka (1040 A. D.) in Siddhi yoga, Swati Nakshatra and Simha lagna.]

For sometime the king reigned peacefully but afterwards Ballalasena, by order of his father Adisura King of Kansona in Murshidabad, invaded and conquered the country and made Nanyadeva prisoner. He was confined in the fortress of Gondeswar, and the condition in which he was placed there has been very nicely described by Umapatidhara, a great poet of Mithila. The stone on which the description was found inscribed is at present to be seen in the museum of Calcutta.

The king had two sons Malladeva and Ganga-deva. The latter being aggrieved of the sad plight in which his illustrious father had been placed made great preparations in a village Ghorwara near his capital Nanpur and after a series of battles at Dvalakh succeeded in releasing his father along with other kings similarly confined from the custody of the then reigning king. Thus the rule of Mithila, which had passed on to a Bengali ruler for sometime was again restored to the Karnatic princes. Nanyadeva had once more the good luck of being called king of Mithila where he reigned for about 36 years.

Indian Labour in the Ceylon Estates

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BY MR. KARAMUTHU THIAGARAJA.

SUPPRESSION OF FACTS.

1. **INTRODUCTORY.**—The Commission* to enquire into the methods of recruiting and conditions of Indian labour on the estates in Ceylon and Malaya, sent in its report last February. Few perhaps have taken care to study it. In doing so, these can hardly have not felt the painful impression that the Commission has palliated defects rather than pointed them out.

2. **NOTES OF EVIDENCE ABSENT.**—A report, such as this is expected to be, ought to furnish us with notes of evidence taken on the spot, which form the basis of conclusions arrived at by the trusted Commissioners. But such notes of evidence as one finds in carefully drawn up reports, are not forthcoming. A striking contrast is that whereas we have many pages of statistics drawn from a variety of sources, there is no record of evidence drawn from the lips of coolies—no questions put by the Commissioners to the poor labourers, and no answers to them—to bear out the general statements set down in this report.

3. **CEYLON SECTION.**—I am dealing only with this portion of the report.

4. **ONLY SIX ESTATES VISITED.**—We should have expected the deputed enquirers to visit a large number of estates in order to pass a fair and true judgment upon them; it is dangerous to generalise from a few particular cases. But these Commissioners confess (paragraph 1) to having examined but a few estates. There are about 2,000 estates in all in Ceylon; but they have visited only 6! To visit 6 estates, perhaps, the 17 days spent in Ceylon by one Commissioner and 22 days by the other Commissioner might have sufficed; but they were content to give no more time than this when the hard and important task was committed to them by the Madras Government of scrutinising the condition of things in an island containing about 2,000 estates.

5. **RECRUITING.**—Only one Commissioner, the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Ahmad Tambi Marakkayar was deputed to consider (para 1) how the recruiting was done; while the other, Mr. Murjoribanks, remained in Colombo "getting statistical and other information." To do fair justice to the task entrusted to them, we should not have supposed that the Commissioners would have thought of saving time by inadequate

work, but would have conjointly instituted enquiries regarding the methods of professional recruiters, and allotted sufficient time to it. It was very necessary that in such an important question as recruiting, both Commissioners should have made special enquiries. Let us see how Mr. Marakkayar has done his work. Here the report, we should have imagined, would be at its very best. It tells us (para 18) that the *Kangany* defrauds the labourer recruited, by paying him less than he is entitled to, say Rs. 10 instead of Rs. 30. This is a very great evil indeed. But is it all? Is it likely that the rogue who thus defrauds the labourer recruited, does not also recruit them under false pretences? Now there was a very general complaint in the press that workmen were seduced from India to Ceylon under false pretences. But the Commissioners who ought to have known what the general complaint and grievance was, should have made a point of investigating the matter. In this respect one looked forward to a more faithful accomplishment of duty. They do not tell us whether the charge brought against the recruitment is true or false.

6. **WAGES.**—We may next take up the question of wages and see how far the Commissioners have acquitted themselves of their charge. Compare their report with my own observation:—

Wages of	According to	
	Commission's report (para 36)	My observation (para. 4*)
1. Pruners	40 to 45 cents †	40 cents
2. Pluckers	25 „ 30 „	25 „
3. Factory labourers	50 „ 60 „	40 „

The difference between the figures is striking. Nor is this all. Pruners have higher wages, it is true, but only at certain seasons of the year when there is work for them, and not all through the year. *The rates I have set down are the standard

* (The number refers to a paragraph in my report dated February last).

† 100 cents make one rupee.

* Report of the Commission consisting of Mr. N. E. Narjoribanks and the Hon. Mr. A. T. Marakkayar.

wages given all over Ceylon estates. Apart from the fact that the wages given to pruners and factory labourers are not nearly so high as those stated by the Commission, and that pruners are given higher wages only when there is pruning possible at certain seasons of the year—pruners and factory labourers are the few, and the non-pruners and non-factory labourers are the many, and *these get only 33 cents a day*. This important fact finds no place in the Commission's Report. Can we overlook this serious omission? If we are to consider whether the pay is sufficient, we must consider not the few but the many, not what goes on only a few months of the year, but what is general all through the year.

7. **COST OF LIVING.**—Is the cost of living cheaper in Ceylon than in India? If we are to rely upon the Commissioners (v. para 39) as they have relied upon one Superintendent of "25 years experience" it is as cheap to live in Ceylon as in India, given that money bears the same value in both countries. But living is much cheaper in India than in Ceylon. So that if one had the same pay it would be better for him to live in India. Well, then, are we to base ourselves upon the statement of one Superintendent who tells us that 6 rupees a month is enough to live in Ceylon? My investigation, made not before one Superintendent (Superintendents are not able to tell of the expenses of a cooly's kitchen) but before coolies who have to buy provisions week after week from the shopkeeper, leads me to the conclusion (v. my report para 5) that a man needs not less than Rs. 8 and as. 10 a month to enjoy the bare necessities of life. *Kanganies* themselves, who are better able to speak of this matter than a Superintendent, bear out my statement. Mr. A. L. Crossman, Police Magistrate, Ratnapura, when giving evidence before a Commission appointed in 1916 by the Ceylon Government to inquire into the condition of Indian labourers in the Province of Sabaragamuwa, states that his own investigation shows that a cooly ordinarily requires a little over Rs. 4 in addition to the rice allowance which amounts to about Rs. 5—making the total more than 9 rupees a month.

8. **COOLIES TO BE FED LIKE PRISONERS!**—A curious remark is made in the report (para. 39) after the statement about Rs. 6 as the amount required for a cooly to live decently in Ceylon. Is it not strange to speak of prisoners in jail being fed on 73 rupees per head per annum i. e. Rs. 6-1-4 a month? Are coolies to be fed like prisoners? They may as well go and get fed in jail where they will not be deliberately over-worked

as they are on the estate, which we shall show later on.

9. **SHOULD THE COOLY EMIGRATE?**—It thus appears at least that the wages in India and in Ceylon are nearly the same, but as the cost of living is dearer in Ceylon than in India, it is better for the provident cooly to stay at home. But what makes it still more advantageous for him is that though the wages per day in theory is the same in both fields of labour, the emigrant can practically earn less in Ceylon than in India, as the evidence recorded by the Sabaragamuwa Commission shows. The state of affairs in one province is not very different from that in the others. This is by the way. Mr. R. N. Thaine, Government Agent,* Sabaragamuwa, in a report to the Ceylon Government on the hardships of coolies writes:—

As regards the complaint that the coolies never had enough money or wages to enable them to purchase sundries, &c., it is a fact that in the majority of cases coolies only receive as their wages at the end of the month small sums varying between 75 cents and Rs. 3.

Moreover, some opinions incidentally expressed in the present report, too, strengthen our case; such as (para. 39):—

Our impression is that while the average labourer and his family make enough to feed and clothe themselves quite as well, if not better, than in India, they ordinarily do not accumulate appreciable sums as savings.

Now then, does not the cooly leave his home because he expects something better than he can find by staying in India? If it is not so, why should the cooly emigrate at all?

10. **SLAVERY.**—There is another important fact that has to be considered immediately after the point just mentioned. It is impossible for a cooly to start life on Ceylon estates without a debt. The report very honestly admits this evil. It says (para 14):—

This sum [money advanced when recruiting] together with the amount of the emigrant's travelling expenses and food till he reaches the estate in Ceylon forms the debt with which each labourer starts life in Ceylon.

Not only does "the state of indebtedness" act "as a deterrent to thrift and industry" as the Commission says, but it soon reduces the cooly to a state of veritable slavery. The report indirectly admits this fact. For it tells us in all fairness (para. 27):

Many estates early realized that the labourers were at the mercy of the kanganies in the matter of their indebtedness.

And in another place (para. 34):—

* Corresponding to a District Collector.

The labourer thus is free to leave his employer at a month's notice, or at any time for reasonable cause. But under the *kangany* system described above, where under the labourer is a *kangany's* debtor, and the latter in his turn indebted to the estate, taken in conjunction with the conservatism of the Tamil labourer, it is not surprising that the labourer does not realise his legal position. That the *kangany* considers that he has some sort of proprietary right in the labourer and that the labourer accepts this position is abundantly clear from the manner in which the labourer is, and allows himself to be, taken from employer to employer by his *kangany* and accepts the increasing load of debt thrust on him in the process.

The report continues to give truthful testimony (para 35):—

Thus a labourer who has not the capacity or opportunity to rise to the position of a *kangany* or sub-*kangany* remains on an estate under a debt which rarely diminishes but often increases.

For the poorly paid cooly, frightfully defrauded by the *Kangany* and finding it difficult to keep soul and body together, to repay the heavy "debt" is certainly out of the question; and to resort to law to seek freedom, he is too ignorant, nor has he got the means and facilities. So some try to escape the heavy burden of debt and slavery by "bolting." The Commission readily admits that "In 1915 the number of 'bolters' from federated estates was 8,894," a fact that certainly does not speak highly of the contentment of coolies. As a result, most, if not all, die like slaves.

And yet Ceylon emigration is 'free,' not 'indentured.'

11. COOLIES ARE OVERWORKED.—The report says nothing of the *10 continuous hours of work a day*, from 6 A.M. to 4 P.M., without break. The Superintendents honestly admit this condition of affairs. The evidence recorded in the Sabaragamuwa Report too bears out this fact. Coolies in India do not work for more than 7 or 8 hours at the utmost a day, and that, not without a break of 2 hours. Important as this matter is, the Commission does not appear to have considered the question.

12. STARVATION OF COOLIES.—The law binds the estate to treat and nurse the coolies during illness. But the estates neglect them. "The first point which I would emphasize is the scandalous neglect with which the sick coolies... have been treated" are the pathetic words of the judgment in P. C. 28,196 of 1914 of Ratnapura. Mr A. P. Boon, District Judge, writes (January 1914):—

40 coolies started prostrating themselves in front of us and saying they were starving... The coolies were

obviously being starved. Many of them... were fit only for hospital. He... [Dr Pereira] too told me that from all sides he was hearing similar reports... that they were unable to resist such diseases [hook-worm] owing to being under-fed... I was also told that 4 deaths had occurred... from starvation... from what I saw I can believe it.

Dr. Lunn, Inspecting Medical Officer, refers to a number of half-starved coolies, in his report dated January 1914. The Sabaragamuwa Commission finds such allegations wholly true; not to speak of my appalling experience. I must here reiterate that the conditions are not very different comparing one province with another. Startling as this revelation of the existing state of things is, the Commission ignores the question and passes over the matter in silence.

13. JUDICIAL AND EXTRA-JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION; ACTS OF INJUSTICE AND ATROCITY.—We expected the Commission to strongly condemn the so called law which sentences to rigorous imprisonment those coolies who fail to work or who leave the estate without the permission of the Superintendants; why it even sentences those who harbour the coolies merely out of compassion. But the Commission is, unfortunately, silent upon this point.

Nevertheless, the report truly admits (para. 44):—

Most estates appear to inflict small fines for petty neglects or bad work. Such fines seem, however, to be illegal having regard to the provision of section 6 of Ordinance 13 of 1882.

Acknowledging as the Commission does, on the one hand, that the small fines imposed upon coolies are frequent, and on the other, that they are illegal, it does not, however, lay much stress upon the point, or suggest any remedies against an evil which may appear small to the master but is very hard on the cooly. If most estates are acknowledged to have committed positive acts of injustice of this kind in small matters, one may not claim that they are not immune from the propensity to commit acts of greater injustice.

The report says (para 31):—

Large increases in a labourer's account in the past were noticeable on account of the relatives who had died or absconded, the amounts of their debts being added to that of the family or sometimes, even of the gang.

Note the apologetic expression "in the past"! Probably this evil was not noticed at the time the Commission visited the estates. Hence the expression "in the past." This grave illegality not only existed "in the past," but exists even at present. A debt of this nature is certainly not recoverable in any Court of Law in Ceylon or in

India. Alas! the illiterate cooly does not understand his legal position.

The Commission states in passing (para. 44):—

Corporal punishment is recognised to be illegal and is certainly not common or usual though of course there are bad masters in the island as well as bad servants.

The Commissioners, however, do not set in relief the fact that there are atrocities of a serious nature committed on the estates from time to time. There is, at all events, need of emphasising the point if the object of the Commission is to bring help to the poor cooly from high quarters, seeing that he cannot do anything himself, while his rich and influential master can take the law into his own hands and has the means to escape the punishment of the Court.

I cite three instances from the well-known *Ceylonesse*:

(i) According to Muniyamma, an eye witness, the accused [an estate watchman] came up with a gun to the cooly line, and asked the deceased, among others, why she was not at work. The woman replied she would go to work the next day. The accused then shot her dead, and ran off, but was soon secured by some coolies and handed over to the authorities. Kaupai, Soccala Naran and Mariamma, all of them eye-witnesses, told much the same story... The jury brought in a verdict of not guilty of murder, but guilty of a rash and negligent act. His Lordship pointed out... that the act could not have been both rash and negligent and... the panel submitted... a verdict of guilty of a rash act. His Lordship... imposed a penalty of one hundred rupees. (January 30th 1917.)

(ii) A planter was convicted of having caused grievous hurt to a cooly in his employ. That was a very serious offence according to our Law. But the Magistrate who convicted the planter shocked the public conscience by fining him ten rupees and detaining him at the Bar till the rising of the Court. (February 6th, 1917.)

(iii) The accused (a planter) is reported to have said that he told the complainant the Kangany on his estate... "to go on his hands and knees." And by way of speeding the parting guest, the accused called him a "nalla madu"... The accused ordered the complainant to kneel down. If he had refused... accused is reported to have stated that "he would have killed him"... The Magistrate considered the accused 'technically guilty' of wrongful restraint, and fined him ten rupees. (April 25th, 1917.)

• May cases of such revolting natures be passed over in silence?

The report tells us (para 41):—

An employer has no power of arrest in respect to a servant who absconds or rather offends.

But the estates employ watchmen and supply them with arms to prevent coolies from leaving the estate. Nay more, the estates advertise offering rewards for the arrest of "bolted" coolies, and males and females are arrested without Court warrants by private individuals.

Instances like these are not to be quietly ignored by an impartial Commission, but rather to be commented upon.

The Commission remarks with reference to the year 1915 (para 43):—

The total number of cases against labourers (44,09) and against employers (26) is very small in comparison with the size of the labour force (about 400,000 workers) and the number of employers (over 2,000).

If the Commission had considered the question whether coolies enjoy sufficient facility for proceeding to Court to lodge complaints, it would not have come to such a satisfactory conclusion.

14. 'HARDSHIPS AT MANDAPAM.—The report says nothing of the complaint in the Quarantine Camp at Mandapam—whether the coolies are well-fed, properly housed or not. The Commissioners, instead of investigating and reporting on the complaints, give us (para 20) a bare description of the official version.

15. SOME CONTRAST.—A remarkable contrast with the grave omissions is the space given (para. 4 to 12) to the strength and distribution of the labour force and its sufficiency to meet the demand; as if the poor slaves could take advantage of the competition for labour. Three pages are devoted to it out of 22 pages, not counting the statistics. Again one page is allotted (para. 55) to the description of the hook-worm disease besides an extract of 3 pages (pp 76 to 78) in the appendix. Had Lord Pentland's Government wanted information of this nature it would have easily got it from one of the Doctors in Madras. It surely has not sent out Commissioners to get information available in Madras.

It is to be concluded, from a consideration of the foregoing remarks, that the Commissioners have taken a hasty view of things in Ceylon and that a more mature judgment would have altered greatly not a small number of their statements; or is this report to be taken in the light of an apology for the planting interest as opposed to labour interest?

MISTAKEN IN PORTRAYING FACTS.

16. FEDERATION. The report says (para 28):—"Only some 75 per cent of the estates in Ceylon joined this Federation"; whereas up to April 1915 only 853 estates had joined it—it must be, I reckon, about 42 per cent. Since 1915, the number must be on the decrease. For it worked so badly that it has of late been abolished.

The report states (para 31):—"The debts of deceased labourers are now written off by all federated estates." This is by no means a matter of course. Compare the rule of the Federation, which I quote:—

"Rule 28. On the certified death of any registered cooly (not Kangany) his or her individual

debt not exceeding Rs. 50/- shall be written off against the Estate and the remainder of the debt shall be debited to the *Kangany* or written off at the discretion of the Agents or Proprietors on the recommendation of the Superintendent."

Needless to say that seldom is a recommendation of this nature made or accepted. It is rarely that a cooly owes the estate anything less than Rs. 75, and the balance which the *Kangany* has to meet is without exception recovered from the cooly's family.

Do not the above statements of the Commission disclose some lack of seriousness in the writing?

17. ISLAND FREE FROM FOUL DISEASES.—The report says (para 62):—

Cases of palgue, cholera and small-pox are rare amongst the estate population. In fact, these diseases are not prevalent in the island.

But if it is true that "these diseases are not prevalent in the island" how could the Chairman, at the meeting of the Colombo Municipal Council on the 25th May last, announce 169 cases of plague in the year as compared to 69 in 1916 and to 33 in 1915?

18. HOUSING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS.—The report says (para. 45) that housing and sanitary conditions are quite satisfactory. My experience is that it is not so. Ventilation has not been specially cared for. More than four persons occupy a room of 12 feet by 10 feet. Dr. Lunn, Inspecting Medical Officer in the Civil Department, refers in his report to the insanitary state of certain lines he visited. The Sabaragamuwa Commission says that it visited a large number of estates in the Ratnapura District and "many did not come up to the standard of sanitation." Dr. T. S. Nair, Assistant District Medical Officer, when giving evidence before the same Commission says the coolies "are kept too over crowded." "Look at this picture and on that!"

19. GIFTS AFTER CHILDBIRTH.—The law requires the estate to bear all expenses during the month after confinement. The report, therefore, says (para. 57):—"The general practice is to give the mother Rs. 2, and half a bushel of rice." In my investigation, however, I found that this Rs. 2 is debited to her account; and the Sabaragamuwa Report corroborates this fact. It says:—

The practice of debiting the woman or her husband with the cash advance given to her after confinement, appears to us to be contrary to the Law.

20. GIFTS TO CHILDREN.—The law also urges on the estate to see that children under the age of one year receive proper care and nourishment. So the report says (para. 57):—

Some estates give all non-working (i.e., non-earning) children one meal a day free at four in the afternoon.

Another estates children not yet of an age to do any work are mustered once a month and each mother is given 1/8 bushel of rice. On some estates, a mother is given a bonus (Rs. 5 or more) if her child lives to be one year old.

When speaking of "some estates," "other estates" and again "some estates" in the above quotation, it is not very clear whether the Commissioners mean to give an account of all the estates or a few. I do not think even a few estates do what the Commission says. I did not hear of any of these facts during my investigation. Nor is there any record of any of them in the Sabaragamuwa Report. Is this the practice? Or is it a regulation that remains a dead letter?

21. STATISTICS MISLEADING.—The Commission says (para. 6):—

A large proportion (about 40 per cent) of the labourers going to Ceylon through the Labour Commission, during the last few years is composed of persons who have been in the island before.

Now what would be the reader's impression after his perusal of this statement? He would be tempted to smile at those speaking of the ill-treatment of the coolies. For how could the coolies think of returning if they were ill-treated? What is the fact? Do they return willingly? This is what we should consider. Circumstances force them to return. They place a substantial security before leaving, without which they cannot go from the estate. Mr. A. L. Crossman, when giving evidence before the Sabaragamuwa Commission says:—

In the case of Tamils, when one is allowed to go some one else of the family is detained. I remember one case 28,705 in which Mr. Berry, of Delwella, stated with regard to a small gang, consisting of a husband, wife, and two children, that he would not allow all the gang to go to India together.

When a man goes back to India, leaving a wife and children behind, is it surprising that he returns? Can we conclude that he is drawn back to Ceylon by love of the estate and the *Kangany*? From the statement quoted above, made by the Commission Report, it will appear that the Commissioners have been misled into the insinuation that the labourer returns to Ceylon because he loves to do so. And the reader is apt to conclude the same, whereas the labourer returns because he is morally compelled.

22. REPATRIATION.

Some labourers, no doubt, return to India permanently after finding the condition unsuitable.

So says the Commission (para. 6). But can those who are said to find the conditions unsuitable return to India permanently? Compare that remark with what the report says by the way (para 65) and see whether it is easy for the cooly to return to India.—

The debt which practically every labourer owes his kangany or his estate prevents him leaving except for short visits to India with the leave of his employer or except by 'bolting.'

Now, not some, as the Commission says, but the vast majority of the coolies find the condition unsuitable, as the unscrupulous *Kangany* recruits them only under false pretences. Can they all or even some of them return to settle down in India? It is impossible, except in very rare cases, as they cannot repay their debts to the estate. Quite recently, as late as February 28th last, "Devadass" bore testimony, not without proofs, in the columns of the popular "*Hindu*," how a mechanic was enticed away to Ceylon and forced to do cooly work; how and with what difficulty he managed to get home after his relatives in India had paid Rs. 50-12-0 to the Labour Commission at Trichinopoly for his passage. Again, all the coolies examined by the Sabaragamuwa Commission complained that the conditions are absolutely different from what they expected them to be and begged the Commission to send them home. The writers of the report are not cognisant of this.

The Commission reports (para 65):—

Labourers who break down in health and become unfit for work on the estate are usually sent back to India at the expense of the estate, but there is no law on the subject and no special organization to control the matter.

Note the benevolent tone "are usually sent back"! When the planters do not do what they should do according to law, (see paras. 12, 19 and 20 of the present article) is it at all likely that they practise philanthropy when there is no law or special organisation to control the matter?

Mr. Fritz Kunz, Principal of Ananda College, Colombo, in the course of a heart-rending description of "A victim to our labour system" tells us (see *Ceylonese*, February 4, 1917):—

'On account of his frequent illness he was asked by the Kangany to leave the estate. It should be noted that he was not regarded as a chattel, because he owed the estate nothing. He left the estate a sick man and the possessor of 25 cents in Ceylon money. . . . What state is Kangany in, when sick men can be cast out like dogs when their usefulness is at an end, and turned away from the natural asylum of the sick?'

23. SEX RATIO.—The percentage of men and women among the arrivals for 61 years is 73.45 and 16.75 respectively (and children 9.80)—a fact which the Commission tries to explain away. It argues (para. 6):—

Comparing this with the proportion of males and females among the Tamil labour force in 1911 (234,594 males and 205,708 females) it is evident that a low proportion of women among each year's immigrants does not necessarily mean a low proportion of women in the resident immigrant population.

If the proportion was somewhat fair in 1911 does it necessarily mean that it will be so in the following years as well, especially, too, when the percentage of women in the subsequent years is very poor.

The Commission observes (para. 6):—

The men return after a time and go back again with their women-folk in many cases thus getting counted twice over.

But compare this with what the same Commission says (para. 65):—

Leave from the employer [to go to India] can be readily obtained by those who have settled down to family life on the estate, but probably not easily by others. How then can the unmarried men return to India and get back to Ceylon with their women-folk "thus getting counted twice over,"?

Again do men alone return and go back "getting counted twice over"? If we compare the percentage of women who arrive in Ceylon to that of women who depart from the island, we find the latter to be greater than the former. Comparatively a greater percentage of women depart than arrive: So, whereas 30,000 men and 5,000 women arrived in 1900 in Ceylon, 10,000 men and 2,500 women departed in 1901. So, if a certain number of men is counted twice over, a comparatively larger number of women is also counted twice over. Why overlook the latter fact which is obviously more conspicuous, and observe only the former which is comparatively less remarkable?

"The women more often settle in their new homes and their daughters grow up, marry and settle there too. Thus in course of time the inequality in numbers between the sexes tends to disappear" pleads the Commission (para. 6). That the inequality has not disappeared in the course of 61 years has also not struck them nor the fact that the percentage of women arriving every year continues to be very low. The Commission do not discuss the present proportion of the sexes in the manner of the critical historian.

. . . The sexes are fairly evenly matched in the Tamil labour population.'

declare the Commissioners (para 68). According to the census of 1911, the Commission says "there were 239,111 males and 209,038 females." Even if we accept this to be quite correct for our special purpose, every seventh or eighth man has no wife. Can we then say that "the sexes are fairly evenly matched"? In face of the fact that the proportion of women in the world is greater than that of men it is very significant and regrettable that on the Ceylon

estates the proportion of men to women is roughly 7 to 6—a very large and unsatisfactory proportion, indeed—the significance of which the Commissioners rather underrate. The Commission reports (para. 68):—

Excepting new arrivals, the labourers live in families on the estate and there are no undesirable features due to a lack of women.

But what about the “new arrivals” above ordinary human weakness? Had the Commissioners used more discretion, they would not have committed themselves to such discordant and dangerously broad statements.

24 TO SUM UP THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION:—The notes of evidence required to clench statements are conspicuous by their absence. General conclusions may be arrived at only by the examination of a fairly good proportion of particulars; but the Commission has visited only a few estates. Important as the system itself of recruiting is, it does not tell us whether it is an evil or not, in its method of working. It sets down rates of wages which on verification prove to be incorrect. Easy as it is to find out the cost of living, the Commissioners, however, have underestimated it. Does the cooly gain by going to Ceylon from India? This question is unanswered. Again we are not told whether the emigrant retains his liberty or becomes a slave. One might think after reading the report that he is not over-worked, whereas facts point quite the other way. The Commissioners speak of the law that the cooly must be fed during his illness, and are silent regarding its frequent infringement with immunity. The law in Ceylon is extremely hard on the cooly and benevolent towards the master, and yet the Commission maintains silence on the subject. Many are the hardships of the Quarantine Camp; they are not dwelt upon nor referred to. Relevant points are skipped over, and irrelevant points such as the supply of coolies meeting the demand are dilated upon, the debts of deceased labourers are not entirely written off by federated estates. The Federation has, unfortunately, been abolished since. Rare though plague is supposed to be in the report under review there were, according to the Municipal Chairman's statement, 169 victims to it in 1917. Its notion of sanitation must be narrow, if a house 12 feet by 10 feet for four coolies with their children, is considered a satisfactory condition. Whatever it may say of gifts to women after childbirth and to children there is no evidence that they are given to children and that the practice as regards women is contrary to law. The

statistics are presented to us in such a manner that one is apt to conclude that the cooly returns to Ceylon after his visit to India because he likes to return, which impression the Commission itself creates, whereas a close study of the facts leads us to quite a different inference. Again it magnifies the suitableness of the condition to the cooly, and minimises the difficulty of his being repatriated. The fact is, few, if any, return, it being next to impossible for the cooly to get back to India when once he has bound himself over to the *Kangany* and the estate. It does not blush to say that the proportion of the sexes—which is a very important question—is “fairly evenly matched,” when a scrutiny of the figures reveals to us the alarming truth that there are only 39 women to every 61 men! Can I not, therefore, be excused for calling it “A White-Washing Commission.”

Now to turn to the good side, little though it be, of the report, the Commission is very liberal in exposing the unscrupulous *Kangany* and his worse methods. Another praiseworthy feature is that it refers to the “suicidal policy of issuing *sundu*”—(a kind of leaving-certificate, mentioning the debt on payment of which he will be released from that jail-estate) which is the cause of the chronic debt of the cooly.

25. CONCLUSION.—I have dealt with a number of the flaws in the report, though not with all nor in complete detail. Even those I have indicated shows, I am afraid, that Mr. Marjoribanks, who may be supposed to have written the report, has, however unintentionally, used the white-washing brush freely, and the Honourable Khan Bahadur has, with energy, seconded his innocent efforts. The report, indeed, is meagre and not very creditable.

The public, we may conclude, was right when it anticipated from the men chosen to be Commissioners that the burden of work committed to them was above their strength. Nor has it been disappointed. Who is to blame? The Commissioners are to blame if they accepted a task to which they felt themselves unequal. The selection of gentlemen was not a happy one. Had the Government chosen more qualified men we should now be in possession of more historical facts; the sufferings of the coolies would have been made public, and called for redress from the British Government which is chivalrously striving to right wrongs.

VIRAKAMPARAYA CHARITA

BY

PROF. T. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR M.A.

THIS is a Sanskrit poem in 8 cantos on the conquest of Madhura (Madura), by a lady, Gangadevi, poetess at the Court of *Kampanna*, son of Bukka I. of Vijayanagara Dynasty, and General of Bukka's forces and conqueror of Conjeevaram and Madura, during the years 1361-1372, A. D. The inroads of the well-known Malik-Kafur having reduced the South of the Madras Presidency into subjection to Mahomedan rule about 1310 A. D, it was reserved to this able Hindu General to wrest the south from that cruel devastation, and restore peace and order in the land. This poem* is a beautiful gem of composition by a gifted lady, who describes herself (vii.39) as a beloved queen of Kampanna, and deserves recognition as an historic poem of great value, describing an important conquest of the early Vijayanagar period. The fact of the conquest is historical, as borne out by various existing inscriptions, and there is further, confirmation of Kampanna's religious sympathies which took the usual form of temple grants and restorations, Chidambaram, Srirangam, and Madura, seats of famous temples even now, sharing in this welcome munificence. Though we miss in the poem the distinct characterisations or rich local colourings which a genius like Kalidasa might have imparted, we none the less feel charmed by the superior elegance of the diction, and the naturalness and utter absence of forcedness in the descriptions. We are unmistakeably reminded of the greatest of Sanskrit poet, Kalidasa, by happy touches of thought and expression in several places, and the stanzas of the 8th canto, wherein Kampanna hears from a Divine Nymph a heart-rending description of the desolateness which the Mussalmān inroads had effected in the country will bear comparison with the similar imaginative picture drawn by Kalidasa in the *Raghuvamśa*, of the state of Ayodhya before Kusa re-occupied it. The two learned pandits of Trivandram named at the bottom

deserve to be congratulated on the happy discovery of this elegant poem, which though not so important for Indian History as the recently discovered *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya, is yet a work of historical importance, besides furnishing a welcome piece of evidence as to the attainments of ladies in the brilliant Vijayanagar period. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M. A., the Archaeologist of Travancore, has furnished a learned introduction in English, on the contents of the poem, and the fresh data furnished by it for the history of Vijayanagar. We discover in the poem, the names of a few Sanskrit poets hitherto unknown to fame, namely, *Tikkayya*, *Agastya*, *Gangadhara*, and *Visvanatha*, who must have flourished in the Telugu country, in times recent to the authoress. The poem is well-printed in Devanagari, and is well-worth study by all Sanskritists and is further fit for prescription as a Sanskrit text-book by the University. There are *Lacunæ* in the text, especially towards the end, as the whole has been reproduced from a single imperfect manuscript, but what has been discovered of the poem is fairly sufficient to enable us to entertain a very high opinion of the talents of the gifted authoress.

STANZAS

BY

MR. M. N. CHATTERJI.

Softly, softly, shine,
Mild star of eve!
One pleasure let be mine
A sigh to heave!

Brightly, brightly, bloom,
Ye fragrant Rose,
Till in my heart a room
For longing grows.

Sweetly, sweetly, sing,
Gay bird of night!
Ah! let the spirit's wing
Once flutter light.

Gently, gently, blow,
Ye vernal breeze!
One moment's thrill and glow,
And may cease!

Sigh, longing, dream and thrill
Ah, who can give?
With them companion'd still
My heart may live!

* "Madhura Vijaya or Virakamparaya Charita" by Ganga Devi, Edited by Pundits G. Harihara Sastri, and V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛite-Visavada, The Sridhara Press, Trivandrum.

India and the Mesopotamian Commission

There are two articles, appearing in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* criticising the recent military policy of the Government of India and exposing the defects of the head-quarters organisation of the Indian Army. The primary charge is that the era of economy before the war when military estimates were ruthlessly cut down led to a disastrous effect on the Army, it being inadequately equipped, not only for an overseas expedition, but even for frontier requirements; and a second important charge is that owing to the abolition of the late Military Department and the assumption by the Commander-in-Chief of the duties of the Army member, the existing organisation is over-centralised at its head and cumbrous in its duality below. The military hand-to-mouth policy of the Government of India from 1909, adopted not owing to financial exigencies but for a settled purpose, led to serious deterioration in the arms and equipment of the army, and depletion in its reserves as early as 1912; and the Nicholson Committee recommended the maintenance of a fighting army of 7½ Divisions, which is considerably less than the strength considered necessary by Lord Kitchener. The second charge, *viz.*, that the military organisation at the top is overcentralised, is, in the writers opinion, an erroneous one and the fault lies in the organisation and office-procedure of the Army Department.

The second article says that a railway from the sea to supply the Bagdad advance would have made all the difference in the world, and that then the retreat would have lost all its tenors. And had this railway been sanctioned even as late as August, 1915, when the responsible general at the front asked for it, the Bagdad advance might have succeeded. And after a loss of three months during which the stream trickled slowly through the involutions of the labyrinth-like system in which the Government of India and the Indian

Army Head-quarters are involved, the railway so surely needed was definitely refused. The system of microscopic financial control exercised over the details of military expenditure by the Finance Member and the Finance Secretary, has prevented the Commander-in-Chief and the Army Council at a time of war, from being masters within their own house. The Indian war machine was starved, because the financial talent of the Government of India has been organised to check rather than serve the war administration. The whole system must be run on sound business lines and then alone such huge mistakes would be easier to avoid.

Parliamentary Institutions for India.

The Editor of the *Review of Reviews*, writing on "Parliamentary Institutions for India," in the September number observes:—

"The greatest problem that we have to solve in India is to convert the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils into National and Provincial Parliaments. At present they are little more than debating societies, in which British officials, with their nominees and other allies predominate. We have to make them Legislatures that will shape Indian policy and control British and Indian Officials—Legislatures composed largely to Indians and responsible to Indians . . ."

In the course of a note on "Indian Reforms," Miss Stead condemns, as weak the political programme recently suggested by Lord Islington. She writes that "he (Lord Islington) would leave national affairs, including national finances, tariffs, customs, railways, and other means of communications, entirely out of Indian control, pretty much as they are at present." She adds that:

"The statement made by the Rt. Hon. E. S. Montagu in the House of Commons on August 20th just before Parliament adjourned, is somewhat of a disappointment. It implies that he has had to subordinate his own opinion to those of his colleagues in the Ministry."

A Chapter in Balkan Diplomacy

Mr. S. P. Duggan in his second instalment about Balkan Diplomacy, which he contributes to the current number of the *Political Science Quarterly*, accounts for the little measure of success which the *Entente* Allies have had in their negotiations with Rumania and Greece which at the beginning of the war favoured their cause. The Rumanians disliked the Central Powers whose success would make permanent the degradation of their brethren in Hungary. The *Entente* Allies, however, only gave vague promises of assisting the Rumanians to attain their national aspirations and urged throughout the whole of 1914 to give concessions to Bulgaria. While the Central Powers distinctly promised Rumania aid in her attempt to take Bessarabia and more than that, during the whole of 1915 and 1916. The great Rumanian landowners had been acquiring much wealth by the sale of their food products at high prices to the Central Powers. And to declare war upon the latter, would be to lose the only market for Rumanian meat, grain and petroleum and the only source of supply of munitions and manufactures. Even as late as April 1916, Rumania had apparently decided to remain permanently neutral. The entry of Rumania into the war in August 1916 was, in its nature, a God-send to the Central Powers, whose military prestige, which had been much dimmed during the spring and summer of 1916, was restored by their rapid successes in Rumania. And to Belgium, Serbia and Poland, another great territory had been added for purposes of barter when peace should come to be made. 'Rumanian intervention was a diplomatic triumph for the *Entente* Allies. For Rumania it was a national disaster.'

Greece at the beginning of the war was in favour of the *Entente* Allies. Venizelos believed that the future of Greece was upon the sea and was openly friendly towards France and England. King Constantine was personally pro German: at

the beginning of the war, but there was nothing in his action or speeches at first to show that he intended to oppose popular wishes. He viewed Russia with distrust and shared the antagonism maintained by his countrymen towards Italy. The Central Powers had little to offer Greece in return for a promise of neutrality, but that little was definite and never diminished. Their success in securing Turkey's entrance into the war in October 1914, decreased their influence at Athens, since Greece could no longer profit at the expense of Turkey or Albania. The *Entente* Allies on the other hand, held out the promise of Greek expansion in Asia Minor; but urged Greece to agree to her own amputation in order to placate Bulgaria. Greece was to receive the Vilayet of Smyrna in return for her help in the Dardanelles Campaign; but the king refused to assent to intervention for various reasons (March 1915.) And throughout this year, the *Entente* Allies were trying to force Greece to exchange a safe neutrality for risks that might be fatal. And to-day Greece is divided against itself. "As a result of the diplomacy of the Central Powers, Turkey and Bulgaria to-day are firmly rivetted to them. As a result of the diplomacy of the *Entente* Allies, Rumania has suffered national disaster, and Greece has become hostile. To every well-wisher of the Allies in the stupendous conflict in which most of the European states are engaged, this lamentable failure is indeed distressing."

The Chinese Republic Versus German Kultur

The *Philippine Review*, (*Revista Filipina*) for June 1917, which stands for the promotion of sound relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States, and for a cultural union between the former and all other English and Spanish speaking countries, contains an article from the pen of a Chinese scholar of the University of Chicago about the motives which underlay the Chinese participation in the present war. Various ingenious arguments have been launched

forth to account for the entry of China into the war. The depletion of the Chinese treasury, her vexation in view of her inability to back her protest against the Japanese violation of her neutrality in the Anglo-Japanese siege of Tsingtau, and in view of the propaganda, recently instituted in the United States, for an "American-money and Japanese brain" economic policy in China, are among the reasons put forward which have induced the Chinese republic to participate in the war. Equally fallacious is the argument that in declaring war, China is stealing a march over the Japanese malevolent designs, and the Sino-American outlook was never so bright as it is lately.

It is highly problematical if China can get any economic advantage by this rupture with Germany; and she cannot certainly better her trading relations with England, by identifying herself with the Allies. In the coming Peace Conference the question of the ultimate disposition of Kiao-chao will be settled; and China would wish to have her delegates in the Conference. The German resumption of the ruthless submarine warfare, her infringements on neutral rights by the demarcation of war zones, and the appeal of President Wilson for Chinese support in his protests afforded China a valid legal excuse for declaring war. *

It is still hypothetical if China will pursue her course to such an extent as actively to join the *Entente*. She can contribute an inexhaustible supply of labour, and has already sent a hundred thousand labourers to take up work in the farms, munition-plants etc., in France and Great Britain and she can release many millions more to go to the front and fight for the Allies. And she can certainly help Great Britain to restore order in her eastern possessions. China's participation in the world-war is no substantiation of the truth of the 'Yellow Peril' prophecy: and she stands for peace, justice and freedom of the seas. *

Social Life in the Puranic Age

Writing in the September number of the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. J. C. Banerjee, as a result of his examination of the *Skanda*, *Brihan-naradiya Bhagavata* and *Vishnu Puranas*, explains some aspects of social life in the age of the Puranas. They describe a state of society in which the Aryan religion was popularised by tales and legends intended to impart religious instruction to the masses, when Buddhism had passed its prime and was already on the wane. They assign a low place to human reason as an instrument of knowledge, and betray without exception, a deep-rooted aversion to freedom of thought, and love to dwell on miracles, portends, prodigies and astrological predictions. We meet often with outbursts of indignation against the *Hetubadis* or rationalists, who are invariably stigmatised as Pashandas, under which name Buddhists and Jains were denominated. One indisputable sign of the degeneracy of the Kali age is said to be in the prevalence of rationalistic doctrines. The Buddhist creed is characterised as purely experimental and hedonistic; and he who displays subtlety in reasoning and abjures Vedic rites is a Pashanda. No differentiation was made between merely mechanical and customary rules on the one hand and moral laws on the other. The best minds, however, in this Puranic Age, without ignoring the place of law as a mental discipline, lay emphasis on inner spiritual development. But these higher flights are exceptional, and the general atmosphere is one of degrading superstitions, puerile ceremonies, and miraculous inventions in which the imagination is let loose to revel in the most fantastic conceptions. Idolatry had taken firm root, and was supported by the most grotesque theological fancies and fables; and the Gods delighted in practising deceit and giving unbridled license to their immoral propensities.

The Internal Problem in Germany

The *Round Table* for September 1917 devotes a lengthy article towards an analysis of the real political and constitutional condition of Germany, and towards determining the attitude of the Germans themselves towards their government, as well as for knowing what changes in it are possible and necessary for the future security of Europe. The Germans feel and rightly feel that the real existence of their nation depends on the strength and continuity of the government that has been established at Berlin. Germany is and will remain Prussian, and even the strongest party of opposition, the social democrats, are in their spirit as Prussian as any Berlin bureaucrat. Germany, therefore, is a Prussianised one, a continuation of the old Prussian State, enlarged and in some ways modified, but remaining Prussian in its essence.

Going into the *ethos* and the character of the Prussian State, it is wrong to say that it is military feudal, mediæval and reactionary, and it is but just to regard its government as the ordering, arranging and systematising of a highly educated bureaucracy which assimilates and uses for the public purposes all the products of modern science; and its government is one by applied intellect. If we should turn our attention to the internal administration of Prussia, the catalogue of its legislative and administrative work becomes indeed an impressive one, and in every case, this work may well claim the title of Liberal—though perhaps in the continental rather than in the English sense. German liberalism is indeed in many ways anti-democratic, and is entirely without sympathy for the sentimental side of democracy which has recently become so prominent, with but little regard for the personal liberty of the individual. The co-operation of government and the Reichstag has also been very great, and it satisfies the nation.

The Prussian monarchy has very little to do with the internal government of the country, the

management of the departments and legislation. It is not a true mediæval monarchy such as that of England, which has been intertwined for centuries with the changing life of the nation; but it is based on the fantastic doctrine of the king as the representative on earth of the Deity, 'the king by the grace of God—the doctrine of Le Maitre, Bonald and Charles X—and the deliberate creation of intellectuals who are striving to combat the forces of liberalism, democracy and revolution. This doctrine of monarchy, without historical foundation and antagonistic to all modern thought has been carried on from the old Germany to the new; and it will put obedience to the king above patriotism to the Fatherland.

The secret of German constitutional history during the last forty years has been that every effort of the Reichstag to control the foreign policy and the army has been checked and thwarted for fear that it might extend its power over what is regarded as the proper domain of the Emperor. Foreign policy has been used as an excuse for making the army necessary, and the army has been regarded as the prime and central pivot of the State; because then alone it would be possible to place the Emperor—king above all else in the State as the God-appointed man, in whose hand was the sword, the sole defence and bulwark of the country. The foreign danger had to be kept alive in order that the army might be still maintained; and with the army the whole social structure of which it is the basis, and the Emperor the centre. There is only one solution; the Reichstag must definitely claim to secure and exercise its control over the foreign policy of the State and the army. And then alone the principle of autocracy in military and foreign affairs would be over. If the military power of the Emperor is overthrown, and foreign affairs are managed by Parliament and the Government, then the whole thing would have been solved; and then Germany would be weak indeed for aggression and violence, but strong as ever for defence.

The Mahayanist View of Buddhism

The later development of the Buddhist faith which is best known as the Mahayana or Great Vehicle penetrated all the eastern countries up to Siberia and Japan; and its literature is still buried to a great extent in Tibet, China and Japan. A writer, describes the essence of the Mahayanist faith in the current number of the *Buddhist Review*. He says that the Mahayanist will start from the moment in the life of the historic Buddha when he became determined to deliver his message to the world at large; and according to the general Mahayanist doctrine, the Buddha is not a mere historical person, but rather the embodiment of the supreme reality of the universe. The so-called Jewel Trinity of Buddhism, the Buddha, Law or Truth and the Congregation, was nothing but an expansion of himself, the enlargement of his own compassionate nature. The Buddha-Jewel occupies the central position, and combines all the three into one whole. The early Buddhist metaphysicians who maintained that he was not a dead personality but was a living force were the true originators which, in its full development, wrought out a complete scheme of metaphysical speculation on the Buddha, as (1) a perfectly wise-man, and (2) as a perfectly good being full of compassion. With the disappearance of the master, his teaching did not also disappear.

"The Buddha said to his disciple Ananda on his death bed: 'The law and discipline which has been taught, O Ananda, will be for your teacher after my decease!' Besides, there are passages in the canon where the Master said, 'He who seeth the law, seeth me.' Here is the identification of the teacher with the teaching, of the Buddha with the Dhamma. Here is the foundation on which was built up the Mahayanic conception of Dhamma-kaya, the embodiment of the Buddha in Dhamma. Now, Dhamma may either mean

the natural order of things or philosophical speculation, or the ideal conduct of human life. Thus we have briefly indicated how the Buddha came to be regarded by the Mahayanists as something denoting the ultimate point or farthest limit of metaphysical speculation, and the highest standard of ideal conduct, an unselfish life lived for the welfare of the universe. Thus we see further how the Buddha was looked upon as the embodiment of the supreme reality on one side, and of compassion on the other."

Aurangzib and the Mahrattas.

Mr. F. D. Murad of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, writing to the September number of the *Educational Review*, freely rendering into English from the Urdu brochure of Maulvi Shibli, tries to meet the charge that Aurangzib, by becoming hostile to the Mahrattas shattered the Moghul Empire. His animosity, with the Mahrattas is subdivided into several headings as follows; each of which incriminates him more or less and each of which is answered, though not fully satisfactorily as regards some in the present paper.

(1) The rebellion of the Mahrattas was caused by Aurangzib himself.

(2) When Sivaji came over to the court of Aurangzib the latter maltreated him in such a way as to drive him to revolt. On the other hand had he been treated properly, he would have owned Aurangzib as his lord.

(3) Aurangzib had called Sivaji with a promise of amnesty, but not true to his word, Aurangzib kept him as a State prisoner.

(4) Aurangzib did not behave properly towards the descendants of Sivaji.

(5) Having driven the Mahrattas to rebellion, Aurangzib could not reduce them to subjection. Now it is alleged that since the Mahrattas are a prime factor in the downfall of the Moghul Empire in India, Aurangzib ought to be held as the real cause of the overthrow of the Moghul dominion in India.

He criticises minutely the charges brought against Aurangzib, mainly by European historians, that he disgraced Sivaji when the latter came to Delhi in 1666, and from that date alone his rash acts begin.

(1) Was the reception accorded to Sivaji meant to disgrace him?

(2) Was he imprisoned?

(3) Had Sivaji been treated better, would he have submitted for ever?

(4) Who is the more reliable authority on this point—European or Muhammadan historians?

Great Men and Greatness

The *Fortnightly Review* for September, 1917, gives us the views of Viscount Bryce as to the true elements of greatness, and those qualities of head and hand that can justify the attribution to any man of the title of 'Great.' In making out a test of persons who have received the title, we are confronted with one difficulty—some persons like Alexander and Alfred are great and called by it always and everywhere. Others have received it only from their own countrymen only from some historians and perhaps only during a comparatively short period of time. And a second reflection is that many of the most illustrious men whom all the world has known as great like Pericles, Hannibal, Washington and Napoleon have not obtained the honour of having the title added to their names. There has been an element of chance in the bestowal of this epithet and other causes besides striking gifts and conspicuous achievements have come into the matter. The epithet has been given to men of action rather than to men of thought. No Shakespeare or Dante, no Bacon, Socrates or Kant, and no Newton or Leibnitz have even been granted this title. Among the men of action called great most have been rulers and conquerors. Moral excellence, nobility of soul and devotion to duty have had little to do with the bestowal of the honour.

'We moderns, judge of the title to greatness by a different standard; we set less store by monarchs; and we give less special honour to military glory than former ages did. The statesman and the warrior do their work in the sight of the world and can be judged by it; whereas the poet or philosopher may have long to wait for recognition; and a supreme scientific discovery may not be appreciated for long. The merits by which men of action rise to greatness are four—Intel-

lect, Energy, Courage and Independence. When these are united in the same person and in a quite exceptional measure, they raise him high above the crowd. The most impressive of these qualities is independence, because it is so rare. But the impression of that undefinable thing that we call greatness, depends, after all, chiefly on the impression which the power of initiative makes,—an unshakable resolution.

The New Europe

Mr. Austin Harrison, Editor of the *English Review*, in the course of an article in the August number of his journal, reviewing the position of Europe after the three years of war observes that the year 1917 has seen a very welcome spiritual transformation. He says:—

On the whole, despite the loss and sacrifice, the despair and sorrow, war, as it proves its own futility (militarily viewed), is heralding the dawn of a new conception and statement of life founded on common principles. The war has long ceased to be a question of nation *versus* nation; it has ceased to be the struggle between groups of Powers—it has grown in its epic tragedy into the affirmation of civilisation at war to perpetuate and ensure its own identity of truth and application. It is a wonderful thing. All over Europe Democracy is rising in masterful understanding of its conscience, learning to think internationally. All over Europe the last remnants of Feudalism are falling to the ground. A new Europe is awaiting us—a place that will be made by fine strong men who have fought and won to this freedom. Yet such a condition cannot be unless all Europe wins in equal proportions, and here we have the hope and meaning of the war. We can face the future, then, with a quiet confidence. What remains to do is full of hope, for assuredly it can only be accomplished through reason. And this we owe to Russia. Thus the Democracies of Europe can hail Democracy and cry: "The peoples perish that they may live."

'An Old Indian Image in Japan

Mr. W. W. Pearson, writing in a recent issue of the *Modern Review*, on his discovery of an old Indian image of the Buddha in a remote temple on the slopes of a mountain on the West Coast of Japan, says "that there was an inscrutable smile playing on its face; on its golden brow was the sign of onlightenment, that had eye of inner vision; and to its exquisite grace of form was added the magic of an arrested movement, filled with the music of the eternal spheres, and the very fingers of the hands express the joyous rhythm of motion and perfect poise.

"As I looked at it I thought of its past and wondered what marvels it had seen in its travels from the Holyland of Asia across Himalayan mountains, high tablelands of Tibet, dusty deserts of Western China till at last, after what changes of scene, it reached the shores of Japan to rest in one of the temples dedicated to the worship of the Buddha. Through the centuries it has watched and waited, accepted the worship of men of different lands, heard the vows of heroes and listened to the weeping of despair and the sighs of sorrow.

"Wrought in bronze by a Hindu devotee, carried may be by a priest who wished to take beyond the barrier of the high mountains of the North, a symbol of his country's worship, it perhaps paused in its journey in some Chinese city, thence to be carried to the shores of the island which stands at the gateway of the East.

"What message has this relic of ancient days, with the light of devotion still visible in the grace of its curves and the dawning of a hidden hope shining in its golden smile? It speaks of a great fact, a fact which has moulded the history of the past, and will mould too the history of the future. It proclaims the great truth of the living unity of Asia, a unity which depends not upon outer circumstances or the power of temporal rulers, but upon the invisible bonds of spiritual kinship."

The Education Bill of Dr. Fisher

The *School World* for September describes the essential features of Dr. Fisher's Education Bill which was introduced in the House of Commons in August last. It does not attempt to deal with University, secondary or technical education, and leaves out the establishment of a satisfactory pensions scheme for teachers outside the state-scheme of pensions. The Bill attaches great importance to physical education; and its most novel provision is that with certain exceptions, every young person, no longer under obligation to attend a public elementary school shall attend continuation schools. There are also administrative provisions, of which three call for special comment.

The following is a summary of the chief points in the Bill:—

It is proposed—first to improve the administrative organisation of education.

Secondly, to secure for every boy and girl in this country an elementary school-life, up to the age of fourteen years, which shall be unimpeded by the competing claims of industry.

Thirdly, to establish part-time, day continuation schools, which every young person in the country shall be compelled to attend unless he or she is undergoing some suitable form of alternative instruction.

Fourthly, the development of the higher forms of elementary education and the improvement of the physical condition of the children and young persons under instruction.

Fifthly, to consolidate the elementary-school grants; and

Sixthly, to make an effective survey of the whole educational provision of the country and to bring private educational institutions into closer and more convenient relation to the national system.

England and Germany—A Comparison .

Writing in the *Positivist Review* for September 1917, Mr. H. Ellis presents us with Auguste Comte's views on the respective positions hitherto occupied by Germany and England in the development of European civilisation, and those which they are destined to occupy in the future. Comte in his *Positive Philosophy* had already set forth the order in which the five great nations of Western Europe would accept what he called the positive theory of progress. After the French and the Italians, Comte said, the German population appeared to him, all things considered as the final result of its previous evolution, to be the best disposed to the Positive reorganisation. A comparison between England and Germany and a general estimate of their civilisations are given below in Comte's own words.

"In opposition with the whole of past history," he said, "I placed England below Germany; though I had allowed the superiority of the English governing classes because I attached too much weight to the all-pervading deterioration due to the national isolation. I have since come to see that Germany more justly deserves reproach on this head, for she oppresses Western nations who are more advanced than herself, whilst the dominion of England is, in the main, external to the West, and affects belated populations. Setting aside the anomaly relating to art properly so called, the comparison of the two nations in action, speculation, and poetry justifies the precedence of England, and this is supported by her superiority as an industrial society. Of all Occidentals, the Germans are the least removed from the military regime, and from the theologico-metaphysical state; so that they will be the last to reach the common goal of the modern revolution, a conclusion indicated by their inferior participation in the training given by Rome and Feudalism." . . . (p. 435) "The regenerating faith will find great obstacles to overcome in introducing the worship of the past in a people deficient in antecedents. Such a people may have the sense of *solidarity*, allowing for some exaggeration due to the natural tendency to mistake vagueness for depth. As to *continuity*, the conditions of German history make its full appreciation difficult; the German nation not tracing further back than ten centuries. Almost alien to the

Roman incorporation, and only late subjected to the training of Catholic-feudalism, Germany did not receive even the intellectual development of Greece through the normal channel, whilst its connection with the Theocracy rests only on a confused tradition of the rudimentary Theocracy of Scandinavia. In confirmation of this view we have the scanty welcome in Germany of the historical calendar, whereas in the rest of the West the institution is beginning to be popular. . . . The opposition to it is traceable mainly to the tight fetters which in Germany press on the historical intelligence and sense, in spite of the cultivation in detail of a useless erudition, and of vague conceptions on the philosophy of history."

Support is not needed for Comte's assertion half a century and more back as to the military tendencies of Germany, and the nature of her civilisation.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE MEDIUM OF EDUCATION. By Dr. Sir Rabindranath Tagore. ["The Modern Review," October, 1917.]

THE INDIAN IMPORT DUTIES. By H. F. B. ["The Asiatic Review," August, 1917.]

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE PURANIC AGE. By Jnan Chandra Banerjen, M.A., B.L. ["The Hindustan Review," September, 1917.]

MAITRI BODHISAT IN THE HINDU AND BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES. By F. L. Woodward, M.A. ["The Buddhist Review," June, 1917.]

THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE HINDUS. By K. Krishnamacharya, B.A., L.T. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," September, 1917.]

INDIAN MEMORIES. By Josephine Ransom. ["The Theosophist," October, 1917.]

THE HON. MR. PATEL'S EDUCATION BILL. By Gulabchand Devchand. ["The New Review," September, 1917.]

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. By Mr. B. Pattabhi Ramaiya. ["The Educational Review," September, 1917.]

HINDU SOCIOLOGIST IN AMERICA. ["The Hindustanee Student," April, 1917.]

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Jaina Law. By J. L. Taine. M.A., Barr-at-Law. Judge, High Court, Indore. Published by Kumara Devendra Prasad, Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

This is an important publication of the above society to meet the growing needs of the Jain community, which is stirring itself like other sections of the people of India. The author, a scholar and lawyer, and a respected member of the community, maintains the high antiquity of the Jain religion, and its independence of Hinduism in matters of law and religion. He has published the "Jaina Law of Inheritance and Partition," as laid down by Bhadrabahu, said to be a contemporary of Chandragupta. The author strongly criticises the attitude of courts and scholars that Jains are dissenters from Hinduism, and are necessarily governed by Hindu Law. The author states that Ahimsa--Dharma, the Divinity of man, and denial of God are essentially Jaina doctrines and that the Jaina law based on these fundamental principles, must be different from Hindu law. This is very unconvincing, as the principles, above set forth are by no means special to Jains, and are in fact the basic principles, of many Hindus, Sankhya, and several other Indian sects. The text published contains 117 anustub verses, and is mainly an echo of well-known Hindu Srutis. Thus the idea that religious merit is enhanced by division among brothers, that a son's son and a daughter's son are equal in theoretical merit, that the husband is the heir to the stridhanam of an issue-less woman, that an illegitimate son among regenerate classes is only entitled to maintenance, are all well-known Hindu doctrines which need not have been followed in Jaina society if it was really an independent one. If the ancient character of these texts is established to the satisfaction of scholars, it will be a value-

able book for purposes of comparison of ancient stages of Hindu Law. The rules of inheritances, partitions, and stridhanam disclose many curious points fit for such comparison with recognised Hindu Srutis, and with the *Artha Sastra* of Kautilya, but as far as we can see, they do not suggest the high antiquity of the Samhita in question. There is here printed another Jaina treatise on law, known as the *Indra-Nandi Samhita*. This is in *prakrit*, which deserves translation, and study by comparative linguists and jurists. A judgment of the author as Second Judge of the Indore-Court is published where he held that a childless Jain widow is absolute owner of her deceased husband's estate and that a will by her of such estate is valid and legal, and in which he makes full inference to texts of Jaina law. The small book is well get up by the Indian Press, Allahabad.

Boston Lectures on the New Psychology.

J. C. F. Grumbine, London. L. N. Fowler, & Co.

A scientific exposition of the New Psychology, in which the arguments in favour of a demonstrable spiritualism are very trenchantly and vigorously presented. To those who have a subconscious vein of occultism, the book will appeal strongly. Even the general reader will derive great profit from the suggestive speculations presented in the book in a most forceful and attractive style.

Star Chart. By R. J. Peacock, B. A., B. Sc., F.R.A.S., Higginbothams, Madras.

This is a very useful and handy Chart neatly turned out by Messrs. Higginbothams. Instructions for using the circular disc is also given at the back of the card. The Chart shows the principal stars visible for every hour in the year and it is specially prepared for use in India.

A Biographical Sketch of Remy Ollier. By A. F. Fokeer. The General Publishing and Stationery Company, Mauritius.

This small sketch is a tribute to the memory of the great champion of the liberty of the press in Mauritius, published on the occasion of the centenary celebration of his birth. Born six years after the conquest of Mauritius by the English, he made it his life task to champion the rights of the coloured population and to establish a *rapprochement* between them and the whites. His famous paper *La Sentinelle de Mauricie* appeared first in 1843; but during the brief period when it was in existence, it greatly distinguished itself by its fearless exposure of the partiality of Government and its vigorous assault against the barbarous criminal laws of the island. And as a liberator of his people by means of education and the propaganda of ideas, Ollier is to be compared with Booker Washington, the great Negro-Patriot of U. S. A. and Mercado, the martyred novelist of the Philippines. We commend this book to all journalists and lovers of the freedom of the press, and of political reform.

Hindu System of Hygiene and Sanitation.

Part I. Drink. By Pundit Bishagacharya.—

Ayurvedodaya Series, Secunderabad, March, 1917.

This is a quarterly publication whose object is to describe the Hindu system of hygiene and sanitation and to educate the people on laws that govern human bodies and make them lead healthy and useful lives. In the present number, the characteristics of pure water, varieties of water, its *doshas* (faults), milk and its products, and the evils of drink are portrayed. The author holds the view that *somaras* used by the ancient Aryans was more a medicinal agent than an intoxicant, though there were then also some kinds of spirituous liquors prepared from honey and treacle with the addition of other medicinal ingredients.

Mysteries of War Loans. By Sir Edward H. Holden, *Bart.* G. A. Vaidyaraman & Co., Madras. Price As. 4.

Messrs. Vaidyaraman & Co., have done well in beginning their "Wealth of India Series" with this most useful and opportune pamphlet on the puzzling problem of War finances. They could not have done better than by reprinting Sir Edward Holden's lucid presentation of the mysteries of war loans. The pamphlet is entitled "Wealth of India Series—I." Such a series on the model of the first pamphlet must be a welcome addition to the literature of Indian Economics.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

MEN, WOMEN, AND GUNS. By "Sapper." Hodder & Stoughton, London.

INTRODUCTION TO JURIDIC PSYCHOLOGY. By P. C. Bose, M.A., B.L. Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta.

THE DREAM PROBLEM. Edited and compiled by Ram Narayan, L.M.S. "Practical Medicine," Delhi.

THE COMING & THE PASSING OF ZOROASTER. By Ruby. Published by the Board of Management of the Sirdar Dastur Hoshany High School, Poona.

MORAL READERS. By M. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A. Pachaiyappa's College, Madras.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

THE MEDICAL PRACTICE IN INDIA. By M. R. Samey, M.D., D.H.H., M.R.S.I., Narayanganj, Bengal.

OUR DUTY TO INDIA AND INDIAN ILLITERATES. By Rev. J. Knowles. The C.L.S.I., Madras.

SELECTED ARTICLES ON NATIONAL EDUCATION. By Ernest Wood, Sind Publishing House, Hyderabad.

RECENT CONGRESS INCIDENTS IN BENGAL. By Jitendralal Banerjee.

GOLDEN LOTUS: A THRILLING BENGALI ROMANCE. By R. P. De. Kalighat, Calcutta.

NATIONALISM. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co., London.

ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA FOR 1916-17. Govt. Printing, Calcutta.

September 24. A largely attended Indian ladies' meeting was held at Calcutta to-day to thank the Government for releasing Mrs. Besant and her associates.

September 25. A Bombay Government Press note rescinds all orders passed under section 2 of General Clauses Act of 1897.

It is announced that H. E. Monsieur Martineau, Governor of French India, will deliver the forthcoming Convocation Address of the Madras University.

September 26. The last meeting of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council was held to-day H. E. Viceroy presiding.

European Association Meeting at Calcutta.

September 27. Violent fighting in Flanders. Korniloff revolt and the Russian situation.

September 28. Air raid over the south east coast of England. Destruction of two enemy aeroplanes.

September 29. Congress Compromise Meeting at the residence of Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose.

September 30. Heavy artillery fighting north of Ypres.

Successful Italian attacks against enemy positions. Air-raid over Kent.

October 1. Sir M. Visvesvarayya opens the Mysore Forest Conference at Bangalore.

Meeting of Indian Christians in Madras advocating the Congress League Scheme.

October 2. Mrs. Besant unveiled a portrait of Mr. Gandhi presented by Mr. G. A. Natesan to the Gokhale Hall, Madras, in honour of his 49th birthday.

October 3. Crushing defeat of the Turks in Mesopotamia.

The Russian imbroglio. Troubles in Tashkent.

October 4. Great demonstrations in Calcutta in honour of Mrs. Besant's arrival.

October 5. Meeting of the All-India Moslem League Committee at Allahabad elects Mahomed Ali to preside over the ensuing Moslem

League at Calcutta.

October 6. Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad.

Congress split made up.

October 7. Great Home Rule meeting at Allahabad in which Mrs. Besant and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Messrs. Tilak and Babu Moti Lal Ghose took part.

October 8. It is announced that Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Charles Roberts will accompany Mr. Montagu.

October 9. The Bombay Government has rescinded the order prohibiting Law Students from attending political meetings.

October 10. Gen. Sir Archibald Murray succeeds Gen. Sir Archibald Hunter in the Aldershot Command.

Death is announced of the Sultan of Egypt.

October 11. The *Bombay Chronicle* Editorials staff resigns with Mr. Horniman.

Home Rule meeting in Bombay with Mr. Bomanji presiding.

October 12. Allied advance on the Ypres ridges. Mr. Asquith's speech at Liverpool on the Allies' aims.

October 13. German advance in the gulf of Riga. Public meeting in the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.

October 14. Admiral Von Capelle's resignation. Meeting of the Punjab Muslim League re the release of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali.

October 15. The United Provinces Provincial Conference meets at Sitapur with the Hon. Pundit Gokaran Nath Misra in the chair.

Mr. Montagu's statement in the House of Commons re. Mrs. Besant's release.

October 16. Strike at the O & R Railway of workmen numbering 6,000.

October 17. King George's gracious Message to the Red Cross Society.

Strikers in the O & R Railway resumed work this morning.

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

Mr. Gandhi on Indian Railways.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—

I have now been in India for over two years and a half after my return from South Africa. Over one quarter of that time I have passed on Indian trains travelling third class by choice. I have travelled up north as far as Lahore, down south up to Tranquebar, and from Karachi to Calcutta. Having resorted to third class travelling among other reasons for the purpose of studying the conditions under which this class of passengers travel, I have naturally made as critical observations as I could. I have fairly covered the majority of railway systems during this period. Now and then I have entered into correspondence with the management of the different Railways about the defects that have come under my notice. But I think that the time has come when I should invite the Press and the Public to join in a crusade against a grievance which has too long remained unredressed though much of it is capable of redress without great difficulty.

On the 12th instant I booked at Bombay for Madras by the Mail train and paid Rs. 13-9. It (the compartment) was labelled to carry 22 passengers. These could only have seating accommodation. There were no bunks in this carriage whereon passengers could lie with any degree of safety or comfort. There were two nights to be passed in this train before reaching Madras. If, not more than 22 passengers found their way into my carriage before we reached Poona, it was because the bolder ones kept the others at bay. With the exception of two or three insistent passengers all had to find their sleep being seated all the time. After reaching Raichur the pressure became unbearable. The rush of passengers could not be staved. The fighters among us found the task almost beyond them. The guards or other railway servants came in only to push in more passengers.

A defiant Memon merchant protested against

this packing of passengers like sardines. In vain did he say that this was his fifth night on the train. The guard insulted him and referred him to the management at the terminus. There were during this night as many as 35 passengers in the carriage during the greater part of it. Some lay on the floor in the midst of dirt and some had to keep standing. A free fight was at one time avoided only by the intervention of some of the older passengers who did not want to add to the discomfort by an exhibition of temper.

On the way, passengers got for tea tannin-water with filthy sugar and a whitish looking liquid miscalled milk which gave this water a muddy appearance. I can vouch for the appearance but I cite the testimony of the passengers as to the taste.

Not during the whole of the journey was the compartment once swept or cleaned. The result was that every time you walked on the floor or rather cut your way through the passengers seated on the floor, you waded through dirt.

The closet was also not cleaned during the journey and there was no water in the water tank. Refreshments sold to the passengers were dirty-looking handed by dirtier hands, coming out of filthy receptacles and weighed in equally unattractive scales. These were previously sampled by millions of flies. I asked some of the passengers who went in for these dainties to give their opinion. Many of them used choice expressions as to the quality but were satisfied to state that they were helpless in the matter, they had to take things as they came.

On reaching the station I found that the ghariwala would not take me unless I paid the fare he wanted. I mildly protested and told him I would pay him the authorised fare. I had to turn passive resister before I could be taken. I simply told him he would have to pull me out of the ghari or call the policeman.

The return journey was performed in no better manner. The carriage was packed already and but for a friend's intervention, I would not have been able to secure even a seat. My admission was certainly beyond the authorised number. This compartment was constructed to carry 9 passengers but it had constantly 12 in it. At one place an important railway servant swore at a protestant, threatened to strike him and locked the door over the passengers whom he had with difficulty squeezed in. To this compartment there was a closet falsely so-called. It was designed as a European closet but could hardly be used as such. There was a pipe in it but no water and I say without fear of challenge that it was pestilentially dirty. The compartment itself was evil looking. Dirt was lying thick upon the wood work and I do not know that it had ever seen soap or water. The compartment had an exceptional assortment of passengers. There were three stalwart Punjabi Mahomedans, two refined Tamilians and two Mahomedan merchants who joined us later. The merchants related the bribes they had to give to procure comfort. One of the Punjabis had already travelled three nights and was weary and fatigued. But he could not stretch himself. He said he had sat the whole day at the Central Station watching passengers giving bribes to procure their tickets. Another said he had himself to pay Rs. 5 before he could get his ticket and his seat. These three men were bound for Ludhiana and had still more nights of travel in store for them.

What I have described is not exceptional but normal. I have got down at Raichur, Dhond, Sonapur, Chakradharpur, Purulia, Asansol and other junction-stations and had been at the Mosafirkhana attached to these stations. They are discreditable-looking places where there is no order, no cleanliness but utter confusion and horrible din and noise. Passengers have no benches or not enough to sit on. They squat on dirty

floors and eat dirty food. They are permitted to throw the leavings of their food and spit where they like, sit how they like and smoke everywhere. The closets attached to these places defy description. I have not the power to adequately describe them without committing a breach of the laws of decent speech. Disinfecting powder, ashes or disinfecting fluid are unknown. The army of flies buzzing about them warns you against their use. But a third class traveller is dumb and helpless. He does not want to complain even though to go to those places may be to court death. I know passengers who fast while they are travelling just in order to lessen the misery of their life in the trains. At Sonapur flies having failed wasps have come forth to warn the public and the authorities but yet to no purpose. At the Imperial Capital a certain 3rd class booking office is a Black Hole fit only to be destroyed.

Is it any wonder that plague has become endemic in India? Any other result is impossible where passengers always leave some dirt where they go and take more on leaving?

On Indian trains alone passengers smoke with impunity in all carriages irrespective of the presence of the fair sex and irrespective of the protests of non-smokers. And this notwithstanding a bye-law which prevents a passenger from smoking without the permission of his fellows in a compartment which is not allotted to smokers.

The existence of the awful war cannot be allowed to stand in the way of removal of this gigantic evil. War can be no warrant for tolerating dirt and overcrowding. One could understand an entire stoppage of passenger traffic in a crisis like this but never a continuation or accentuation insanitation and conditions that must undermine health and morality.

Compare the lot of the first class passengers with that of the third class. In the Madras case

the first class fare is over five times as much as the third class fare. Does the third class passenger get one-fifth or even one tenth of the comforts of his first class fellow? It is but simple justice to claim that some relative proportion be observed between the cost and the comfort. It is a known fact that the third class traffic pays for the ever increasing luxuries of first and second class travelling. Surely a third class passenger is entitled at least to the bare necessities of life.

In neglecting the third class passengers, opportunity of giving a splendid education to millions in orderliness, sanitation, decent composite life, and cultivation of simple and clean tastes is being lost. Instead of receiving an object lesson in these matters, third class passengers have their sense of decency and cleanliness blunted during their travelling experience.

Among the many suggestions that can be made for dealing with the evil here described, I would respectfully include this: Let the people in high places, the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Rajas, the Maharajas, the Imperial Councillors and others who generally travel in superior classes, without previous warning go through the experience now and then of third class travelling. We would then soon see a remarkable change in the conditions of the third class travelling and the uncomplaining millions will get some return for the fares they pay under the expectation of being carried from place to place with ordinary creature comforts.

M. K. Gandhi: A Sketch of His Life and his Life-Work Price 4 as.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Speeches and Writings (In the Press) Price Rs. 2. To Subscribers of the *Indian Review*, Re. 1-8.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

Babu Govinda Das on Railway Grievances.

Touching the same subject, Babu Govinda Das writes to the *Leader* :—

Mr. Gandhi's letter detailing the manifold woes of the 'dumb millions' who travel third class, should be reproduced in every paper in India and strenuous efforts made in the Imperial Legislative Council to right their wrongs. It is to be hoped that the Hon. Mr. Jinnah and others will press their points after the war. The comments of the *Statesman* on the letter, while admitting the grievances, try to palliate them by remarking that they are due to the abnormal war conditions, and are very far from the truth. These horrid conditions have existed *all along*.

Permit me to supplement Mr. Gandhi's letter by pointing out some other serious defects also, which he has not voiced :—

1. Third class passengers are not allowed on the platforms till the train has actually arrived at the station. This leads to much unnecessary confusion and jostling. There should be no gates to the platforms, and every class of passengers should have free access to them. The jostling and confusion would be altogether abolished if the cars were so arranged that they would be invariably pulled up at the spots marked out for the different classes of passengers.

2. Platforms should always be stone-flagged, whether artificial or natural. The ramming of *Kankar* on them is a sore trial to the crushed feet of the vast majority of the passengers.

3. The doors of a large number of carriages especially on the narrow gauges do not swing open *freely*—remain almost half closed. This makes quick getting in or out very exasperating.

4. Third class bogey cars should have more doors. Merely one at each end is far from enough.

5. Water tanks on the third class carriages should be very much larger, so as to allow not only for lavatory purposes but also for drinking.

6. There should be no locks to the 3rd class carriage doors. An automatic latch may be used to keep the doors closed while the carriage is in motion, unlatching itself when the car comes to a halt.

7. The abolition of the foot boards has added a risk to boarding the train in a hurry. A projecting ledge should be added to every platform, making it touch the sides of the cars. This will effectually prevent all chances of falling between the train and the platform.

8. The third class tickets should not be printed on small boards, but should be fully 4" x 4" with cloth backing and the vernacular print should be *very bold*—to allow of semi-illiterate persons in semi-darkness reading them with comfort.

9. On occasions of congestion of traffic due to fairs, the goods wagons that are used as passenger vehicles, should all undergo a preliminary scrubbing and disinfection, and should have benches

fixed to them for seating and lights and hooks in the roof for hanging bundles.

10. Every railway administration when building a bridge ignores the comfort and economic well-being of persons living on either end of it. Not even foot passengers are allowed to use it, to say nothing of pack bullocks and bullock carts. This restriction must be removed, and further it should be compulsory for every bridge to be provided with projecting side tracks to permit of free and unrestricted passing of people with headloads and pack bullocks.

11. Intermediate classes should be introduced on all those railways also where they do not exist at present.

12. Finally, a small matter might be mentioned. It is the nomenclature of the Intermediate Class. Why cannot this be called third class, and the present third class fourth? *Intermediate* is very trying to the non-English knowing passengers.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

H. E. The Viceroy on Council Debates.

In closing the recent session of the Imperial Legislative Council at Simla the Viceroy spoke as follows :—

It only remains for me to close this session and express the hope that the Hon'ble Members will carry away the desire and intention of formulating quietly and dispassionately the views which they wish to place later before Mr. Montagu and myself. This is the first occasion on which resolutions other than those of a purely non-contentious nature have been admitted for discussion at the Simla sessions. I think the discussions which have taken place have not been without value and certainly points have been argued with great force and ability; but before I formally declare the sitting closed I should like to make one or two remarks on the proceedings of the past sessions. I have been steadfastly

anxious that the tone of our debates here should give a lead to India and anyone can see that Government have been scrupulous in their endeavour to discuss even the most contentious questions with studied moderation. Still it is the class of the debate that great issues are forged and so far as is consistent with the dignity of this Council, I would not for one moment wish to see our discussions here shorn of their force and vitality. Our proceedings would be hollow and unreal if Hon'ble Members, official and non-official, were not free within the recognised limits of controversy to express in temperate language views deliberately formed and honestly held. But I would remind them that this is a matter in which there must be give and take. I look to find in India the highest standard of mutual dealing among men engaged in public affairs even though their points of view may be different and

in this connection we do all honour to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab for his generous action in our proceedings here on the 18th instant. It was the act of a strong man and an honest man and must command our admiration. I could not help feeling after hearing Sir Michael O'dwyer's remarks that his generous attitude gave to one honourable member of this Council on that occasion an opportunity of displaying equal generosity in respect of a remark publicly made with reference to him. The opportunity has not yet been taken but I am glad to hear that the hon'ble member in question proposes to withdraw that remark on an early occasion.*

Let me turn to other matters. I have observed that recent events have called forth misleading criticisms of the relations of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the one hand and towards Local Governments on the other. Since I have held the Viceroyalty my relation with the Secretary of State both with Mr. Chamberlain and with Mr. Montagu have been most cordial and both these statesmen have been uniformly anxious to work in full harmony with the Government of India and I think I may claim that my own attitude towards the heads of Local Governments has been precisely similar in this connection. Let me mention the case of Mrs. Besant. We as a Government would surely have shown little faith in the policy recently made public or in the appeal for concord and co-operation which I made in my opening speech of this session, if we had adopted any other course than that which we have followed previous to the announcement of that policy. The position was somewhat difficult. We have gladly taken the opportunity that has now offered itself for opening new chapters. The Home Member informed you on Monday that Mrs. Besant has passed her word to me that she

will co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere for Mr. Montagu's visit. I accept Mrs. Besant's word and I am sure her remarkable energies will be directed in the way she has indicated. But gentlemen where our policy has been conciliatory it must not be supposed we have altered in any degree our attitude towards the forces of disorder. The prime duty of government is to preserve order in time of war. It is a paramount duty, it is a duty which the Indian Government will not for one instant neglect. But let us look forward rather than back. *Sharo meliora* we are no longer groping in the dark; we have an objective given to us and we want the help of all to steer our course to that objective. Do not let us then be drawn aside by ephemeral incidents which have lent themselves to misconception from the great task which we all have in hand. Every individual and class will have an opportunity of putting their views before Mr. Montagu and myself and provided these are consistent with the main principles of the policy formulated by His Majesty's Government, they will receive sympathetic consideration. Let me assure those non-official members who represent European commercial interests in this Council that these important interests will of course be fully considered. Every one, I am sure, Indian and European alike recognises the historic position of British community in India and the debt which India owes to its enterprise and its energy and no scheme of reform which was sound could be based on injustice to the British or to any other community. We want all the best mind and the co-operation of all classes of the community. I will not say more on this point for does not the time itself appeal to us all whatever our race or creed or class, to co-operate in the spirit of Macaulay's lines that none was for a party then, all were for the State.

In declaring the sessions closed I bid Hon'ble Members goodbye and wish them a safe journey to their homes.

* The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has since made a statement on the subject. [Ed. I.R.]

Maharaja of Alwar on "National Education"

The Maharaja of Alwar in a recent speech at the State School said :—

While I do not minimise the importance of education being given to a higher standard in the English language, I do most emphatically maintain that for the sake of our nationality, our country and our religion, it is even more necessary for education to be given in a thorough manner in the vernacular. In order that we may understand intimately the ideas and principles of the rulers of this country and that we may be able to imbibe the best of what there is to give in Western civilisation, it is necessary to have good education imparted in the English language, but it is obvious that such education cannot reach the majority of the people of the country, to whom the vernacular must remain the national language.

Imitation, they say, is the sincerest form of flattery, but blind imitation without originality is also most certainly the nearest form of death. It is, therefore, for us to imitate the best of western sciences—whether they be political, industrial, commercial, military and so forth, but it is equally necessary, if not more so in order that we may maintain our nationality unimpaired and that our spiritual advancement may hereby not be hampered, but may be steadily maintained that our vernacular should be spread far and wide. . . .

As the avenues which open out in life in India depend to a great extent on the tests which the students have to pass in these Universities, it does not make it easy to impart education altogether independently of these institutions in smaller committees. Nor is it likely that such independent education on which the searchlight of expert knowledge has not been thrown with the same force, would prove to be the best.

Mysore Power Scheme

The Mysore Government is now able to proceed with the second stage of the Cauvery hydro-electric power scheme. Good progress has been made the dam having been raised to a height of 80 feet in the river bed and to 75 feet at the flanks. The water stored and available at present has rendered it possible to guarantee a supply of power under the first three installations as well as the power promised under the fourth installation of the Cauvery power scheme without recourse to the costly channel conservancy operations hitherto carried on in the summer months for the past eight or nine years. The storage available now is sufficient to guarantee a supply of 9,321 electrical horsepower to the Kolar Gold Mines under the first three installations and about 5,000 h.p. under the fourth installation carried out last year.

Co-operation in Cochin

The Cochin Durbar has passed the following order defining the extent to which Government servants can take part in the co-operative movement :—

"There is no objection to Government officers taking active part, though strictly in their private capacity, in the co-operative movement, so far as they can without prejudice to their legitimate duties and in their spare time. They may become members of the co-operative societies, taking shares in them and serve on committees of management of such institutions, but will not be allowed to accept any remuneration without the special sanction of Government. This order does not apply to the officers of the Co-operative Department who should not take active part in the management of any co-operative institution."

They have also recently framed rules for allowing the deposit of security amounts of Government officers in co-operative societies.

H. H. Jam Sahib of Jamnagar

The birthday of His Highness Jam Sahib of Jamnagar was recently celebrated in that State. At a Durbar His Highness announced the establishment of an Advisory Council in the State, consisting of representative members, of whom twelve were to be leaders of the cultivating class. He offered Rs. 25,000 on behalf of the State and its subjects in aid of "Our Day" Movement. His Highness announced at a banquet his intention of contributing Rs. one lakh in equipping aeroplane for service on any battle front as His Imperial Majesty may be pleased to direct, and reiterated that the resources of his State and his personal services were at the disposal of His Majesty.

Recruiting in Boria State

The last few weeks have witnessed energetic action for procuring recruits in the Boria State. The Maharaja Maharao Shree Ranjitsingji who has been on active service in France and Flanders is a member of the Provincial Recruiting Board. He and his brother, Kumar Saheb Naharsingji, are taking a keen personal interest in the work. He has already sent half a company from the State Infantry. Meetings were convened in the capital where the Kumar Saheb and other officers exhorted the people to assist in recruiting. The Maharaja Saheb has issued a manifesto giving liberal concessions to the recruits.

These terms are in addition to the Government concessions. As expected the concessions have proved quite attractive and the State was able to despatch the first batch of 32 combatants for the Royal Field Artillery and eight non-combatants for the Labour Corps on the 22nd September.

The Kashmir State

Khan Bahadur Chaudhuri Khushi Mahomed, Governor of Kashmir, has been appointed officiating Revenue Minister by the Kashmir Durbar, in place of Khan Bahadur Sheikh Maqbul Hussain, C. I. E., proceeding on leave preparatory to reversion to Government service.

Maharaja Kumar of Tikari Endowment

The Maharaja Kumar of Tikari has executed a deed of trust of his whole estate for the purpose of founding an institution for the education of Indian girls. The trustees appointed under the deed are the executant himself, Sir S. P. Sinha, the Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Sharafuddin, Dr. Sapru, Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Mr. Hasan Imam, Mr. Brij Kishore Prasad, Rai Bahadur Harihar Prasad of Dumron, Mr. Chas. Andrews and also the Maharanee Sita Devi of Tikari. The dependant members of the family and others connected with the Maharaja Kumar have been amply provided for and all the liabilities of the estate are duly secured. The endowment is the most munificent known in India since the present gross income of the estate is 13 lakhs of rupees yearly. With careful management of the estate it is hoped the institution will have an yearly income of about Rs. 1,00,000. The scheme is for a strictly *purdah* residential institution where girls will be trained and educated on the best modern principle from the tender age of 5 till 18. There will be no question of caste or creed. Sir Ali Imam is about to execute a deed of gift of 50 *bighas* of land worth Rs. 40,000 which will probably be the site for the institution.

The Pope and the Maharaja of Travancore

An interesting incident in connection with Shastipurthi celebrations at Trivandrum was the presentation of an autograph letter from the Pope to the Maharaja. The presentation was made in person by the Papal Delegate Apostolic of India and Ceylon.

Ruling Princes Conference

Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala, Nabha and Kapurthala and the Rajas of Faridkot and Bilaspore and the Nawab of Malerkotla are the six Princes who will attend the Conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs, which is to be held in Delhi from November 5th to 10th.

India and Fiji

Mr. C. F. Andrews, writing in the *Modern Review*, outlines succinctly the problems of the reform and regeneration of the Indian population by India. India having allowed the indentured system to go on for so long, the moral character of these Indian settlers in Fiji has been inevitably weakened, and they now need every help to get back to a decent standard of life. And secondly, if they were left to themselves and in consequence became more than even degraded, then the shame and disgrace would fall upon India herself, and India would be judged by the morals of these her neglected children. Since Fiji is a chief port of call for the great liners which pass to and fro from America and Australia, and has become an outlying naval base, a kind of Heligoland for Australia and New Zealand, it is at present like a great flowing advertisement saying in big letters to all who travel to and fro across the Pacific,—“This is India.” Each traveller goes home to America and Australia to spread the news about the Indians which he has learnt in Fiji.

If the fair name of India is to be saved from further disrepute, it is abundantly evident that this degradation of Indians should not be allowed to go on; and the wrong of having allowed these, the weakest of India's children to sink lower and lower, must be set right with all possible speed. Now that the indenture system has been abolished, a healthy moral atmosphere among the Indians is for the first time brought within the range of possibility; and that utterly unnatural sex proportion of four men to one woman might soon be altered. Nature herself would gradually set right the proportion of the sexes by an increase in the number of female children born over the male. Every inducement should be given to free Indians to get back to the land, and away from the slums of the city-life of Suva the capital, by giving them free conditions of land base and land purchase. Secondly the religious conditions of

Indian marriage need to be finally and fully secured and such marriage sanctions as obtain in India are to be upheld in Fiji. Thirdly a good and sound training in schools must be got within the reach of every Indian child, which will mean a decrease in crime and an increase in industry among Indians later. Lastly the Indians must be given full franchise as householders, and they must have an adequate share in the Government of the Colony.

Indians in South Africa

We understand that the abnormal rise in the price of foodstuffs in South Africa is causing serious hardship to our countrymen. We learn from the latest issue of *Indian Opinion* that at a recent mass meeting of Indian working men held in the Royal Picture Palace, the following resolution was unanimously carried:—

“That this mass meeting of Indian working men views with alarm the prohibitive rise in the price of foodstuffs and especially those which are commonly consumed by Indians and which have to be imported from India, and although willing to endure any necessary sacrifice for the sake of the empire, respectfully begs to intimate to the Government that unless something is done to control the prices, many Indians will shortly be reduced to starvation. That this meeting of Indians requests the Government to take over the stock of rice, dholl, ghee and oil and fix retail prices to the public.”

The Rev. Mr. C. M. C. Bone, who presided at the meeting, dwelt upon the serious crisis that had arisen and said that if the shortage had been caused by the demand made by the military authorities there was not much room to say anything; but if, as some people said, the prices had risen abnormally by reason of the deliberate action of merchants and traders they must strongly protest against it. The sense of the meeting was on the side of the latter contention.

Indians in Zanzibar

Mr. Walter Long, speaking in the House of Commons on August 14, on the report of the vote for the Colonial Office mentioned the conspicuous loyalty and war services of Indians in Zanzibar in connection with the criticism of the attitude of native race. He said the attitude of non-English population in the Crown Colonies was wholly loyal and they all gave their testimony of their devotion to British interests. Among a host of such tributes, he quoted the following expression of loyalty and support from the Indian National Association of Zanzibar :—

“ The Indian National Association at Zanzibar,

representing His Majesty's British Indian subjects in this Protectorate, on the third anniversary of the European War, beg to assure the King-Emperor of the unswerving loyalty of the Indian community of this Protectorate, and their firm determination to render their utmost co-operation to the Government in their brave efforts for the successful prosecution of the war thrust upon us through the aggressive action of the Central Powers, defying all international law and civilised warfare. It also prays Almighty God most earnestly for the speedy and victorious termination of the war in favour of the British Empire and her gallant Allies.”

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION

Paper Currency

On the invitation of the Government of India the Bombay Chamber of Commerce has considered a project for a new issue of paper currency with a view to render forgery more difficult and to increase the popularity of Indian notes. Special importance is attached to the quality of the paper and the water-mark. The change will not take place until after the war. The Chamber has also called the urgent attention of the Government to the inconvenience arising from the shortage of metallic currency in India. The only possible immediate remedy proposed is the importation of sovereigns and bar gold into India. The restrictions upon freights to India have produced a situation alike prejudicial to the mercantile community and the Government, causing depletion of stocks of which the Government are frequently large purchasers. The present rules regarding priority certificates seem to ignore the existing habit of the railway and other administrations of buying from stocks already in the country but refusing to give orders for goods that the dealer would have to import in order to give delivery. Under the present rule the importer cannot replenish his stock.

Matches in India

The *Mysore Economic journal* writes :

The consumption of matches in India is not a negligible quantity. During the year ending March 1916, 18½ million gross or about 160 crores of boxes of matches have been imported in India from various foreign countries. Neglecting, however, the quantity of those matches made and consumed in India, the quantity of imported matches alone gives us a rough computation of eight boxes of matches per head per year in all India. This works up to 1½ splints or sticks per day per capita.

The Maritime trade of India

The maritime trade of India for the twelve months of April to March 1916—1917 as compared with the corresponding period of 1915—1916 shows the value of the imports increased by over 17 crores of rupees to 149·6 crores and the total exports including re-exports and the value of wheat and tanned cow-hides exported on Government account advanced by 43 crores of rupees to 241 crores. The exports of Indian merchandise, says a contemporary, only showed an increase of 40½ crores or about 21 per cent.

Labour Organisation and Strikes

In connection with the Bombay strike, the *Tribune* observes it is evident if the work people had organised themselves into trade unions they would have held out much longer, and derived greater advantages. But even their example will, we hope, lead to the prevention of such dislocation of important work in other parts of India. This can be done when railway employees and others form themselves into trade unions and represent their grievances to the proper authorities in a reasonable spirit, without resorting to strikes. If the illiterate workmen of Bombay numbering 15,000 could unite for a strike, an equally large number of literate clerks in railways, post office and other departments could unite to prevent strikes. There is a large army of low-paid officials who are undergoing great hardship in all parts of India owing to high prices. They are all very discontented. It is the duty of all their well-wishers to help them to improve their lot and it is obvious they can do so if they approach the authorities, not individually but collectively and explain their case in a reasonable spirit.

Co-operative Housing Societies

Co-operative Housing Societies are being started here and there in Peninsular India and they are said to have proved to be a boon to the poorer middle classes. We wonder, asks a *Bengal contemporary*, why there should not be many such societies in and around Calcutta where house-rent has been going up by leaps and bounds and the middle classes are experiencing increasing difficulties in finding suitable house accommodation.

Co-operation and Banking

The *Bengal Co-operative Journal* writes :—

The establishment of a federation of central banks in Calcutta in which the constituent central banks will take joint responsibility is an advance on true co-operative lines. It is enlarging the parochial view of co-operation which was inclined to prevail under the present system and

it is a natural development in the expansion of the movement. As financiers under such a system will have the joint security of all the central banks of Bengal, instead of, as now, each financier having one central bank as security, and as they will derive other advantages such as facility in making deposits, regular business like payment of interest at Calcutta, avoidance of delay with consequent loss of interest during the transmission of money to and from central banks, while at the same time the intimate personal supervision of the Registrar is assured, it is expected that they will welcome the innovation, even though it may mean a slight reduction of interest upon their money.

Textile Industry

A comparative study of equipments for textile industry in India and England, says the *Mysore Economic Journal*, may be interesting. In England in 1896, there were 660,000 looms and 44,900,000 spindles and which rose up in 1916, that is, within twenty years to 808,000 looms and 59,800,000 spindles. In India in 1896 we had 37,200 looms and 3,933,000 spindles and which increased in 1916 to 110,000 looms and 6,840,000 spindles. From the above we see that the proportion of looms between India and England have been 1 to 17 in 1896 and 1 to 7 in 1916, and that of spindles 1 to 11 in 1896 and 1 to 8 in 1916. A remarkable progress and advance for India.

Export of Silk Waste.

A *Press Communication* from Simla says :—It is notified for general information that with effect from the 6th October, 1917, the export of silk noils and silk waste is prohibited to all destinations except the United Kingdom and the export of all other forms of silk and of silk goods including cocoons is prohibited to all destinations in foreign countries in Europe and on the Mediterranean and Black Seas other than France, Russia, Italy, Spain and Portugal and to all Russian Baltic ports. Licenses will, however, be freely issued for the export of silk waste to France.

U. P. Board of Industries

It was decided at a meeting of the United Provinces Board of Industries held recently at Cawnpore to submit a proposal to award adequate scholarships to students going abroad to learn new industries again to Government for reconsideration, and to point out that unless students are given an opportunity of gaining expert knowledge it was unlikely that new industries would come into existence.

The Secretary informed the Board that the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned an addition, with effect from the 1st of April 1917, of 5 per cent. to the stipends of Government scholars during the war.

The Board was informed that Government has sanctioned the establishment of two peripaletic weaving schools at a cost of Rs. 2,654 and the schools will be started at Jaunpur and at Mau, Azamgarh district.

The Board noted with appreciation Government's sanction to the purchase of a plant for bottle making as recommended by the Board at their last meeting.

The Secretary informed the Board that Government has sanctioned Rs. 3,000 for the purchase of raw material with a view to investigating their commercial possibilities, and that for the current financial year an allotment of Rs. 500 has been reserved for assistance to minor industries.

Fiscal Autonomy

The Hon'ble Mr. Lalubhoy Samaldas, while speaking at the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau at Bombay the other day, said that this reform (fiscal autonomy) was urgently needed. "If India is to take her place," he said, "in line with other civilised countries in economic matters, she must insist on having full liberty to take such action as would conduce to the fullest development of her industries, trade and commerce."

Textile Industry in Bombay

There is a very cheerful prospect for the Bombay cotton industry for a long time ahead says the *Bengalee*. If Bombay can properly utilise the opportunity caused by the difficulties of Lancashire, it will be able to get a command of the Home and Eastern markets which no foreign produce will ever be able to replace in the future. If the increase in the import duties on cotton be maintained at 7½ per cent., as imposed in the India Budget of March last, even after the war, and India is allowed some measure of fiscal freedom, the cotton industry in Bombay, will in due course, come to occupy the first place in the whole of Asia. We understand that Bombay is awakening to the situation, and a great expansion of looms in its mills is already taking place. Another most satisfactory feature to note in this connection is the fact that the best managed mills in Bombay to-day are those which are managed by Indians, and the ablest managers who now work in Bombay for the mills are also people of this country. When can we think of Bengal taking a similar place in its jute industry?

The Lucknow Paper Mills

The war has brought the paper industry to the forefront of the needs. We learn that the balance sheet of the Upper India Couper Paper Mills Company for half-year ending June 1917 shows that the receipts from paper sales was Rs. 9,33,222 and that expenditure was Rs. 5,44,043, excluding the stock on hand a sum of nearly 398 lakhs was carried to profit and loss account. After setting apart Rs. 50,000 for reserve fund, and Rs. 50,000 to renewals to machinery, Rs. 20,000 for depreciation and several other sundry charges, a dividend of 6 per cent. and bonus at 26½ per cent. per annum or 50 per cent. dividend in all has been declared. The directors and managers are to be congratulated on this result.

Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd.

The annual audited statement of accounts of the Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., for the year ended 30th June last, shows that the company has made a profit of Rs. 1,10,76,692, which together with the amount brought forward from the last account, brings the total amount of profits to Rs. 1,11,54,914. Out of this the Directors have appropriated Rs. 35,00,000 to depreciated fund, Rs. 11,000,00 to reserve fund, Rs. 2,30,384 to repairs and renewals, Rs. 4,63,900 as provision for income-tax for the year under report, and Rs. 1,25,000 to the provident fund, which absorb a total sum of Rs. 54,19,284. After making all these deductions, there remains a balance of profit of Rs. 57,35,630, out of which the Directors have recommended a dividend on preference shares for the year at the rate of six per cent. or Rs. 9 per share of Rs. 150, dividend of 20 per cent. on ordinary shares, *i.e.*, Rs. 15

per share of Rs. 75, and a dividend of 291 per cent. on deferred shares, *i.e.*, Rs. 87-3 per share of Rs. 30 has been recommended by the Directors. The balance of Rs. 3,15,683 is to be carried forward to the next accounts.

Development of South Africa

A Select Committee of the House of Assembly of the Union of South Africa has been appointed to enquire into and report upon what steps should be taken; (1) to increase the production within South Africa of food supplies and of the raw materials required in the manufacture of necessary articles of consumption; (2) to develop within South Africa industries which are needed to meet the requirements of the community and particularly those which are capable of using raw materials produced in the country; and (3) to encourage, by every means, technical training for the purpose of providing skilled labour for South African industries.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

The Board of Agriculture

A number of subjects of an important nature are to be discussed at the tenth meeting of the Board of Agriculture which will be held at Poona from the 5th to the 10th December. The following matters are on the agenda for consideration:—

(1) Programmes of work of the Imperial Department of Agriculture and of the Imperial Bacteriologist; (2) programmes of work of the provincial agricultural and veterinary departments and of Native States departments of agriculture; (3) discussions of a proposal to hold sectional meeting of the Board of Agriculture in years in which a meeting of the full Boards is not held; the formulation of a programme if the scheme is accepted; (4) veterinary education; (5) the question of summarising and indexing agricultural publications; (6) the Indian sugar-cane industry; (7) the value of phosphatic manures in India and

the possibility of arranging for the manufacture of sulphur-phosphates on a large scale in India so as to lessen their cost; (8) the best means of bringing improved methods of agriculture to the notice of cultivators; (9) to consider whether anything can be done to remedy the disability of agriculture over a large part of India arising from the fact that the size and distribution of land holding are such as to render them essentially uneconomic units; (10) a general discussion of the method of publication by the Department, Imperial and Provincial; (11) experimental error: the necessity for research into the subject of experimental error in agricultural experiments with a view to laying down the principles which should be followed in designing such experiments in India and in drawing conclusions from the results obtained; possibility of constituting a permanent committee of experts to criticise the reports on agricultural

experiments from this point of view ; (12) what action can profitably be taken by Government to discourage the adulteration and mixing of agricultural produce ; (13) the best means of rapidly increasing the outturn of food crops by methods within the power of the Agricultural Department ; (14) the necessity for legislation regarding the sale of fertilisers in India on lines analogous to, though not necessarily identical with, those of the Fertilisers and Feeding Stuffs Act now in force in the United Kingdom ; (15) whether all the useful data on manuring and tillage now available as the result of the experimental and research work carried out by the departments of agriculture in India should be published for general information and whether a working committee should be appointed by the Board to get this done ; (16) the necessity for further investigation into the water requirement of crops ; the advisability of laying down proposed lines of investigation for different tracts of India especially irrigation tracts ; (18) agricultural education : the consideration of the policy laid down by the conference on agricultural education at Simla on the 18th June, 1917, and the best method of giving effect to it.

Burma Agriculture

The Resolution on the working of co-operative societies in Burma makes special mention of a new development, viz., the District Agricultural and Co-operative Associations of which two were formed last year. Their object, we read, is to assist co-operative administration and agricultural and industrial development and to advise the District authorities on all matters of public interest. "If they prosper, says the Resolution, they may in time expand into District Boards and they will supply what has hitherto been lacking in Burma, a reliable means of ascertaining the views of the people at large on any proposed measure."

Indigo

Mr. F. J. Marsden, who is working in conjunction with the Agricultural Department, has been deputed to Pusa to study the methods of indigo manufacture in Behar and on his return he will work in the laboratory at Coimbatore Agricultural College in conjunction with officers of the Agricultural Department with the object of improving the methods of manufacturing indigo in the Madras Presidency. While the department is working for the improvement of the plant, Mr. Marsden will also tackle, if possible, the adulteration evil.

Madras Indigo Crop of 1917-18

The average area under indigo in the Madras Presidency is 43·4 per cent. of the total area under indigo in British India the final forecast for indigo in 1916-17 placed the area sown in that Presidency at 449,900 acres. Final figures since received show that the area actually sown was 451,808 acres. The area sown to date in the 1917-18 season is now estimated at 265,700 acres as compared with an estimate of 335,300 acres made at the corresponding date last year. The decrease is due partly to failure of rains at the sowing season in the Deccan, but mainly to the fall in the local price of indigo dating from January, 1917.

Assessments in the U. P.

The United Provinces Government has issued a notification declaring the following revised periods of assessments for the two tracts comprised in each of the two tahsils Auraiya and Bharthana in the Etawah district :—Auraiya cis-Jumna tract 30 and Auraiya trans-Jumna tract 28½ years ; Bharthana cis-Jumna tract 30 and Bharthana trans-Jumna tract 29½ years.

Literary

MR. WELLS ON THE INDIAN MIND.

According to Mr. Wells the Indian mind was a mind of singular richness and singular delicacy, with a wonderful "gentleness"; a mind that in spite of all that it had already done in the past was still, he believed, destined to make its chief contribution to the human synthesis in the years that lay ahead.

THE WAR LEAGUE PRIZE.

The War League, Karachi, with the object of further increasing interest in the details of the War, are offering a prize of one thousand rupees for the most accurate forecast of the military position on the various fronts on the 31st of December next. Forecasts must be posted to the War League on or before the 15th Proximo. Full particulars of the competition will be found in the September issue of the *War League Journal*.

TAGORE'S WORKS IN MALAYALAM.

The *West Coast Reformer* writes that "a Nair gentleman of South Malabar, of uncommon linguistic attainments, has obtained in person. . . . from Tagore. . . . the legal permission to translate all his works into Malayalam."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

Lord Burnham, presiding at a Press Conference at the Hampstead Garden suburb, made a significant remark to the effect that the British press was an "essential part of the machinery of government." So indeed, is the Press of India but is not regarded into that light by the bureaucracy. It is time that the restrictions on the Press in India be removed. As Gladstone said in one of his great speeches:—"While the freedom of the Press is recommended in India by all—the considerations which recommend it in England there are other considerations besides. The Press is the only means the government have of getting at the sentiments of the Indian people."

A CHAPTER OF VICTORIAN HISTORY.

"Mr. Murray is publishing the long expected life of Sir Charles Dilke immediately. The work which was begun by Captain Stephen Gwynn, M. P., has been completed by Sir Charles Dilke's niece and literary executrix, Miss Gertrude Tuckwell, and will be found to constitute not merely the life-record of a most interesting personality, but a valuable chapter of Victorian history.

LORD MORLEY

America will be interested in Lord Morley's *Reminiscences* (says a writer in the *Daily News* and *Leader*). One of the oddest tributes ever paid to Lord Morley occurs in a letter written eighty years ago by James Russell Lowell to his daughters. "At dinner I was glad to meet John Morley for the first time since my return. He welcomed me most cordially, but looks older and a little worn with the constant friction of politics. The cheerful fanaticism of his face is always exhilarating to me, though I feel that it would have the same placidly-convinced expression if my head were rolling at his feet at the exigence of some principle."

WASTE OF YOUTHFUL GENIUS.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, speaking recently on "War's Toll of Genius and Talent," pointed out.

"A Government actuated by a cold calculation of economic expediency would have made some provision for sheltering from the hazards of war young men upon whose exceptional intellectual powers our future progress might be thought to depend. This course, however, had not been adopted either here or in France. In each country the casualty lists had been filled with names which, but for the fatal accidents of war, would certainly have been made illustrious for splendid service to the great cause of life. It was impossible to estimate the extent to which the world would be impoverished in quality by the disappearance of so much youthful genius and talent."

Educational

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS IN INDIA.

The Department of Statistics has issued returns dealing with education in 1915-16. In the course of an introductory note, Mr. G. Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics, writes :—

In spite of the war and the adverse circumstances consequent thereon, the general progress of education in India, though retarded, has not been checked. The year under review saw an increase in the number both of institutions and scholars. The number of institutions rose from 185,444 to 189,648 and of scholars from 7,464,159 to 7,635,553. Excluding Baluchistan for which details are not available, institutions for males in British India in 1915-16 were 168,956 and for females 20,569 as against 165,717 and 19,584 respectively in 1914-15. The number of male scholars was 6,443,309 as against 6,333,668, and of female scholars 1,188,140 as against 1,128,363 in a population of nearly 243 millions. The percentage of students to the population of school-going age, which is taken as 15 per cent. of the total population, was 34 per cent. on the case of males and 7 per cent. in the case of females. The increase in the number of institutions and scholars was shared by almost all the provinces. Bihar and Orissa, however, showed a decrease of 86 institutions and 4,779 scholars and the United Provinces a decrease of 170 institutions but an increase of 8,880 scholars. Private institutions were chiefly responsible for the decrease in these two provinces.

CENTRAL HINDU COLLEGE.

A Government *Communique* dated Simla 1st October says :—The Governor-General-in-Council has issued a notification to-day directing that the Central Hindu College, Benares, shall be deemed to be a College maintained by the Benares Hindu University with effect from the 1st October 1917.

MADRAS UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION.

His Excellency the Chancellor Lord Pentland is pleased to announce that His Excellency Monsieur Martinau, Governor of the French Settlements in India, has accepted the invitation conveyed to him to give the address at the annual Convocation of the Madras University to be held on Thursday, the 22nd November, 1917. The subject of the address will be "Historical Studies in South India."

NATIONAL COLLEGE FOR SIND.

The National College for Sind was opened at Hyderabad (Sind) on 1st October, the birthday of Mrs. Besant, by Mr. Wood who delivered the opening address. He said the boy trained in the institution would find employment in other lines if Government service was closed to them. Donations were announced amounting to Rs. 35000.

CALCUTTA CHAIR OF ECONOMICS.

At a recent meeting of the Senate of the Calcutta University, Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee presented the report of the Committee consisting of himself, Dr. B. N. Seal, and Mr. Findlay Shirras, appointed at the last meeting of the Senate to examine the case of Professor Hamilton, Minto Professor of Economics, of the University. After presenting the report, Sir Ashutosh moved the adoption of the recommendation contained in the report namely that Professor Hamilton be permitted to hold the chair for the remainder of his term provided he gave certain undertakings regarding the completion of the work dealing on Economics, though in the opinion of the Committee Professor Hamilton had failed to comply with the terms of his appointment in the matter of submitting a substantial portion of his manuscripts. Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikary moved an amendment to the effect that Professor Hamilton be asked to vacate the chair. The amendment was lost and Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee's motion for the adoption of the recommendation of his Committee was passed by a large majority.

Legal

THE LAW'S DELAYS.

We have to acknowledge with regret, says the *Englishman*, that our Law Courts are pathetic examples of oriental dilatoriness. The Privy Council has again been reminding us of this and Lord Buckmaster quoted the remark of Lord Macaulay, made seventy years ago, that delay in litigation is a reproach to our administration. It is still a reproach, and judging from the negative prospects of reform, just at present, the same remark will be made seventy years hence. The shameful thing is that although everybody from the Lords of the Privy Council down to the humblest litigant complains nobody in authority seems to care a tinker's benediction about it. Perhaps the exodus to the hills is to blame. Once the Government gets away from the plains it forgets the crowd of unhappy litigants waiting for cheap and quick justice. Anyway, it is a scandalous thing that these law's delays should continue year after year. It is all very well for judges to call attention to them, but why is nothing done?

LEGAL TRAINING.

The evils of the present English system of legal training and practice has been thus very graphically described by Mr. Banmann in an English contemporary.

I submit that by the present system the Bar is annually robbed of some of the cleverest young men who come up to town from the public schools and universities. It cannot be denied that there are fewer great advocates than formerly, and that the average mental calibre of the Bar is—I will not say lower for it is higher, but less distinguished than it used to be. I ascribe this, not to the greater volume and dry technicality of modern business, or to the comparative rarity of jury trials, but to the more rapid absorption of the righter spirits by the many other avenues to a

maintenance, if not to fame and fortune, opened up by modern life. A man is usually called at twenty-three or twenty-four. It is the age of impatience when the hey-day of the blood does not wait upon the judgment, and when how to make an income question is paramount. The usual course is for the youngster to "read,"—God save the mark!—in somebody's chambers for two or three years, and then if he is lucky, to "devil" for some great man or to hang about chambers or the Courts for the next three or four years waiting for somebody to hire him. Six or seven or eight of the best years of his life gone and nothing done! He sees other youngmen of his own age steadily pushing their way in business, marrying wives, and starting homes while he is expected to read another man's papers or do another man's drudgery for nothing! Flesh and blood cannot stand it, and as a matter of fact don't. One man slinks off into journalism, that fatally easy descent to bread and bunkum. Another drifts into the city to be made by a boom or marred by a slump, or to sink into the chair of half a dozen companies. A third emigrates to Canada or South Africa. A fourth, greatly daring, ventures into politics, and having gone there without a practice, is labelled non-descript. But all are taken from the Bar, and not one but looks back, I dare assert, with bitter and unavailing regret upon the great profession which he has been forced to quit.

PUNJAB LEGISLATION.

The Punjab Government is about to submit to the Government of India a bill to legalise the system of village watch and ward known as "thikri pahra." In March, 1916, the Punjab Legislative Council unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the extension of this system.

A bill designed to restrict the movements of habitual offenders to specified local limits will probably be introduced in the Punjab Legislative Council during the winter session.

Medical

CARE OF MOTHERS.

Puerperal fever is too rampant in the United States, according to a report of Dr. Grace L. Meys, of the Children's Bureau. This is surprising when it is remembered that pioneer work to prove that this fever is a contagious disease, was achieved by Oliver Wendell Holmes in 1843. The great writer and doctor made this discovery thirty years before the laws of contagion were understood. His work was continued by the Hungarian, Semmelweiss, who was so ridiculed and persecuted that finally he died in a mad house. The children's Bureau is demanding better care of mothers. *Popular Science Siftings.*

ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDIGENOUS DRUGS.

A public meeting of Doctors, Vaidyas, Hakims and general public interested in the advancement of Aryan and Unani Medical science was held at Bombay on the 1st October, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar presiding, to support the bill introduced in the Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Patel to allow association with indigenous systems of medicine. The Chairman said the Bombay Medical Act Bill of 1912, which Mr. Patel sought to amend, contained in two of its sections the phrase "infamous conduct in professional respect." Any member who identifies with indigenous system of medicine either by teaching or practising it, became guilty of infamous conduct in his professional capacity. It was a right of the medical profession to lay down that no member of it should degrade their profession by practising quackery. Ayurvedic system, said the speaker, was not quackery even assuming it as empirical and less advanced than the allopathic system of the West. But Western system has been and even now is regarded as an empirical medical science. Therefore if it was to advance they should take systematically to Ayurvedic system of medicine and drag

it out of its conservative spirit which had made it lag behind. What the legislature should principally take into account was whether professional rule which was sought to be embodied in the form and spirit of statutory sanction and obligation was according to public opinion of the country, whether it was calculated to further the interests of the people at large and whether the rule would encourage among the members of the profession, honesty and straightforwardness of practice and that fullness and freedom of thought, investigation and search for light from all available resources which were necessary to advance the cause of science. The public therefore had a solid interest in the controversy raised over the interpretation of the Medical Act. In conclusion the speaker said that law as it stood called for alteration and needed to be made clear.

A number of speeches were then made by well known practitioners and a memorial was passed for submission to the Government.

ON THE REARING OF CHILDREN.

1. It is easier, better, and cheaper to prevent than to cure disease.
2. Everything that protects the mother before her baby is born improves the health of the baby after its birth.
3. Many of the diseases observed in older children and adults begin in infancy.
4. Healthy babies make strong men and women.
5. The baby's food, home, and surroundings play an important part in keeping it well or making it sick.
6. *Mother's milk is the best food for babies.*
7. Cow's milk which has become infected with disease-germs kills many babies.
8. Extreme heat and impure air kills many babies in the summer, especially bottle-fed babies.
9. The health and happiness of the whole household are improved by everything done to protect the baby.

Science .

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH INSTITUTES.

The *Bombay Chronicle* has made a strong appeal to the Indian public for contributing rupees ten lakhs towards the funds of Scientific Research Institute to be established by Dr. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose of Calcutta and to be opened on the 30th November next. The paper says: "The honour of Indians is involved in the fruition of Dr. Bose's patriotic scheme, the scope of which will be far more extensive than any other institute in existence in India. Sixteen lakhs of rupees are needed, including the permanent endowment of Dr. Bose's Institute, towards which Dr. Bose has already devoted rupees five lakhs, his life's savings and Mr. S. R. Bomanji, a citizen of Bombay, has given a princely donation of rupees one lakh." It is the national duty of all Indians, urges the paper, to raise the balance of rupees ten lakhs.

INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS.

In connection with the Indian Science Congress to be held in Lahore on January 9th to 12th, a meeting of chemists, who are doing work for the Munitions Board, has been arranged at the request of Sir Thomas Holland. The meeting will be held on the day previous to the opening of the Congress.

NEW GRAFTING SYSTEM.

A simple method of grafting skin has been lately reported. After rinsing the skin with salt solution the doctor scrapes it with a razor until he has collected on the blade a mass of mush-like particles of skin. He transfers this to the raw surface, which needs no preparation. A dressing of boric acid salve is allowed to remain unchanged for five or six days. Then the surface is tightly dressed with strips of plaster, which is left on for a week before renewing. After two or three renewals the scarcely visible particles of skin have grown and spread until they have covered the raw surface.

ROYAL AVIATORS.

King Albert of Belgium has now added to his many experiences that of being the first monarch to make an aeroplane flight over hostile guns in action. So far, the Kaiser has confined his air exploits to a modest trip in a Zeppelin in peace time. His brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, also had a little flight with Count Zeppelin in pre-war days. Other prominent Royalties who have been up in airships are King Victor Emmanuel of Italy and the Queen of Sweden.

In our own Royal Family several members made aeroplane flights when flying machines were novelties, notably the Princes George and Albert of Battenberg and the Princess Louise of Battenberg. Prince Leopold of Battenberg even went so far as to loop the loop, his pilot being none other than Gustav Hamel. Prince Axel of Denmark is another Royalty who risked his life aloft.

LABORATORY GLASSWARE.

The best laboratory glasswares, says the *Mysore Economic Journal*, are made in Jena and Tubingen in Germany and Austria. They possess a speciality of resisting the action of water below, at and above 100°C. and hydrochloric acid, ammonia, solutions of ammonium chloride and soda bicarbonate.

SMOKING AS A STIMULANT.

Though the exact influence of such habits as smoking on mental and physical labour is likely to continue a matter of disagreement, observes the *Popular Science Siftings*, the experiments of Prof. C. S. Berry are very interesting. A portion of each evening, beginning half-an-hour after dinner, was devoted to adding up columns of figures, and on alternate evenings he smoked a single cigar before beginning this effort. The results were carefully recorded. It was shown that work done was quite uniformly free from errors, so the matter of accuracy was not materially affected, but the speed proved to be 7.7 per cent. greater after smoking.

Personal

SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S VIEWS.

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore sends to press a copy of the letter which he has written to a literary friend in England. In course of the letter he writes:—"In your letter you seem puzzled at my conduct in sending a message of sympathy to Mrs. Besant. I am afraid, compared with your own troubles, it may appear to you too small, but yet sufferings have not lost their keenness for us and moral problems still remain as the gravest of all problems in all parts of the world. Constant conflict between the growing demand of the educated community of India for a substantial share in the administration of their country and the spirit of hostility on the part of the Government has given rise among a considerable number of our young men to methods of violence bred of despair and distrust. This has been met by the Government by a thorough policy of repression. In Bengal itself hundreds of men are interned without trial, a great number in unhealthy surroundings, in jails and in solitary cells, in a few cases driving them to insanity or suicide. The misery that it carried into numerous households is deep and widespread. What I consider to be the worst outcome of this irresponsible policy is the spread of the contagion of hatred against everything Western in minds which were free from it. In this crisis the only European who has shared our sorrow, incurring the anger and derision of her countrymen, is Mrs. Annie Besant. This was what led me to express my grateful admiration for her noble courage. Possibly there is such a thing as political exigency, just as there may be a place for utter ruthlessness in war; but I pay my homage to those who have faith in ideals and, therefore, are willing to take all other risks except that of weakening the foundations of moral responsibility."

LORD DONOUGHMORE.

Mr. Montagu, we are told, intends bringing out to India as "one of his colleagues" Lord Donoughmore. The present Earl of Donoughmore succeeded his father in the title in 1900 and holds his seat in the House of Lords as Viscount Hutchinson in the English peerage.

We are glad to learn that Mr. Roberts, late Under-Secretary of State for India, will also accompany Mr. Montagu during his Indian tour.

In this connection H. E. the Viceroy has intimated that persons and associations wishing to have interview or present addresses should communicate their wishes to Local Governments before the 15th November.

MR. GANDHI'S BIRTHDAY.

The 49th birthday of Mr. M. K. Gandhi was celebrated on the morning of the 2nd October at the Gokhale Hall, Y.M.I.A., when Mr. G. A. Natesan presented a portrait of Mr. Gandhi and requested Mrs. Besant to accept it and unveil it.

Mrs. Besant, before performing the function, said that there was nothing more inspiring, especially to the young, than to hold up before them the example of Mr. Gandhi. His deeds made a light around him and even if he tried to hide himself in the dark he shone so brilliantly there that the darkness only increased the radiance of the light that he shed. Hence they felt that whatever his personal ideas might be India could not spare him, but must have him standing as an example of an ideal of a *sannyasi*, a man who had renounced everything including himself and lived only for service. This was Mr. Gokhale's Hall and it was fitting that what Mr. Gokhale admired should be admired by all.

Sir S. Subramania Iyer, as President of the Y. M. I. A., accepted the portrait. Mrs. Besant, as chairman of the meeting, was requested to communicate to Mr. Gandhi by telegram the hearty greeting of the citizens of Madras on his 49th birthday.

Political.

INDIAN SPIRIT.

The Punjab Government have issued the following *Press Communiqué*:—With a view to assist the producer of Indian spirit for commercial purposes, the Punjab Government, with the approval of the Government of India, has abolished the excise duty on denatured spirit of local manufacture. The Government of India have also approved the remission, subject to certain conditions, of duty on locally-manufactured rectified spirit used for industrial purposes. This concession will only be allowed in individual cases, which will be considered on their merits.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND SELF-GOVERNMENT.

At a public meeting of Indian Christians held on the 1st. October at Madras for the purpose of discussing the present political situation in India, with Mr. M. D. Deva Doss, Bar.-at.-Law, in the chair, the following resolutions were passed:—

The Indian Christians in a public meeting assembled do respectfully thank the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government at Home for the enunciation of a liberal policy of advance towards the goal of self-government in India. (2) In view of the Secretary of State's declaration that the legitimate goal of British rule in India is the evolution of self-government, it is our firm conviction that steps should be taken to bring about a gradual devolution of power and to organise and perfect the representative institutions in a cordial spirit of co-operation between the people and the Government.

PETITION TO MR. MONTAGU.

At a meeting of the Congress Propaganda Committee, Madras, the question of arranging for signatures for a petition to be presented to Mr. Montagu in favour of the Congress-Moslem League scheme was considered and it was resolved that a special committee consisting of Mrs. Annie Besant (President), the Hon. Mr. Yaqub Hasan,

Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Aiyer, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, Mr. G. A. Natesan, Mr. T. V. Gopalaswami Mudaliar, and Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyangar with Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as Secretary be appointed to carry on the work in co-operation with all political bodies and that a special committee do report the progress every week to the Congress Propaganda Committee.

MESSRS. MAHOMED ALI AND SHAUKAT ALI.

The Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan, writing about the non-liberation of Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Shaukat Ali, says:—Sir William Vincent's reply on the 5th September had raised some hopes about the release of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali as those in the case of Mrs. Besant and to dash them to ground so ruthlessly cannot be calculated to improve the political atmosphere of India to do which his Excellency the Viceroy had shown so much concern. The Mussalman masses will look upon the Government's action as a distinct breach of faith for the undertaking was that the two patriots would be released as soon as a guarantee about their future conduct in certain respects was given.

MR. GOKHALE'S SCHEME.

Mr. Shaikh M. H. Kedwai writes in the *Manchester Guardian*:—

H. H. the Aga Khan did not choose the right time for publishing the scheme proposed by the late lamented G. K. Gokhale for provincial autonomy in India. He kept back the scheme too long. It should have been published before the schemes published by the nineteen elected members of the Imperial Council and the joint session of the National Congress and the Moslem League. There is no doubt that if Mr. Gokhale had been alive he would himself have bowed to the views of his colleagues and compatriots who proposed the schemes referred to. The scheme of Mr. Gokhale is now out of date. Neither that nor the scheme of Lord Islington can satisfy India now.

General

ENGLISH AND THE VERNACULARS.

- There is considerable ground for thinking, observes the *Times of India*, that the study of English has directly stimulated the growth of vernacular literatures in India. When the literary and intellectual classes of India realise, as they are fast doing, that they have duties towards the masses of their countrymen, they will necessarily devote themselves to the study of the vernaculars to a much greater extent than they have been doing in the past. It is English education that has opened their eyes to this great truth which underlies nationalism, and thus English education is the parent, so to speak, of the desire to develop the vernacular languages of India. Any ill-advised attempt to uproot English from its present position in the educational system will have a serious effect on the study not only of English but also of the vernaculars. Let us, by all means, do all that is possible to encourage the study of the spoken languages of India. There is much that can be done, and should be done. To lay the axe at the root of English education, however, is not one of them.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

A noteworthy address on the importance of harmonious co-operation between West and East in India in the present condition of her affairs has just been made at the annual prize giving at Rajaram College, Kolhapur, by His Holiness Jagadguru Shri Sankaracharya. Addressing the students as "the young buds of the land," he reminded them that they were the citizens of tomorrow, and expressing his earnest desire for the uplift of India in all its aspects. He pointed out that "a good deal of judicial harmony" is necessary to effect a compromise between the best of the modern and the best of the ancient. Presently, they would see what a glorious result could be

effected by a mutual co-operation. The modern system introduced from abroad was a divine boon to the country, for it had killed the rigidity of the ancient system and "fused into our hearts the grand majestic ideas which run in the other quarters of the globe into most progressive and enlightened conditions of life." He referred to the need for studying both English and Sanskrit as typical of the necessity for Indians learning to understand English people as English people need to understand Indians. "We cannot do without the one or the other," and herein lay the truth that "unless a correct and mutual understanding is established between the rulers and the ruled, it is not possible to ensure peace and happiness to the public.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN AGITATION.

"Ditcher" writes in the *Capital*:—It is impossible not to recall the Three Tailors of Tooley Street, in reading this cryptic effusion. No scheme of political reform in India can ignore the European community, official or non-official. As a matter of fact, it has never been ignored or neglected and there is no reason to suppose that it will not be treated tenderly in any future scheme of self-government. But there is no room in India for an English Pale or an Orange Lodge, and the sooner this is realised the better. It is up to every Chamber of Commerce, every Trades Association, and even the vague and amorphous European Association itself, to make claims for consideration for the stakes they have in the country, but they will defeat their own ends to adopt the discredited attitude of the Outlanders of South Africa and the Extremists of Ulster. Lord Chelmsford has asked for co-operation of all sections of the body politic to compose a working plan which will be a distinct step in the direction of giving India her rightful place in the Empire. The European community will not do its part if it wastes its time in polemics. What is wanted now is construction not destruction,

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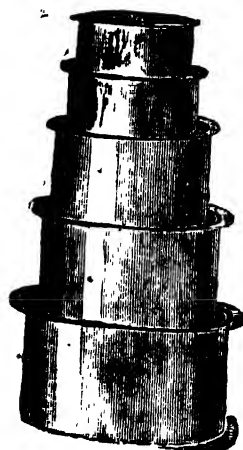
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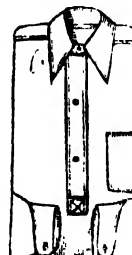
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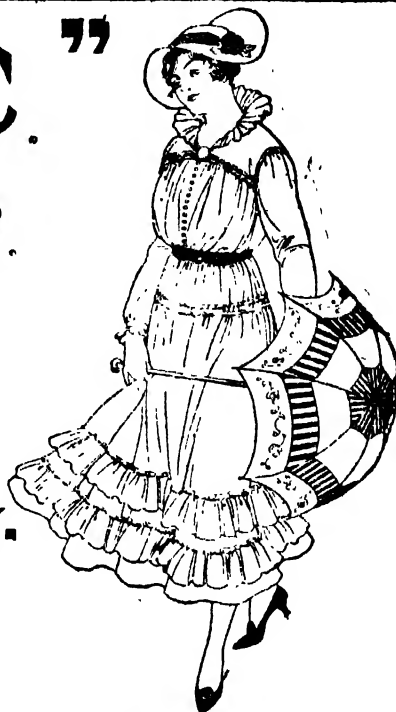
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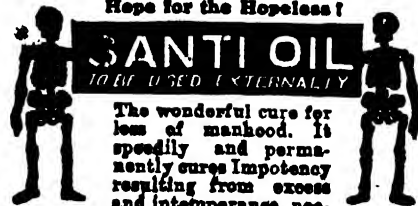
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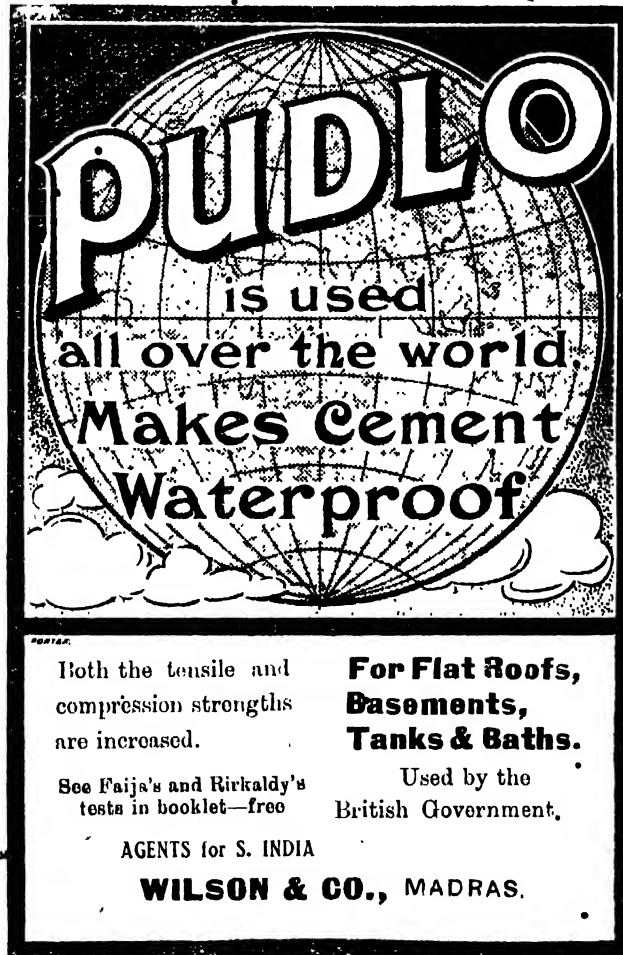


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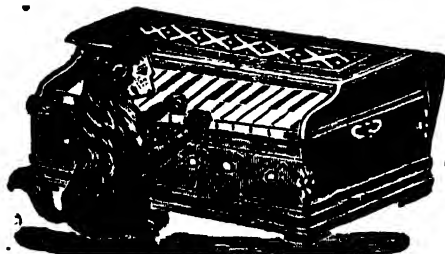
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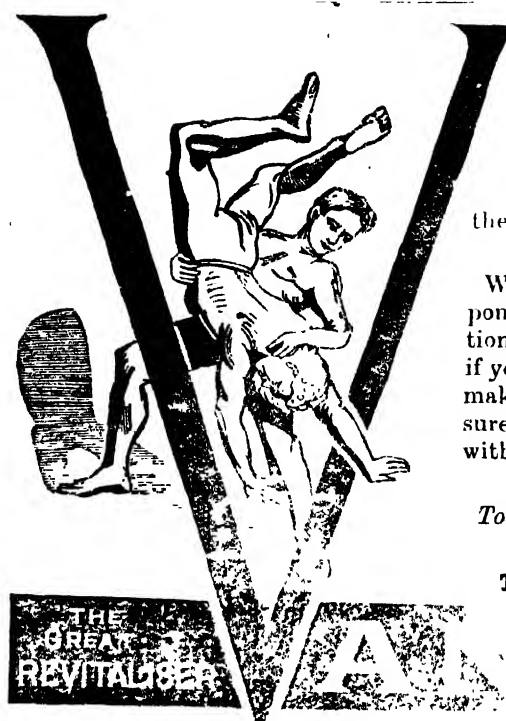
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(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

I had the pleasure of visiting the studio of Mr. Nagappa at No. 3, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road, opposite Hotel D'Angelis. The studio contains excellent specimens of his handwork chief among them being the clay model of Mrs. Besant in Indian dress. The posture of the figure is one we are all familiar with, viz. the posture which Mrs. Besant assumes when she begins to address before audience but then the hands are not placed one above the other; the right hand wearing the emerald ring clasps the silk sari right below the neck, while the left hand wearing the wrist watch is free. The fore-arms uncovered and the edge of the inner jacket is visible at the right elbow. She wears no shoes of any kind and the natural beauty of the feet is exposed. Intelligence is beaming in the face. The curly hair, the bright eyes, the slight wrinkled cheeks, the small but prominent upper lip, the little nose and the well formed ears are features peculiarly her own and are fully brought out in the figure. The artist has put life and spirit into his work. The locket and the star are also visible on her dress. At first sight I thought Mrs. Besant was actually before me. Soon I recovered from the surprise and admired the likeness of the figure and the genius of the artist. I wondered why Mr. Nagappa's artistic skill and indigenous talent had not been utilised by the public to very great extent.

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We highly commend Mr. Nagappa's work to the influential public and trust that he would receive sufficient encouragement at their hands. We wish Mr. Nagappa long life and a much brighter career.—*New India*,

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EDITED BY G. A. NATESAN.


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No. 12

OUR CLAIMS TO SWARAJ

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI.

 O say that a knowledge of letters is essential to obtain Swaraj betrays ignorance of history. A knowledge of letters is not necessary to inculcate among people the idea that we ought to manage our own affairs. What is essential is the grasp of such an idea. People have to desire Swaraj. Hundreds of unlettered kings have ruled kingdoms in an effective manner. To see how far such an idea exists in the minds of the people and to try to create it where it is absent, is the object of this petition. It is desirable that millions of men and women should sign it intelligently. That such a largely-signed petition will have its due weight with Mr. Montagu is its natural result.

No one has the right to alter the scheme of reforms approved by the Congress and the Moslem League, and one need not, therefore, go into the merits thereof. For our present purposes we have to understand thoroughly the scheme formulated most thoughtfully by our leaders and to faithfully do the things necessary to get it accepted and enforced.

This scheme is not Swaraj, but is a great step towards Swaraj. Some English critics tell us that we have no right to enjoy Swaraj, because the class that demands it is incapable of defending India. "Is the defence of India to rest with the English alone," they ask, "and are the reins of Government to be in the hands of the Indians?"

* From the address to the recent Guzerat Political Conference specially translated into English for the collection of "Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi" published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Rs. 1-8.

Now this is a question which excites both laughter and sorrow. It is laughable, because our English friends fancy that they are not of us, whilst our plan of Swaraj is based upon retention of the British connection. We do not expect the English settlers to leave this country. They will be our partners in Swaraj. And they need not grumble if in such a scheme the burden of the defence of the country falls on them. They are, however, hasty in assuming that we shall not do our share of defending the country. When India decides upon qualifying herself for the act of soldiering, she will attain to it in no time. We have but to harden our feelings to be able to strike. To cultivate a hardened feeling does not take ages. It grows like weeds. The question has also its tragic side, because it puts us in mind of the fact that Government have up to now debarred us from military training. Had they been so minded, they would have had at their disposal to-day, from among the educated classes, an army of trained soldiers. Government have to accept a larger measure of blame than the educated classes for the latter having taken little part in the War. Had the Government policy been shaped differently from the very commencement, they would have to-day an unconquerable army. But let no one be blamed for the present situation. At the time British rule was established, it was considered to be a wise policy for the governance of crores of men to deprive them of arms and military training. But it is never too late to mend, and both the rulers and the ruled must immediately repair the omission.

In offering these views I have assumed the propriety of the current trend of thought. To me, however, it does not appear to be tending altogether in the right direction. Our agitation is based on the Western model. The Swaraj we desire is of a Western type. As a result of it, India will have to enter into competition with the Western nations. Many believe that there is no escape from it. I do not think so. I cannot forget that India is not Europe, India is not Japan, India is not China. The divine word 'India alone is the land of Karma (Action), the rest is the land of Bhoga (Enjoyment),' is indelibly imprinted on my mind. I feel that India's mission is different from that of the others. India is fitted for the religious supremacy of the world. There is no parallel in the world for the process of purification that this country has voluntarily undergone. India is less in need of steel weapons, it has fought with divine weapons; it can still do so. Other nations have been votaries of brute-force. The terrible war going on in Europe furnishes a forcible illustration of the truth. India can win all by soul-force. History supplies numerous instances to prove that brute-force is as nothing before soul-force. Poets have sung about it and Seers have described their experiences. A thirty-year old Hercules behaves like a lamb before his eighty-year old father. This is an instance of love-force. Love is *Atman*: it is its attribute. If we have faith enough we can wield that force over the whole world. Religion having lost its hold on us, we are without an anchor to keep us firm amidst the storm of modern civilization, and are, therefore, being tossed to and fro. Enough, however, of this for the present. I shall return to it at a later stage.

In spite of my views being as I have just described them, I do not hesitate to take part in the Swaraj movement, for India is being governed in accordance with the Western system and even the Government admit that the British Parliamen

presents the best type of that system. Without Parliamentary government, we should be nowhere. Mrs. Besant is only too true when she says that we shall soon be facing a hunger-strike, if we do not have Home Rule. I do not want to go into statistics. The evidence of my eyes is enough for me. Poverty in India is deepening day by day. No other result is possible. A country that exports its raw produce and imports it after it has undergone manufacturing processes, a country that in spite of growing its own cotton, has to pay crores of rupees for its imported cloth cannot be otherwise than poor. It can only be said of a poor country that its people are spendthrifts, because they ungrudgingly spend money in marriage and such other ceremonies. It must be a terribly poor country that cannot afford to spend enough in carrying out improvements for stamping out epidemics like the plague. The poverty of a country must continuously grow when the salaries of its highly-paid officials are spent outside it. Surely it must be India's keen poverty that compels its people, during cold weather, for want of woollen clothing, to burn their precious manure, in order to warm themselves. Throughout my wanderings in India I have rarely seen a buoyant face. The middle classes are groaning under the weight of awful distress. For the lowest order there is no hope. They do not know a bright day. It is a pure fiction to say that India's riches are buried under ground, or are to be found in her ornaments. What there is of such riches is of no consequence. The nation's expenditure has increased, not so its income. Government have not deliberately brought about this state of things. I believe that their intentions are pure. It is their honest opinion that the nation's prosperity is daily growing. Their faith in their Blue Books is immovable. It is only too true that statistics can be made to prove anything. The economists deduce India's prosperity from me who

appreciate the popular way of examining figures shake their heads over Blue Book Statistics. If the gods were to come down and testify otherwise I would insist on saying that I see India growing poorer.

What then would our Parliament do? When we have it, we would have a right to commit blunders, and to correct them. In the early stages we are bound to make blunders. But we being children of the soil, won't lose time in setting ourselves right. We shall, therefore, soon find out remedies against poverty. Then our existence won't be dependent on Lancashire goods. Then we shall not be found spending untold riches on Imperial Delhi. It will, then, bear some correspondence to the peasant cottage. There will be some proportion observed between that cottage and our Parliament House. *The nation to-day is in a helpless condition, it does not possess even the right to err. He who has no right to err can never go forward.* The history of the Commons is a history of blunders. Man, says an Arabian proverb, is error personified. *Freedom to err and the duty of correcting errors is one definition of Swaraj.* And such Swaraj lies in Parliament. That Parliament we need to-day. We are fitted for it to-day. We shall, therefore, get it on demand. It rests with us to define 'to-day.' Swaraj is not to be attained through an appeal to the British democracy. The English nation cannot appreciate such an appeal. Its reply will be :—'We never sought outside help to obtain Swaraj. We have received it through our own ability. You have not received it, because you are unfit. When you are fit for it, nobody can withhold it from you.' How then shall we fit ourselves for it? We have to demand Swaraj from our own democracy. Our appeal must be to it. When the peasantry of India understand what Swaraj is, the demand will become irresistible. The late Sir W. W. Hunter used to say that in the British system, victory on the battle-field was the shortest cut to success. If educated

India could have taken its full share in the war, I am certain that we would not only have reached our goal already, but the manner of the grant would have been altogether unique. We often refer to the fact that many sepoys of Hindustan have lost their lives on the battle-fields of France and Mesopotamia. It is not possible for the educated classes to claim the credit for this event. It is not patriotism that had prompted those sepoys to go to the battle-field. They know nothing of Swaraj. At the end of the war they will not ask for it. They have gone to demonstrate that they are faithful to the salt they eat. In asking for Swaraj, I feel that it is not possible for us to bring into account their services. The only thing we can say is that we may not be considered blameworthy for our inability to take a large active part in the prosecution of the war.

That we have been loyal at a time of stress is no test of fitness for Swaraj. Loyalty is no merit. It is a necessity of citizenship all the world over. That loyalty can be no passport to Swaraj is a self-demonstrated maxim. Our fitness lies in that we now keenly desire Swaraj, and in the conviction we have reached that bureaucracy, although it has served India with pure intentions, has had its day. And this kind of fitness is sufficient for our purpose. Without Swaraj there is now no possibility of peace in India.

But if we confine our activities for advancing Swaraj only to holding meetings, the nation is likely to suffer harm. Meetings and speeches have their own place and time. *But they cannot make a Nation.*

In a nation fired with Swaraj-zeal we shall observe an awakening in all departments of life. The first step to Swaraj lies in the Individual. The great truth, 'As with the Individual so with the Universe,' is applicable here as elsewhere. If we are ever torn by conflict from within, if we are ever going astray, and if instead of ruffling our passions we allow them to rule us, Swaraj can have no meaning for us. Government of self, then, is primary education in the school of Swaraj.

IN THE KINGDOM OF THE SHADES

BY

DR. FITZGERALD LEE, M.A., F.R.G.S.

IN the region of eternal twilight I saw many shades moving together as if impelled by some occasion of supreme importance; but apart from them, and in front, were two figures who moved not, but stood facing each other and holding deep conversation together. These two were strangely unlike in appearance and manner of dress; yet in one thing there was a likeness between them: the indefinable stamp of greatness which marks leaders of men and eminent Captains of War.

The one nearer me was short of stature; his features were of classic mould, and his face of olive complexion; his massive head was slightly bent forward, and he held his hands behind his back. He wore a long grey great coat, thrown open in front, showing many glittering orders on a uniform of white, scarlet and blue.

The other was tall and stately; with aquiline features, fair of face and slender of figure. He wore a long blue military cloak which hung down loosely from his shoulders; and he held himself erect as a pine of the Caucasus.

The taller of the two leant forward towards the other, and said:

"It is now over a century ago—as men of the world reckon time—since you and I made war against each other. On that long summer's day when we faced each other on earth for the first and last time, I hoped and believed that mankind had seen the last of War: that, even with all their boundless stupidity, the twenty long years of fighting which came to an end on that day would have been sufficient to warn them against the futility of ever again trying to settle international disputes by the worst of all means—the edge of the sword. Nor was I at the time the only man who cherished these high aspirations. Some great men of my time believed then that wars had ceased for ever. The little men followed suit. The quacks and mountebanks who are called politicians took occasion to preach the empty cant of what they called a millennium of lasting Rest and Peace."

It was here the other broke in: "Rest! There is no such thing on earth. Nothing on earth is at Rest and Peace! It is only found in the grand and silent majesty of Death. From the day when I emptied my guns against that bloodthirsty offal,

the Paris mob, until the stormy night when I passed away on a gloomy rock in the ocean, I never knew the meaning of Rest and Peace you mentioned? Pray when was the world at Peace? When was your own country at Peace for example? When were your countrymen ever tired of War? Even when you were fighting against me, did you not pick a quarrel with your brethren across the ocean and fight against them? Surely your countrymen ought to be the very last to believe in Rest, or speak of Peace on Earth!"

A reply came quickly:

"What you say is not only true of my country, but it is always true with regard to all countries which prefer progress to stagnation, and marching forward to marking time. That country which marks time is left behind, and will soon find itself last of all; then the doom of that country is sealed. It holds out its hands for the manacles; it stretches out its neck for the sword of the executioner or the rope of the hangman. My people have always realised that their safety lies only in progress; and in the present frail nature of man progress is only to be gained by wars and fighting. Your history is proof of this. You progressed from sheer Anarchy to Republicanism, and from that to Imperialism, fighting incessantly, till the sun of your glory, already darkened by the black smoke of Moscow, set for ever on the blood-soaked fields of Belgium. For this you were made a subject for censure and reproach; but you were only acting in accordance with the irresistible and inherent in Imperialism; namely, that Imperialism can live only by progress; that progress means conquest in some shape or other; and that conquest means War. And this has been the incontrovertible Law of Empire from the most ancient times even to the present day. Imperialism has always meant repression, aggression, coercion and a presumptuous hostility to the idea of racial equality. Imperialism has ever been the personification of man's desire to dominate his fellow-men and to impose his will on them. And the attempt to carry this desire into effect is the cause why you and I and others have been summoned here, at this moment, before the Great Tribunal, to give evidence as to Imperial Wars that strict Justice may be awarded." . . .

The rosy twilight suddenly became pale and grey. An immense army was seen assembled in the kingdom of the shades. The men, in the "field-grey" (*feldgrace*) uniforms and flat helmets were grouped in regiments, divisions and army corps, as for a great review; but silence reigned over all. The 10th corps was all there to a man; they had fallen before the British in Flanders and the Russians in the plains of Poland. The 3rd (Brandenburgh) corps lined up, too; behind it the 60,000 of the dead of Verdun. The two corps of the Imperial Guard were formed up in divisions; they had fallen on the banks of the Sambre and Meuse. Altogether there were three millions of what had once been men; men to whom their Imperial Master had said, "You will return to your homes before the leaves fall from the trees."

And far away in brightness above the pale gloom of the Judgment Place were seen the forms of the murdered innocents: those of Dinant, Aers-chot, Nomeny, Louvain and many other ruined cities; even the blackened coalminers of Charleroi whose defenceless bodies had been used as a living shield to protect the advance of the Imperial savages. And the women of the *Lusitania* were also there, still clasping in their arms the little children they had in vain attempted to save in life.

The trumpets sounded; a bent and haggard form staggered forward to stand before the Judgment seat. As he passed before his regiment of guards, he made an effort to raise his hanging head, and he looked out from under his beetling eyebrows on those forms he had once known so well. But he met with no response from the sardonically grinning mouths and the eyeless sockets of the Dead Guard.

The Judges were assembled. The charges against the accused were read; and the reading of them sounded as the continuous rolling of the thunder. The first crime was the destruction of the Kingdom of Belgium. With it were found up the violation of treaty and the perjury of the Imperial criminal. He was reminded that since the earliest days in the history of humanity the sworn faith of one people to another had been held as the most sacred thing. Even when the ancient City of Rome was still only peopled by outlaws and savages, they never entered into war against a neighbouring tribe without having first given warning of their intention; and this was done with the most solemn rites and

ceremonies. But the abomination of the crime against Belgium was that the Imperial criminal, while resolved on the ruin of that unhappy country, had professed peaceful intentions towards it.

Here a snarl was heard from the bent form before the Tribunal: "The Belgian people resisted!"

To this the reply came: They attempted to defend their honour, which is the right of every man; and their existence, which is the natural right and instinct of even the beast of the field.

Again the criminal growled out: They fired on my troops; Here an innumerable mass of people crowded round the Tribunal. They were old men, women, young girls, and little children. With one accord they raised their voices: O Liar, we had no weapons of War and no arms to fire!

Then each of them came forward, and they recounted the awful story of their death. And the mothers spoke for the little murdered infants who were too young to speak for themselves.

The accused was then asked what he had to say. He stuttered: My soldiers believed that they were attacked. Every soldier, in any country, and at all times, has acted in a similar manner in like circumstances.

Here the Judges decided to take evidence as to the truth of the statement put forward by the accused. The first witness called was the man in the grey military overcoat: Napoleon Buonaparte. He said:

I can speak with certainty of what my soldiers did in War and in the field. The most terrible misfortune against which I had to contend was the burning of Moscow. It was one day in the middle of September, and there was a posse of fifteen men stationed outside the Governor's Palace, under the command of a sergeant of my old Guard, named Bourgogne. He has recorded the facts in his published Memoirs. General Pernetti, Commander of the Artillery of the Guard, rode up to the post, and handed over to Bourgogne some Russians who had been seized in the very act of setting fire to the buildings in which my soldiers were quartered. The General ordered that they should be at once despatched by the bayonet. Having given the order he rode away. The French soldier has never had any taste for killing in cold blood. The Russians wore thick sheepskin coats; and the French soldiers obeyed orders in that they stabbed through these coats, but not too deep to inflict a mortal wound. And all the time the flames were rising and roaring in the Kremlin.

Again, during the time that the soldiers of the accused occupied Belgium, their plunderings and bestial brutalities, in addition to the military exactions and forced contributions, laid on the cities and towns, have been such as were never heard of before in the history of war. In the end of the year 1806, I occupied the country of the accused, after the battle of Jena. On the 18th of October I entered the Prussian capital, Berlin. According to the evidence of the Prussians* themselves, no citizen was robbed or despoiled by any soldier of my Army. It was cold winter time; and the daily ration of each of my soldiers included one bottle of wine. But many of the French soldiers saw that the citizens on whom they were billeted had some difficulty in supplying the wine; so they requested their officers to order that the common, cheap beer of the country should take the place of the wine. And it was so arranged. The year before, at Elchingen, the clothes of my soldiers of the guard were drenched with the heavy rains. To dry their clothes, some of them made large fires in an about a country mansion, which caught fire and was burnt. My orders with regard to this are still on record. I said "I shall make you pay for this. I shall give six hundred francs myself, and each soldier of the Guard will give a day's pay; and the money must be at once paid to the owner of the house." It was done so. Three years afterwards, when I entered Vienna as a conqueror, an Austrian historian of that time (Koherausch) wrote that the people of Vienna suffered much less from the French soldiers than they had suffered from their own countrymen. And I can bring forward the evidence of my Marshals to prove that the soldiers of my Army never disgraced humanity as the accused and his soldiers have done.

Marshal Ney came forward and spoke: I got four of my gunners shot for sacking a Church.

Marshal Soult said: All through the campaign of 1806 it was a standing order in my corps that knapsacks should be inspected every four days; and if any stolen articles were found in a knapsack the soldier to whom the knapsack belonged was flogged. Marshal Davout said: I had two of my Chasseurs shot in Poland for robbing a poor man of his bread.

Marshal Saint-Cyr gave evidence: When I was besieged by the Austrians in Dresden, I had only twenty thousand men in all, while the Austrians outside were a hundred thousand. My men were

starving: yet none of them ever robbed any of the inhabitants to satisfy his hunger. And when ultimately the Austrian commander agreed that we should be allowed to march out with all honors of War and go back freely to France, no sooner had we got a few miles on our way than we were called upon to surrender to the Austrian Army, and we were made prisoners of War. For this is how the Teuton keeps faith, and his nature has not changed in a century. As I stated in my published Memoirs, of all the nations who fought against us there was only one who always acted honorably and in good faith towards us, and that was the English. When we fought the Germans at the great battle of Leipzig, the Saxons were our allies, and marched out with us against the Germans. But, directly they got on the battlefield, they turned their arms against us, their sworn brothers-in-arms, and went over to our enemies. But everlasting and just retribution will not be denied. The great-grandsons of these very traitors, in one of the recent battles in Flanders, made an attempt to go over and surrender to the English. But in the act of doing so they were torn to pieces by the shot and shell of their own Allies, the Prussians; and the treachery of Leipzig was avenged. Here the stately form of Wellington appeared. He spoke in measured tone:

It is in no way necessary for me to make any personal statement as to the honourable conduct and humanity of my soldiers in War. I shall not even bring forward the evidence of any of my own countrymen who have written the history of my time: but I can turn to the evidence put forward by the historians of France and Germany to prove that the savagery and brutality which is so characteristic of the German soldier in the present War were unknown in my Armies in the Peninsula. Certainly at Badajoz, Ciudad Rodrigo and San Sebastian, a few of my men committed excess against the inhabitants; but this was in the red-hot rage of battle or in the reaction of victory. For, as I have often stated, victory can destroy the *morale* of an army just as much as defeat; and the best proof of my statement is the loss, not only of *morale*, but of common humane instincts, and the feelings, honor and justice, in the armies of him who now stands accused before us.

A sound as of the wind sweeping over a field of corn was now heard in the arena. The field-grey hosts had vanished; their place was taken by a surging, disorderly multitude of hideous yellow

* von Vertzen.

savages, dressed in the skins of wild animals, and the acrid smell of burnt wool* added to the repulsive stench of their bodies smeared with oil. A man who was evidently their leader advanced in front of them. He was short of stature, and squat; brown and repulsive-looking; and his arms were the limbs of a gorilla, his hairy hands hanging lower than his knees. He laughed like a hyena as he approached the Imperial criminal, and said, "We meet at last. Of you also it has been told that grass never grew again where your horse had once trodden. You have given my name Attila, to one of your cursed progeny, a son of yours. You think you resemble me who lived many centuries before the name of your family or your land had ever contaminated the ears of man. But yes: our story is somewhat the same. We both brought down the horrors of War on people proud of a civilisation far more ancient than our own: both of us had to submit to the fortune of War on the same plains of Champagne near to the city of Chalons. I have been told that the English call your people after the name of my own people, Huns. In this the English do me an injustice. In my wars I only acted according to the usages of my time, which were hard and cruel. Be it so. But I was never so lost to the sense of honour among us, rude and primitive though it was, as to break my pledged promise, or to slaughter for the mere love of killing, which, I believe, is what is called your "gospel of frightfulness". It would not have paid. It would have raised up all mankind against me, as the world has now risen against you. The descendants of my soldiers† are not cursed, as yours will be—those of them who survive—by all posterity. They are only cursed in that they have stood in arms side by side with your savages, which has tainted them with a taint hard to be got rid of, and all those who have stood by your side in this War, shall be for ever held the accursed of the human race. For myself, I have not been punished with the extreme punishment, for the reason that, in all my wars, I never appealed to the Great Creator to assist me in my butcheries, neither did I presume to blaspheme His Name by asking Him to punish‡ and destroy those whom I had driven to take up arms in their own defence. I do not know what your idea may

be about your particular form of god. Though I never feared man, I feared and respected my own old pagan gods too much to ask them to accompany me on my campaigns and assist me in tearing my enemies to pieces. They would have struck me dead with their lightnings had I so insulted them.* But you! you have respected nobody on earth or in heaven except yourself; and in truth you are a very mean and unworthy object of worship. The name of Him in its application to you is disgraced; and I do not remember any of the peoples of my time, brutal and depraved as they may have been, who sank to a lower level in War than your people and you."

He turned towards the Tribunal, prostrated himself on his face, then rose and left with his followers.

The accused was then asked by what right he had not only robbed the Belgians of their country but robbed the country of its people by deporting large numbers of them to Germany, there to be treated worse than beasts of burden.

The Imperial criminal replied:

"I had seen that I should be compelled to retreat. I could not leave behind me people who would have assisted my enemies. Of the five hundred men I got shot at Taminés, more than four hundred were of fighting age. These men would not join my army. Should I have left them to fight for my enemies? Why should I leave to my enemies any means of resistance or of subsistence? I destroyed the regions from which I was withdrawing my armies. But in doing this, I was only following the example of other leaders in War. For instance, Marshal Turenne devastated the Palatinate in 1673, as his successors did again in 1689. This cannot be denied."

Marshal Turenne was summoned and appeared. He said. "It is true. But how can you dare to compare our crimes with yours? Here is a true account of what happened in the Palatinate in 1673. Sixteen villages were destroyed, of which eleven were burnt. None of the people of these villages were butchered in cold blood nor taken away into slavery. It has been said that War has become more humane since my time. But this is not true. The accused and his followers have acted far more brutally than his forefathers did in their seven years' war."

The Marshal was about to continue when he was interrupted by the appearance of a tall, sharp-

* "The smell of the battle and slaughter is always the acrid smell of burnt wool." Zola, *La Débâcle*.

† The Hungarians, or Magyars.

‡ "Gott strafe England" (God punish England), the every-day prayer of the Germans.

* Jernandes, *History of Attila*, tells us that the Hun King had a deep respect for his pagan gods.

featured man, in a brown suit, carrying an apple-tree walking-stick. He burst out with impatience. "Why go back to the Germany of my time, no matter what might have been the crimes of those days, to attempt to justify the brutality of this disgrace to my name, this successor of mine, who has caused the name of my old Kingdom of Prussia to stink in the nostrils of all civilised men! Who can compare this degenerate to me in the waging of War? In the spring of 1758 I was fighting against Marshal Daun, the Austrian, in Silesia. Just then I was very anxious that the Dutch should come on my side. I remember a conversation which I had with my Secretary, De cott, on the subject. * We were in a small village near Landslut. He said: you know you are strong enough to compel the Dutch to be your Allies. But I said, why should I employ force to compel these people to come on my side? Force is not justice. They are a free people, and it is for themselves to say whether they will assist me or not. But, he said, you can threaten to overrun their country, if they do not assist you. I said, it would be a shame to even think of committing such an act, and I shall never use either threats or force to the Dutch. And here I find this disgrace to his name acting towards the kingdom of Belgium more shamefully than I was advised to act towards the Dutch, and treating the Belgian people far more cruelly than the highway robbers and cutthroats of my days treated their wretched victims. As I got the name of the "Philosopher of San Souci" I hear he had the ambition to be called the "Philosopher of Potsdam." If so, he should have remembered one of the maxims of favorite author, Machiavelli, when he says "a tyrant can kill a man or kill men: but no man can kill a whole nation." Again, this curse to the name of Hohenzollern encouraged his officers and soldiers to rob and plunder; and even his own sons—Royal Princes forsooth—have shown themselves past masters in the craft of the burglar and house-breaker. As he appealed to the example of former Wars, I shall tell him how I acted towards conquered peoples. In 1758, in the month of April, some of the merchants of Troppau came and informed me that my soldiers had plundered their stores. I

discovered the culprits, and had them publicly flogged in the market-place. In June of the same year, as I was out walking with my Secretary, De cott, an old peasant came up to us, weeping and said that one of the *Vivandiers* attached to my army had stolen his horse. I told him I would look into the matter; and shortly after this the gay *Vivandiere* herself came riding along on the stolen horse. The peasant identified the horse as his property; and I got some of my men to dismount the wench, lay her on the ground flat on her face, and administer to her such corporal punishment as boys used to get in the schools. Such was my method. Yet, I believe, this degenerate scion of my house has awarded the Iron Cross to one of his officers whose principal achievements have been robbery and plunder * another of his blood hounds got a woman shot in cold blood for attending to wounded and dying soldiers without having first enquired into their nationality * My old friend and opponent, Marshal Saxe, once told me that he always gave severe punishment to any man or officer in his army who was found guilty of violence towards women. But I believe these cursed successors of mine and their followers have, the fashion of looking upon women somewhat after the manner of the Eastern peoples; and, by all accounts, they have also developed a taste for other oriental fashions and vices. † And they attempt to varnish their vice by calling it *Kultur*. In my time, with all our faults nobody could have called us hypocrites; but now the kingdom I loved so well has developed a breed not only of hypocrites, but of public robbers, murderers and wild beasts. Away with this arch-criminal, who has ruined his people and brought untold misery on the world!

* When the form of Frederick of Prussia had vanished, the Imperial criminal offered no further defence, and the executioners were called in. They carried out the condemned thing, and hurled it into that river of boiling blood which Dante, in the twelfth book of the *Inferno*, saw bearing on its waves, in everlasting torture, the tyrants of the human race.

* General von Hammerstein, of the 6th Corps.

† Miss Cavell.

‡ *Life of Marshal Saxe*, by Dettmer.

¶ Maximilian Harden, in *die Zukunft*: the Eulenburg case.

* *Memoires of Henri de cott*, published by Koser, Leipzig, 1885.

A Plea for a more Rational Curriculum

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BY

THE LATE PROF. H. P. FARRELL.

[A melancholy interest attaches to the article as the author died since this contribution was received.]

THE aim of education is the formation of character, that is to say, the development of the moral, mental and physical qualities of the pupil so as to enable him to cope as successfully as possible with every problem, emergency, condition, or circumstance with which life may confront him—life right up to its very end and including death itself. Now this formation of character is a complicated business in which many elements take part—the home, school and college, family, religion, ancestral traditions, economic status, climate and all those innumerable factors which go to make up environment. Of these, it cannot be too strongly emphasised that the ordinary day-school all the world over, but especially in India, is one of the least effective. Yet this is a fact which is constantly disregarded when any good or evil results are attributed to education, for the word is invariably used as though it were synonymous with school-training. The influence of the day-school is very small. It is different with the boarding-school of which the English Public School may be taken as the best type, for, here the boy is taken complete possession of, for considerable periods of time, and his whole environment, during those periods, is provided by the school. In the day-school, however, and this applies with special force to India, apart from a few feeble efforts at direct moral and physical training, it is only by the acquisition of knowledge that the boy's character is influenced. Now it is a very important question and one that is attracting considerable attention, whether the day-school cannot do more than this, but it is an even more important question and

one that attracts no attention at all except from professional teachers whether the knowledge which at present forms almost the only means of influencing the pupil's character is correctly acquired, or whether it is acquired at all.

In the science and art of education, a rule for the acquisition of knowledge is laid down, which, although often disguised under such portentous names as "apperception" or the "association of ideas" is a very simple one. It is this—that in learning and teaching you must proceed from the "known to the unknown". "All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do know," said the Duke of Wellington to Croker, and in that sentence the Iron Duke embodied the whole theory of education in so far as the latter consists in the acquisition of knowledge.

Now let us apply this to India. The Indian boy leaves a home of certain customs, habits, lines of thought, religion, and beliefs, which are as much a part of him as centuries of existence can make them; he is sent to school and college, and as soon as he has learned to read, write, and speak in English, he is plunged into a curriculum which consists in the main of English literature and history, with a little Indian history from an English point of view, and a second language. Leaving out of the question such subjects as arithmetic, elementary science, geography, and drawing, which, whether they are well or ill taught, are seldom properly assimilated, and which the majority of students are glad to drop at the earliest opportunity, the main subjects of the curriculum are generally crowned in college

with the study of the higher flights and fancies of English literature and of the literature of the second language, more advanced English and European history, and possibly philosophy.

Now these subjects have little or no connection with the ordinary home life and beliefs of the Indian student, and according to present methods, when he attempts to study them he is merely floundering in an unknown sea. Of course, it is possible to make the connection, as it is possible to teach any subject to any boy of reasonable ability, provided that the correct road is taken from the known to the unknown. But ordinarily this is not done, and any one with experience of the work of Indian students will be aware that these subjects are not and cannot be properly taught under present conditions, and that a great deal of the subject matter is merely learnt by rote or as we say, crammed. That is to say the boy is not educated, and the school and college are failing in the one factor in the formation of character in which their influence ought to be paramount, viz.—the acquisition of knowledge.

An example to illustrate this general indolence. Among the prescribed books in English literature in at least one Indian University, there are two of a widely-different character that recur year by year with remarkable frequency. They are "Pride and Prejudice" and "Paradise Lost". They are prescribed too, generally for the first or second year of the University course. Now "Pride and Prejudice" is one of the most delightful books ever written in the English language, but how can a young Indian student brought up according to the Indian custom and tradition of family life, be expected to understand and appreciate this simple shrewd account of the manner of life, domestic habits, conjugal and family relations, amusements, hopes and fears, of a typical middle-class English family, living according to the traditions, conventions, and religious standard of England of a century

ago. There is hardly a point of contact between the family of the Bennetts and a typical Indian home. I do not say that no Indian student can understand or appreciate "Pride and Prejudice," but it is essentially a book to come at the end of a long course of study of English life and literature; a book to be appreciated by the student who has spent several years in England; and most emphatically not a book to be set for a young student to read quite early in his University career.

Still worse is the case of "Paradise Lost." This is a book which should never be prescribed for a general examination, but should be given for study only to those who have specialised in English literature, for only they can properly understand and appreciate it. Even in England "Paradise Lost" is one of those books which everyone speaks of with reverence, but few people really read, and a book which is so intimately connected with the Biblical narrative and the Christian religion, which abounds with references to and quotations from Greek and Latin literature is, quite apart from other reasons, connected with the literary style and difficulty of the book, totally unsuited to be an educational medium for students who are not Christians, who have read little or nothing of the Bible, and who have no knowledge of the classical literature of Europe. "Paradise Lost" is essentially an unknown book and the path to it from the known, is, in the case of the Indian student a long and arduous one to be trodden only by the few. Ninety per cent. more of these who read "Paradise Lost" for an examination make no attempt to understand it, but simply learn the editor's and lecturer's notes, and reproduce them mechanically at the examination.

History (English and European) which forms another staple subject of the school and University curriculum is equally open to the objection that, as taught at present, it plunges the student into

a bewildering mass of facts concerning such totally unknown quantities as the Roman Catholic Church, the Reformation, Dissenters, Whigs and Tories, the Reform Bill, and the Holy Roman Empire. How very little the framers of our curricula have really studied the correct path from the known to the unknown is shown by the fact that in schools greater stress is laid upon modern English history and the growth of the Empire than upon the early history of England. Yet, to the Indian school-boy guided to the study of history along the correct path, *via* the history of his own people, the wars of the Heptarchy, the early village community, the coming of the Normans, and the growth of Feudalism, would be much easier to understand than modern constitutional and imperial growth. The latter should be left to a later stage in his studies.

The sum of this indictment is, therefore, that, according to the ordinary school and college curriculum in India, the school-boy and college-student are continually plunged into new subjects which have so little relation to the knowledge that he already possesses, that he cannot properly understand them. The result is that failing true comprehension, he endeavours to learn mechanically and by rote the knowledge that he has to present for examination. In other words, he "crams", and it is generally charged to the system of examinations that so many students suffer physical break-down in the preparation for them, and that so many other students who pass them are so ill prepared for the business of earning a livelihood, and seem to have benefited so little from their education whether as regards the formation of character or as regards the possession of a certain amount of well-digested general knowledge. But, examinations are not the root cause of the trouble. Furthermore, cannot be too greatly emphasised that, generally speaking, it is not the teacher who is to blame. Of course, there are bad teachers in India in all

grades of education, but my experience is that, in the larger towns at any rate, there are to be found teachers, primary, secondary, and collegiate, who are as enthusiastic in their profession, have as ready a knack of handling a class, and are as conversant with the principles of their art as could be desired. No. The fault lies with those who have framed our curricula, and the arch-offender was Macaulay himself.

So much for destructive criticism. What is the remedy? Are we at this stage to throw over the whole system of Western education and revert to curriculum founded upon the vernacular and classical learning of India, which Macaulay so scornfully rejected. Hardly! For better or for worse India has adopted Western education, and her future development depends to a great extent upon the proper assimilation of Western knowledge through the medium of the English language. Parenthetically, however, it may be remarked that much more might, perhaps, be made of indigenous learning and literature than is done at present. We look to the new University of Mysore to give us a lead in this direction. Our problem is a different one. It is to lead the Indian school-boy to the knowledge which has been systematised in Europe by means of the path which commences with the knowledge that is already his, or in other words, to discover as many points of contact as possible between Western civilisation and Indian home and village life. No subjects could be chosen which have fewer points of contact than English literature and history and yet these form central or co-ordinating subjects of the Indian school and college curriculum.

It is worth while examining why this is so. From the time of Macaulay onwards probably over 90 per cent. of the Englishmen who have had most influence on education in India, have been educated in the English Public Schools and Universities, and most of these again have been brought up mainly

in the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome, and have come to India with a very sincere respect for the classical tradition in education that is now slowly but surely giving ground before the "modern side" in all the Public Schools. Hence the literary bias of school and college curricula in India. English takes the place of Latin and Greek and "Paradise Lost" is expected to do for the Indian school-boy what the "Iliad" did for his educator.

The merits and demerits of English classical education are the subject of much controversy. Its defenders point with legitimate pride to that fine product—the English Public-School boy. But it is almost certain that the latter is the result not so much of a drilling in the Classics, as of the whole series of influences which the public school brings to bear on him, outside the class-room, in the dormitory, in the study, and above all in the playing-field. In other words, the English Public School moulds and develops character by other means than the mere acquisition of knowledge. Now these influences are so intimately connected with English upper and middle-class life, habits, and traditions, that to transplant them wholesale to India would be a task of considerable difficulty and of doubtful success. No Indian school-boy, for instance, would tolerate the imposition of such tasks as fall to the lot of even the easiest burdened "fag" in an English Public School. This reflects no discredit on him. It merely indicates that the traditions according to which he has been brought up are utterly different to those of his contemporaries in England, and that the influence of the school upon him must be in accordance with Indian habits, traditions, and manner of life. Educationists have so far recognised this that their efforts to transplant the English public school system have been of a very half-hearted nature, and in the long run it has come to this that only one part of it has been really adopted and that the least important, namely, the literary nature of its curriculum.

If English literature and history form the most arduous path from the known to the unknown for the Indian school-boy—a path beset with many chasms to be bridged and precipices to be scaled—there is a subject by which the road can be made as easy and as gentle as one can wish—and that is science. English literature is peculiar to England and has little to do with India but the verities of science are true all the world over. Elizabeth Bennett could have lived only in England and only an Englishman can properly understand her, but the law of gravitation acts in India as well as in England, and the proof thereof has nothing to do with a man's nationality. It is science, therefore, that should form the central or co-ordinating subject in the introduction of the Indian student to Western knowledge and not literature or history. Furthermore, it is far easier to find a comparatively straight and easy path from the known to the unknown in science than it is in these subjects or in philosophy. Science must be understood in its widest sense to include nature-study, physics, chemistry, biology, mathematics, and geography. It has the supreme advantage that it can be commenced at the very earliest stage in the village school long before the school-boy is introduced to the English tongue. Simple arithmetic, the construction of a plain map or plan of the school-room, and then of the roads or fields around the school, the points of the compass, the pole-star, the rising and setting of the sun, the curvature of the earth, hills, valleys, rivers, the growth of the trees and of plants, the properties of air and water, the elementary laws of physiology, physics and chemistry, the habits and uses of domestic animals are all of them so many steps from the known to the unknown of so short and easy a nature that no maxim of education is broken in taking them. Thence by similar short and easy steps it is possible to lead the pupil onwards to

the physical geography of his province, the habits of all the animals he has ever seen, the physiology of his own body, elementary biology, chemistry and physics, so that by the time he is in the higher standards of the secondary school, he has the requisite mass of knowledge easily to comprehend the more advanced truths of science, truths which he could not even have imagined in his village home, and which require greater facilities to demonstrate than can be obtained except in a large school or college. English, of course, must be taught as at present, but it should be English as a language, as a medium for the interchange of thought, and not as a literature. Only in the highest classes of the secondary school should literary subjects be taught, so that those who have an inclination for these studies, may discover their bent, and pursue it at the University. Science and English, including composition, paraphrase, and such prose books as are best suited to teach the spoken language rather than to serve as examples of supreme literary merit, should be the main and central subjects throughout the school and even in the junior classes of the University. Masterpieces of literature such as "Paradise Lost" should be prescribed only for those who specialise in English literature in the senior years of their University career. For the rest, poetry, if prescribed at all, should be limited to such simple lays and ballads as Scott and Macaulay wrote. It is in the senior years of his University career that a student should specialise in any subject for which he has an inclination. Language, literature, philosophy, history, mathematics, and science would, doubtless; all have their devotees as at present, but by reason of the careful and correct nature of their previous general education, students would have a much better chance of understanding and appreciating these subjects than at present, while those students who have not the scholastic bent for specialisation, would go out into the world with a trained intelligence and a sound general knowledge.

One last word of caution. It is maintained that by prescribing science instead of literature as the main path of a boy's education, that path can be made one that leads continually from the known to the unknown. Yet it is possible for those who have the framing of the detailed curriculum even in science to commit bad errors, if they do not remember that it is the phenomena that can be observed in India and not those of England that the pupil must be taught to study scientifically. The two are not always the same, and by copying, mechanically the details of a course in science as arranged for an English school or college, the student may at once be plunged into difficulties. A friend whose work is the teaching of biology informs me that he used to meet with considerable difficulty because the text-books prescribed or recommended, and the details of the syllabus, all had in view animals, *e.g.*, the lobster, as they are found in Europe or in European waters, ignoring Indian conditions entirely. Thus the lobster that he could obtain for demonstration and dissection was different from that described, while the earthworm was practically non-existent in his district.

The path from the known to the unknown is not a difficult one, but it is necessary for us, who have to trace it for our students, to have a full knowledge both of the starting point and the goal. When we set out on a long journey into an unknown country, it is the mystery that surrounds our destination, that is the difficulty. The starting point is clear enough. But with Indian educationists the difficulty seems to be just the opposite. They are well acquainted with the country into which they desire to guide their pupils, but they appear to know little or nothing of those bounds to the student's knowledge which form the starting point of their intellectual journey.

A Japanese View of European Civilization

(Letters of a Japanese scholar to an English friend).

EDITED BY MR. V. B. METTA., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

MY DEAR WILSON,

I have heard many Westerners talk of their civilization, as *Christian civilization*,—an expression, which, I think, is devoid of any meaning,—for the civilization of Modern Europe is hardly the product of the teachings of Jesus Christ. The foundation-stone of your 'Modern' civilization was laid at the time when your Feudalism expired,—that is, more than fourteen hundred years after the death of Christ! And is Europe even now really Christianized? How many of your statesmen are inspired to-day by the ethics of Christianity? Does not 'diplomatic policy' often mean 'dishonesty', or 'underhand dealing' in Western languages? And do not all your political moves prove that the two most prominent factors in your national life are War and Commerce,—which can have no possible connection with your Religion!

Commerce, once a quiet, tractable child in Europe, has now become overgrown and all-powerful,—which continually threatens to engulf you in everlasting misery. Your village-life, from what I saw of it when I was in Europe, is fast disappearing. Your cities are becoming larger and larger with the gradual increase of trade and commerce. Needless to say, they are destroying, if they have not already destroyed, all true artists and sincere lovers of Nature from your midst. Your people are so many machines,—whose sole business in life is to manufacture wealth. Your endless problems of Capital and Labour, are the result of a system of life based on crude and cruel ideas. You are not economically independent. A tariff-reform in another country ruins hundreds and thousands of human beings in your own country. Foreign * trade has become in-

dispensable to you,—a fact which is '*au fond*' the cause of your social and moral degeneration. Tired of fighting with each other in Europe after the Renaissance, you began to look out for 'fresh fields and pastures new' where you could dispose of your goods most advantageously. With this object in view, you began to persecute the physically weaker or inadequately-armed races of the world. You have conquered and almost annihilated by absolutely un-Christian methods many of the aboriginal races of Africa, America, and Australasia. You came to Asia ostensibly for trading purposes, but really for conquering and exploiting her. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the fire of her ancient and indomitable blood had not cooled down: Turkey was then dominating European politics with the help of her magnificent armies. As long as the Moghul Emperors were talented and powerful, the European merchants in India thought of nothing except their commercial profits and losses. The Dutch, the Portugese, and the English were as well received in China and Japan as in other Eastern countries. But they marred their good fortune there, by not properly minding the business for which they had come there. The times changed: and Europe became powerful as Asia began to decline. You then made a hundred treaties with Eastern Governments, and broke them whenever it suited you. We began to hear of 'extra-territorial jurisdictions,' 'spheres of influence', and 'protection' in Asia. You had always the noblest of reasons for explaining away all your unjustifiable and unpardonable actions in the East. You resorted to violent methods, when the Chinese refused to buy your Indian opium. In one of your wars against them, you burnt the Summer Palace, which contained some of the most precious art-treasures in the world. I wonder whether you ever regret, as an Englishman, th

* This War has taught Europe the folly of relying upon foreign trade for means of self-subsistence.

acts of vandalism, which your ignorant and in-artistic countrymen have committed in Eastern countries! And then by what human or divine right did Commodore Perry bombard our shores? We were living peacefully in our own country, and nobody, according to our ideas of morality, had a right to destroy our conception of life and happiness,—either for commercial or political reasons! After the Peace of Shimonoseki, the Western Powers combined in order to deprive us of what we had gained by our war with China, —although they had nothing to do with either of the belligerents! But ah! what has justice to do where half a dozen well-armed races are resolved to partition a great country among themselves? It does them good to talk about 'morality' with perfervid eloquence, when they have not the remotest intention of putting their vaunted principles into practice in their own lives!

A word about Korea, whose annexation by Japan is still making a great many Western moralists very indignant. In order to understand our motive in taking that step, you should try to see the dangerous rapidity with which 'The White Peril' was spreading in Asia in the nineteenth century from our point of view. Before the Meiji Era, Russia was exercising considerable influence over the Sakhalin and Kurile

Islands. She strengthened herself in the Celestial Empire at our expense in 1895. But we could not allow her to occupy Southern Manchuria, and Korea, in 1903. Would you, Englishmen, ever like to see France or Germany occupy the Channel Islands? When, after our Manchurian War, we saw that the Koreans were still as unreliable friends as ever, we were obliged to annex their country for our own safety. These sudden annexations ought not to come as a surprise to Western nations at any rate, who are all past masters in the art of transforming independent into dependent countries. Before sorrowing over the 'fate' of Korea, you should remember, that it has been treated by us in the past as our 'possession.' From the third to the eighteenth century, she was part of the Japanese Empire. Our great Hideyoshi then conquered her again in the sixteenth century, and from that time till 1867, the Koreans sent ambassadors to pay homage to our Tokugawa Shoguns. True,—the Wars of 1894 and 1904* were waged by us with the intention of keeping the little Kingdom independent. But when we found after 1905, that the Koreans were unreliable, and that Christian Missionaries were doing their best to make them more hostile towards us, what else could we do but take the step for which we have been condemned so much by foreign moralists?


Yours Sincerely,

J. OKAKURA.

Reminiscences of Sir Rabindranath

BY

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE T. V. SESHAGIRI AIYAR.

 HE reminiscences of Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore have more than a local interest.

While we find in its pages the gradual making up of one of the greatest of India's sons, we see glimpses of the life and occupation of a by-gone generation which make us lament the days that are no more. "My Reminiscences"* contain

sayings and epigrams which are characteristic of the sage. He contrasts the rigid discipline to which the youngsters of his generation were subjected with the freedom of the youths of the present day, and says, "The modern child of a well-to-do family nibbles at only half the things he gets; the great part of his world is wasted on him." There can be no doubt that the school boy of today is not given time to digest what is put before

* *My Reminiscences*. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore, MacMillan & Co., London.

him. He has too much to swallow, and the stuff is not always wholesome. So long as the craze for quantitative cramming continues, there can be no real knowledge. Sir Rabindra was left a great deal to himself, unlike the modern student. If he had been in a Madras school, he would never have passed his School Final Examination in English. Of course, the Intermediate English paper would have been beyond him altogether.

Sir Rabindra's first attempt at writing verses, recalls the story of Valmiki. His intense patriotism, and love of Indian literature turned his attention wholly to the vernacular literature of his country; and the world has benefited immensely by his not having been tempted to stray away into the pursuit of a language and literature not his own. He is against compelling any one to take to subjects with which he is not in sympathy. Of his own upbringing, this is what he says: "My brother Jyotindra unreservedly let me go my own way to self-knowledge, and only since then could my nature prepare to put forth its thorns, it may be, but likewise, its flowers. This experience of mine has led me to dread, not so much evil itself, as tyrannical attempts to create goodness. * * * The state of slavery which is thus brought on is the worst form of cancer to which humanity is subject". The idea expressed in this passage is applicable to all walks of life and to all attempts at producing a hothouse development.

The author's first attempt at publishing his writings seem to have been prompted by the same motive which moved Chatterton to foist his writing upon reputed poets of by-gone days. Sir Rabindra had had greater success in after-life than fell to the lot of Chatterton.

Sir Rabindra refers to the fact that in the house of his father, nobody was permitted to write or to receive letters in English. If the South Indian parent would copy this good example, there need be no forced attempts to encourage the study of our vernaculars.

In politics, Sir Rabindra belongs to what I may call the "*Laissez faire*" school of philosophers. How far, in a country which finds itself buffeted against modes of life and habits of thought foreign to its ideals and traditions, such a theory would be productive of that progress and development which every one desires is a point upon which there can be honest differences of opinion. But very few can take exception to this saying of the author: "What grew chiefly upon me, rather, was the conviction that only those who are trustworthy know how to trust."

I do not propose to take the reader through all the good things that this book abounds in. I have been trying to pick up passages and sayings here and there to show that the book is one which everybody intent on the upbringing of youths, and in the national development should carefully read through. I would conclude by quoting the handsome compliment paid by the author to English wives: "One thing struck me when living in this family—that human nature is everywhere the same. We are fond of saying, and I also believed, that the devotion of an Indian wife to her husband is something unique, and not to be found in Europe. But I, at least, was unable to discern any difference between Mrs. Scott and an ideal Indian wife. She was entirely wrapped up in her husband."

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore is a national asset. The life he lived, the experience he went through and the reflections he makes ought to be understood by those who look up to him with love and reverence. Nothing that he has written is calculated to reveal the man so fully as "My Reminiscences."


Rabindranath Tagore :—A Sketch of his Life and an Appreciation of his Works. Price As. 4.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

INDIAN AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND

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BY "A FRIEND OF INDIA,"

 SINCE Mr. Montagu's historic pronouncement in the House of Commons on August, 20, followed by the announcement of the release of Mrs. Besant and her two colleagues from internment, there has been quite a sparkling agitation against what has been regarded as the personal action of Mr. Montagu in the matter. Mr. Joynson Hicks and Lord Sydenham, especially, appear to have been disturbed at the manner in which Mr. Montagu had over-ruled all local authorities, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for his inquiry with the object of immediately handing over the reins of Government in India to the extremists. Sir John Jardine, Col. Yate, Lord Middleton and Lord Lamington, too, have been greatly agitated by this truckling to the agitators, and have evidently been much upset because the British interests in India have cabled violent protests against the action taken. The *Madras Mail* and its friends, both there and here, have undoubtedly tried to do all the mischief of which they are capable—all in the best interests, of course, of sober native opinion in India, which, unfortunately is not vocal, unless through the conversion of Mr. Joynson-Hicks, Col. Yate, and Lord Sydenham into convenient gramophones for its expression in the British Parliament. Even Sir John Rees was moved to protest against this pillorying of Mr. Montagu and to ask for fairplay.

Lord Sydenham, having apparently nothing better with which to occupy his time, has become the mouth-piece of the *Madras Mail*. The *Times* and the *Morning Post* have given him hospitality, and he has aired his views, at considerable length. However, in spite of the support of Lords Lansdowne, Lamington and Middleton, he did not emerge very well from his encounter in the House of Lords the other day, when he moved for papers. Lords Islington, Crewe, and Curzon effectively drew his thunder, and when they had finished with him, there was not much more to be said. Far more noteworthy than anything that fell from the lips of Lord Sydenham was Lord Islington's careful survey of the Indian situation and his placing of the correct facts in the proper perspective, and Lord Curzon's statement of his own present posi-

tion in regard to the demand for reforms in India.

The second heading about which a good deal of the controversy has turned has been the pronouncement made by His Majesty's Government in the House of Commons through the lips of the Secretary of State on August 20 last. The Noble Viscount in particular seemed to think that the Government had by that act suddenly, without due premeditation, at an unfortunate moment—unfortunate at any rate for Parliament—decided upon making a pronouncement, not merely grave in character but involving a serious breach in the political truce which is generally believed to prevail. Such was not the history or the character of that pronouncement at all. What were the facts of the case? For months past, we have had telegrams, letters, appeals from the Viceroy and his Council in India, drawing our attention to the increasing gravity of the situation, making suggestions as to the way in which it might be dealt with, and urging us to make some definite declaration of Government policy as regards the future to which India might look after the war.

It is very well to say that you ought not to raise these matters in time of war. My Lords, it is the war that has raised them. You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every Hemisphere and every Ocean; and, believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality, have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its Head, and to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched I think in most moderate and certainly in well-thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet. It was finally made at the date when it was made because it was at that moment that the discussions had reached the point at which it could be made. The matter had been under discussion while Mr. Chamberlain was Secretary of State, and he himself would have made the statement had he remained in office long enough. He passed out of office—unfortunately, as I entirely agree with the noble Marquess in thinking—and it fell to his successor to bring the matter again before us. The formula was ultimately decided upon. I do not imagine that any formula has ever been the subject of more close and constant discussion by responsible persons both in India and here than was that formula. The Noble Viscount might have been entitled to take the objection he did if there had been in that pronouncement any definite drawing-up of a programme, any sketch of what exactly was to be done. It was nothing of the sort. It was a broad general declaration of principle, and the lines upon which, in the opinion both of the Government at home and of the Government of India, our administration of that country ought to proceed in future,

It would be difficult to find any stronger consequence of the changes wrought by the spirit of the times than the altered standpoint regarding the future of India displayed by this important statement of Lord Curzon's.

Lord Sydenham's pathetic efforts to organise what has been, with unconscious humour, called the Indo-British Association in London, "which would have for its objects the promotion and protection of the *true* interests of the people of India," have not met with quite the response that was anticipated by the handful of Anglo-Indian ex-officials and merchants who have fathered the scheme. Even the *Times* has damned the new organization with faint praise. Referring to an important and useful letter from the pen of Sir Valentine Chirol, and, whilst refusing to confuse the issue of political reforms in India with the case of Mrs. Besant, it says of the new Association.

We welcome any such movement so long as it keeps clear of the spirit of race antagonism and recognises that British rule in India must be developed on progressive and sympathetic lines. The great fault of the British community in India has been that in the past so many of its members have avoided opportunities of public service. They have too often neglected to organize themselves for the purpose of giving expression to their own special interests and of extending a solid support to the Government. If the London movement has its counterpart in India, and if it is wisely and prudently conducted, it should have a good effect. India is a land of many communities, and the British have every right to be heard; but their claim to be heard must largely rest upon the share they take in public service.

And Sir Valentine Chirol's important statement of his views is worthy of record, particularly having regard to the admission that he makes at its conclusion. He says:

The war has precipitated such a political ferment in India, partly healthy and partly very unhealthy, that it may pass human wit to devise any scheme which will satisfy all parties; but we may hope at least that whatever scheme emerges from Mr. Montagu's mission will be a genuine and straightforward scheme which, if it fails to gratify extravagant expectations, shall fulfil in practice all that it may promise to the eye. The relative failure of the Morley-Minto reforms is due to the fact that whereas they professed to secure for Indians a larger share in the conduct of public affairs, they actually gave them little more than increased opportunities of criticising and obstructing the Executive without any increase of responsibility. There are great differences of opinion amongst Europeans and also amongst Indians as to the limits within which Indians are ripe for self-government, but within such limits, they must have real responsibility. Their fitness for such responsibility will then be the test for every successive extension of power, until they ultimately reach the appointed goal of full self-government within the Empire, which to many Englishmen, like myself, seemed beyond the range of possibilities before the war!

Lastly, we have the important words of Mr. Lloyd George in this week's debate on the Resolution thanking the Land and Sea Forces of the Empire. These are the actual words used by the Prime Minister:


And then there is India. How bravely, how loyally she has supported the British arms. The memory of the powerful aid which she willingly accorded in the hour of our trouble (later in the same debate Col. Yate said that the Indian troops that landed in France in the autumn of 1914, about the time of the first battle of Ypres, just three years ago, numbered 70,000) will not be forgotten after the War is over, and when the affairs of India come up for examination and for action.

It is doubtful whether special significance should be laid on the use of the expression "after the War is over" for there is no knowing how long peace may be delayed. It will certainly, however, take some time for Mr. Montagu, after his return to this country, to place before the Cabinet, and later, before Parliament, a scheme of reformed government for India. Meanwhile, the vicissitudes of the War may bring about all kinds of political changes here. At present the political situation is one of unstable equilibrium. A Liberal Prime Minister, who has cut himself adrift from his Liberal colleagues, with the exception of one or two including the present Secretary of State for India, has to carry on with a Government composed mostly of Conservatives or non-party men, with a tendency, most of them, towards Conservatism, and with a War Cabinet containing such formidable personalities as Lords Milner and Curzon. How long will such a Government last in the face of a storm or with the advent of peace, when the party truce will be automatically broken? If a Liberal Government returns to power, which is very unlikely, Mr. Montagu's proposals will have to be pushed forward in the House of Lords, against great opposition, which Lord Curzon, then in Opposition, will have great difficulty in stemming. If a Unionist Ministry comes into power, advantage may be taken of the fact to throw overboard Mr. Montagu's recommendations. It is unlikely that any scheme, as presented to Parliament, will be allowed to pass unchallenged, and I venture to suggest that the utmost caution should be used in India in protesting against such proposals as may eventually be put forward on the part of the Government on the ground of their inadequacy. Mr. Montagu's hands should be strengthened as much as possible, for he will otherwise have the greatest difficulty in overcoming the strong antagonism that is bound to be worked up by the Anglo-Indian representatives and their friends and advisers.

A LESSON FROM THE WEST

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BY THE HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN.

 THE principle of communal representation as provided in the Joint Scheme of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League is not new to democracy. It forms an essential feature of the constitution in several countries in Europe, and in order to illustrate its practicability, we will throw a cursory glance over the constitutions of countries where diverse peoples form a nationality under one government. We will confine our review to two governments in Europe—one a republic and another a dual-monarchy. "In the latter," says Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell in his book, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, "the different races which were forced together under a single monarchy have been straining apart, and striving to assert their independence; while the history of the Swiss has been that of separate communities uniting voluntarily for mutual protection and learning to reconcile their discordant elements and draw closer and closer together." This happy state of things in Switzerland is entirely due to the system of communal representation that prevails there. Four distinct races, German, French, Italian and Romance speaking people inhabit that country. Difference of blood is not the only thing that separates the Swiss from each other; they are also sharply divided on religious matters. As for languages there are as many as the races, none of which is recognized as official language. Debates in the Council are conducted in a curious polyglot, and the formal proceedings are read both in German and French. "All this contrasts strongly with the state of things in Austria-Hungary," writes Mr. Lowell, "and one rejoices to find that men of different races can live together without making the confusion of tongues a source of oppression."

The four races are geographically divided into twenty-five cantons, the elected representatives of which, two for each canton, form the Council of States which corresponds to the Senate in the United States of America. The National Legislature called National Council is elected directly by the people; one member is allotted to each canton for every twenty thousand people, and a fraction left over which exceeds ten thousand, every citizen who is twenty years of age being a voter.

"The principle of separate representation is carried down to the smallest local bodies and minorities have been allotted proportional seats. "But it is curious to note," says Mr. Lowell, "that as often happens, custom is stronger than law, for the habit of voluntarily conceding places in the Executive Councils to the minority has spread far more rapidly than the legal machinery which is intended to bring about the same result." "From this it will be observed that democracy in Switzerland is not merely a national or cantonal matter but has its roots far down in the local bodies, and this gives it a stability and conservatism which it lacks in most other continental nations."

Switzerland is in many ways an ideal democracy worthy of being copied by young nations just budding into self-government. For example party warfare there is reduced to a minimum and politics are conducted almost without regard to party. "When one party comprises so large a part of the community and is so firmly established that its supremacy is virtually undisputed, its members are not compelled to stand together and profess the same creed. They are at liberty to differ from one another and follow their personal convictions; and hence the measures of the Government are not carried by party votes, but are the result of a free expression of opinion."*

Contrast this with the practice of officials and nominated members voting with Government in Indian and Provincial Councils.

Unlike the English Cabinet, the executive councils are elected bodies in Switzerland just as it is proposed to have them partially elected in India. The Swiss have a dread of confiding authority to any single person and always prefer a collegiate body. Instead of a President, as in other democratic constitutions, they instituted a Federal Council of seven members who are all elected at the same time by each new Federal Assembly as soon as it meets. The work of administration is divided into seven departments which are allotted to the members of the Council by arrangement among

* This and other quotations in the following pages, unless they are otherwise acknowledged, are from Mr. A. Lowell's book, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*.

themselves. One of these members is elected President and another Vice-President by the Federal Assembly for a single year. The constitution provides that the same person shall not be elected President or Vice-President for the ensuing year. The Vice President is elected President so that the office passes by rotation among the members of the Council. The Council's duty consists in conducting the administration, but it is not expected to control the policy of the State. Its members are not the leaders of a party nor are they collectively pledged to a programme. All classes of opinion are represented among them. "It is indeed surprising that a body so composed should work so smoothly" and yet this marvel exists in Switzerland. This Federal Council would serve as a good model for the Executive Councils in India, which are proposed to be composed half of the nominees of the Governor and half of the members elected by the elected members of the Legislative Council. Mussalmans demand half the elected Executive Members to be Mohamedans, which is not inconsistent with the practice in Switzerland.

If Switzerland serves as a model of self-government to be advantageously copied by India, specially in respect of harmonious communal co-operation, Austria-Hungary gives us a warning as to how in certain conditions the same principle can produce national discord and communal disaffection to the unmaking of the nationality. "Although the boundaries of Hungary have changed very little for the last eight hundred years one is astonished to find how much the various races have preserved their identity, how little they have become fused into a homogeneous people." In this respect that country very closely resembles India. "The Magyars form less than one half of the population of Hungary, but they are more energetic, more aggressive and better organized than the other races, and the restricted suffrage, the oral voting and the arrangement of electoral districts tell so strongly in their favor, that except for the forty members from Croatia they hold all but about a score of the seats in Parliament." It cannot be concealed that there is a dread of similar monopolization of seats by "the more energetic, more aggressive and better organized" section in India, and it is suggested that the suffrage, the form of voting and arrangement of electorate should not be such as to "tell strongly in their favour." This defective system has led "the Magyars to feel that Hungary belongs to them, and although since 1848 they

have admitted men of other blood to a share of political power, they do not intend to let the control slip from their own hands." This object they have attained by a method which is as deceptive in appearance as it is effective in practice. "No line is drawn between the races in the sense of excluding any person from civil or political rights on account of his birth. The test of citizenship, the qualifications for the franchise, are the same for every one." This equality of rights is conceded not from any motives of fair-play and justice but because "the Magyars do not want to keep the other races distinct and in subjection: they propose to absorb them all, and make Hungary a homogeneous nation of Magyars!" More ingenious and deadly indeed than the alleged nation-building method of the much maligned Turks! They have proclaimed Magyar the national and official language; all other languages are being stamped out so much so that a municipal authority refused to extend the license of a German theatre!

The race problem in Hungary was complicated by the exceptional position of two provinces—Transylvania and Croatia. The former possessed peculiar institutions of its own and enjoyed considerable degree of independence till 1848 when it was united with Hungary. By 1876, it was completely incorporated in the Kingdom and deprived of its ancient privileges. The Diet was abolished and the Province was given 75 seats in the Hungarian Parliament to whose authority it was absolutely subjected. The territory was cut up into new districts. It was brought under the Hungarian administrative system and the laws and language of the Magyars were extended to it. In short, the ancient institutions of Transylvania were destroyed, for the Magyars were determined to crush the national spirit of the Germans and of the still more numerous, though far less cultivated, Roumanians.

In the sister Kingdom of Austria also the two great questions that vex the nation are those of religion and race. "It is not too much to say that each of these races is not only anxious to be entirely free from control by the others, but, if strong enough, wants supremacy for itself. It is, therefore, clearly impossible to content them all and the present policy is a sort of make-shift that contents none of them." The most powerful, the richest, the best educated and the most widespread of the races is the German who assumes that Austria is, and ought to be essentially a German territory. Though the most powerful

of the nationalities, it is weakened by a division into Liberals and Clericals, and still more by the tendency of the Liberals to fight among themselves. In consequence of this disunion they cannot either better their own position in Austria or protect their brethren in Transylvania. The Mussalmans of India should take a lesson from this and should not allow their inter-provincial solidarity and union to be broken up by local dissensions or provincial apathy. If they have not already got the inborn cohesive capacity, the delay in the grant of self-government will not produce it in any length of time. Their lot is thrown with the Hindus for the best and for the worst, and the present unnatural system of government is bound to give way some day to a more national system. The best interests of the country therefore require that Hindus and Mussalmans should learn to reconcile their discordant elements and draw closer and closer, and the Hindus should behave towards the Mussalmans as the Germans (who are in proportion of 20·83 against 6·34 French, 1·55 Italians and ·38 Romance speaking people) do in Switzerland towards their fellow-countrymen and not as the Germans do in Austria or the Magyars do towards the Germans in Hungary.

It is needless to say that the other races in Austria do not agree to the assumption of the Germans that Austria is or ought to be German; on the contrary they are incessantly striving for greater recognition of their own rights. The most important of them, because the most numerous and the most aggressive, are the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia. The next most influential race is that of the Poles who have the advantage of forming a compact mass in a single province. "They are ready to assist any Government that treats them kindly, all parties are, therefore, willing to buy their support with concessions." We have to beware of the formation of such a party in India which may be ready to sell its support for a consideration. "The other important races in Austria," the Italians and the Southern Slavs have their hands pretty well filled by the quarrels among themselves and with the Germans "to prove of any constructive use in the Government which is national only in name. As it is, the joint government of Austria and Hungary is composed of a number of hostile groups, and good and efficient Government is almost impossible.

We have cited two extreme examples to show how in one country the racial and religious pro-

blem was satisfactorily solved and the various elements placed in perfect harmony with one another for the good of themselves and for the greater good of the country; whereas, on the contrary, in the other country races continue to quarrel among themselves and each tries to get supremacy over the others, and when possessed of power does not shrink from crushing, if not from exterminating its fellow races. Both of them afford object lessons to India. Here, however, the problem of race and religion is not, in spite of appearances, so acute as in some parts of Europe and is capable of easier and more satisfactory solution. That solution is to be found in the simple scheme of reforms which the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League have jointly formulated.

By admitting the claim of Mussalmans for separate representation on Legislative Councils and by allotting them a number of seats in each Council to be filled by purely Muslim electorates, it is tacitly admitted that Indian nationality is mainly composed of only two peoples—the Hindus and the Mussalmans—whose respective population in British India is 163,600,000 and 57,700,000. The scattered presence throughout India of 2,190,000 Indian Christians, 100,000 Anglo-Indians and of 86,000 Parsis who are confined only to Bombay, do not materially affect the composition or character of the Indian nationality as a whole; in provincial and local matters the latter as well as other important sub-sections of the Hindus must be taken into consideration, so that every local institution should be popular in the sense that all the peoples of that area are properly represented thereon.

I will conclude with an earnest appeal to both my Hindu and Muslim brethren—to the former to regard the Mussalmans as one of the two component parts of Indian nationality and allow and help them to have their adequate share in the self-governing bodies, executive councils and services of the country; and to the latter to use these rights to strengthen their own position in order to make the combined Indian nationality all the more powerful. India is now on the threshold of a great future, and many factors are aiding towards an early realization of its destiny. It, therefore, behoves all patriotic Indians as well as all self-respecting communities and classes so to work out their Heaven-allotted tasks as to promote, rather than retard, the circumstances that lead towards that glory.

Government Aid and Indian Industries.

BY "MERCANTILIST."

THE evidence given by Mr. Karimbhoy Adamjee Peerbhoy before the Indian Industrial Commission in Bombay is, perhaps, the most notable evidence hitherto recorded by the Commission. Mr. Karimbhoy is a partner in the firm of Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy & Sons, who are proprietors of the Adamjee Peerbhoy Tent Factory and the Western India Army Boot and Equipment Factory, besides being leading contractors to the Military Department of the Government of India and big mill-owners. This witness has roundly accused the Government of India of favouritism in Government contracts, of preferential treatment of European firms as against Indian firms in the matter of Government supplies, and of playing into the hands of an influential official clique at Simla in respect of the control and regulation of Military requirements. The charge is a serious one, which he deliberately makes, courting the full glare of publicity and undertaking a full measure of responsibility for his grave accusations. His passage-at-arms with the President of the Commission is virtually a challenge at every turn, to the authorities concerned, to disprove his charges. The case he has formulated cannot certainly rest here. The matter must be thoroughly sifted in the fierce light of public criticism, and it is bound to attract an attention and interest beyond the passing and casual interest of the Holland Commission. One cannot but deplore the attempt on the part of the President of the Commission to cast a veil over the enquiry and the somewhat rough handling he meted out to this witness, but he soon found that in him he had caught a veritable Tartar. Whatever the sensational character of the situation at the time witness gave his evidence, there is nothing unprecedented or novel in the particular form of commercial and industrial nepotism that goes with any real competition between Indian and European interests in this country. Blood is certainly thicker than water, and not once or twice in our woeful commercial and industrial history has this been seen and recorded. In the struggle for existence from the days of the East India Company, many an Indian industry has been ruthlessly killed by British competition. But the East India Company were traders until the Charter of 1833 provided that the Company should thenceforth "discontinue

and abstain from all commercial business." Indian Industries never thrived even after the Company made way for the Crown. Into this painful Indian administrative episode we shall not enter here. The weapon that was used was fiscal and with this weapon important Indian industries were mortally injured in the interests of British Industries and Commerce. Even so early as 1903 in their Despatch to the Secretary of State for India, the Government of Lord Curzon remarked with a candour for which they cannot be too highly admired:—

If Indian industries are in need of, and should now desire, a measure of protection, protective measures would necessarily seriously affect imports from the United Kingdom and would only in a secondary degree affect those from foreign countries. We cannot imagine that the interests of Lancashire or Dundee, to mention two interests alone, would be likely to acquiesce in such a course, even though it were accompanied by still higher duties against the foreigner or that it would be acceptable by the Home Government.

In announcing the decision to appoint the present Indian Industrial Commission in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 21st March 1916, the Hon'ble Sir William Clarke, the then Member for Commerce and Industry in the Government of India, spoke as follows with equal frankness:—

Can we be sure if protection were established in India it would in effect secure the object which we have in mind to-day, namely, the building up of industries where the capital control and management should be in the hands of Indians. . . . It is of immense importance alike to India herself and to the Empire as a whole, that Indians should take larger share in the industrial development of their country. . . . Might it not merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance, would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your own boundaries?

But it was to the protection of Indian industries, against outside competition British or foreign, that the above mentioned utterances had reference. Against partiality of treatment in our own country, there has been hitherto no need to cry openly, whatever the volume and weight of discontent that could not easily find expression. The smouldering fire of discontent has been kindled by what Mr. Adamjee Peerbhoy has disclosed,

HERE has been rather a remarkable crop of political pamphlets and books bearing on Indian Administration and the proposed reforms and reconstitution thereof. The scheme put forward by the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League, and the famous Memorandum of the nineteen Members of the Indian Legislative Council, have furnished the texts for these publications. The two texts undoubtedly required ample elucidation and reasoned exposition. They are terse and concise, and considering the circumstances under which they had to be framed, they could not possibly have been otherwise. But, at the same time they embody in a condensed and crystalised form the best ideas of the sanest and most practical thinkers on Indian politics at the moment. The Congress-League scheme has really solidified all loose political thinking and with the important, though belated, announcement of policy in Parliament on the 20th August last, a feeling of hope has taken the place of one of despair, and honest agitation and open methods have removed secret thinking and dark misgivings. It is no small service, therefore, which the several authors of political publications, bearing on the national scheme of reforms, have rendered by their endeavours, and it is with such pleasure and gratitude that we notice below some of the most recent of those publications.

(I) THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME—AN EXPOSITION.

This is the title of the third of the series of political pamphlets issued by the Servants of India Society, Poona. It is a brochure of over 60 pages, crown 16mo. The author, the Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the present head of the Society and the successor of the late Mr. Gokhale, plunges directly into the subject with a clear and categorical statement of the fundamental ideas of the Congress-League scheme of post-war reforms. Every one of the basic ideas of the scheme is taken up and explained in the following pages, with great lucidity and convincing logic. After pointing out how the scheme guarantees British suzerainty, and how unfounded

are the fears expressed by some on this score, for reasons of their own, the learned author proceeds to discuss the lines on which the Government of India is sought to be liberalised by the scheme by means of the elective majority, the power of legislation, the power of the purse, and the control over the executive. The scheme yet falls considerably short of real responsible Government, and in emphasizing this, the author, calls attention to the recent proposals of responsible Government in compartments. "There is not a single instance, in the wide world of a people having acquired autonomy by compartments," says he, and offers some very telling and scathing criticisms against this proposal.

(II) THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN POLITY.

This is a substantial volume of over 500 pages by the Hon'ble Rao Bahadur M. Ramachandara Rao, B.A., B.L., Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council. The object of the author in writing the book is to show that the Reform proposals of the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress do not urge catastrophic changes, as has been said in certain quarters, but are based on existing foundations and constitute the next natural step in the evolution of Indian Polity. His aim is to show that the suggested reforms are by no means revolutionary. It is an erudite and weighty treatise on Indian polity that Mr. Ramachandra Rao has written. The chapters on Indian Government and the Central Legislature, followed by the chapters on Local Governments and local legislatures, with the connected questions of Financial, Administrative and Legislative autonomy contain masterly expositions of the whole problem of reform and all the proposed schemes for its solution. Not less interesting are the chapters devoted to the District Administration, the Civil Services, the Military Services and the Native States. It is not possible within a short review to call attention to the several excellences of this book and the reader will be amply rewarded by his careful study of the same.

(I) "The Congress-League Scheme—An Exposition," by V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Servants of India Society.—The Aryabhushan Press, Poona, November 1917—Price, As. 6.

(II) "The Development of Indian Polity"—by M. Ramachandara Rao, B.A., B.L., Member, Madras Legislative Council.—The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras—Price, Rs. 2-8-0.

(III) WHAT INDIA WANTS.

India wants autonomy within the Empire. This is what the book says even on its title page. It is a brief and succinct account of the history of India's demand for Self-Government. This is what the author, Mr. G. A. Natesan, modestly claims for it. An array of distinguished authorities on Indian Politics have written forewords to its, and the contribution of each, while an introduction to the publication, is a pronouncement on political reform. Even more valuable an addition to it, is the admirably prepared index at the end, which helps the reader to place his finger at once on every thing that is contained in it. The book* is well worth reading and valuable also as a compendium of reference.

* "What India Wants"—by G. A. Natesan, B.A., F. M. U., Editor the "Indian Review"—Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.—Price. As. 8.

(IV) MR. MONTAGU ON INDIAN QUESTIONS.

The publishers, Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., have brought out a volume of collections of the speeches of the Right Hon'ble Mr. Montagu. The recent speeches on the Mesopotamian Commission and his election speech at Cambridgeshire are also included. Mr. Montagu is the man of the hour in India. He has been greatly praised for his speeches, and at the same time most vilely abused. He is the hope of the better mind of India and of Indians to-day, and the despair of those who see in him and in his advent here, a stormy petrel. Time alone will show, whether the one or the other will be right; but, in the meantime, those who are anxious to know what he is, by his declared views and opinions on Indian questions, no matter whether his view and opinions prevail or not ultimately, cannot do better than to read these interesting pages.

A BUDDHIST FIND.

BY MR. C. JINARAJADASA, M.A.

DURING the last few years there has been in Europe a marked interest in things mystic and many works have been published dealing with mysticism. This is largely due not only to the influx of Indian ideas prophesied by Shopenhauer long ago, but also to the investigations into that recondite domain of consciousness termed "the subconscious." There is distinctly a revival of mysticism, and this present work is, therefore, interesting.

Indian mysticism has ever been precise and almost scientific in its method; mysticism in Hinduism and Buddhism has been less a subject of speculation and more one of exposition. In them the fundamental theories of mysticism are taken for granted and the exponent merely lays down a method for mystical experiments, just as the chemist describes how to perform a laboratory experiment. Hitherto there has been no definite work describing the methods of Buddhist mysticism, though Buddhist legends are full of the achievements of the ancient Arhats. Therefore, this "Manual of a Mystic" is distinctly a "find," being so far the only one of its kind.

The work was composed only in the 18th Century, though undoubtedly the mystic methods outlined are very very old. The Yoga practices outlined were introduced into Ceylon from ancient

India by way of Siam, when Buddhism was revived in the 18th Century in Ceylon by Siamese Buddhist Monks. Mr Woodward translates from the Pali and from the Sinhalese commentary, and I doubt if one more fitted for the work could have been found. Mr. Woodward has been resident in Ceylon over twenty-five years as the Principal of the Buddhist Mahinda College, and in addition to this he is a Theosophist, and so he brings to his work a thorough sympathy with oriental mysticism.

As to the contents of the work itself, each reader must judge for himself of the value of the meditations therein described. They are perfectly plain and precise, and psychologically they are of great interest. In these Buddhist Yoga practices, there is no attempt at the unification of man's consciousness which, any higher consciousness of Brahman or Absolute; their aim is to raise the consciousness of man so that he gains deep insight into the true nature of existence. From the description of the meditations, one gathers that this effect would not be dissimilar to what Plato had in mind, that is, the vision of the world not as thing but as idea. Whether the definite practices outlined will, indeed, produce this result or not is a question no reviewer can solve. But this much he can say, that we have in Mr. Woodward's translation a keenly appreciative rendering of a treatise on Yoga, and the book is a distinct contribution to the mysterious nature of man.

* *Manual of a Mystic or The Yogavachara's Manual* translated from the Pali by F. L. Woodward. The Pali Text Society, Oxford University Press.

PROF. S. G. PANANDIKAR, M.A.

§ SINCE the beginning of this colossal struggle, which has now entered into its fourth year, the Allies have been unstintingly pouring out continuous and profuse streams of the purest and richest blood and material in order to secure a lasting peace, and it is recognised by all the Allied peoples with the exception of a few pacifists of the type of Macdonald, Jowett and Snowden to be counted on one's fingers' ends that an inconclusive peace, really worth no more than a hollow truce, would be the most despicable crime against those heroes who are so nobly fighting and suffering, and thousands of whom have cheerfully made the last and the greatest of all sacrifices. But on the other hand, there is a remarkable divergence of opinion among the Allied nations as to the fundamental and governing conditions of a real peace, the maintenance of which would essentially hinge upon the status and power of the German Empire after the War. Although it is fully realised that this unprecedented struggle will have been fought in vain, and that the tremendous sacrifices will have been utterly wasted, unless the German Empire is so transformed as to become incapable of plunging the world into another great war for a couple of generations at least, there is a striking difference of views among the Allied nations as to what would achieve this consummation so devoutly and fervently to be wished and prayed for. A number of schemes have been recently formulated by some of the Allied political thinkers, and it is the purpose of the following few pages to examine the feasibility of the most important of them.

Firstly, it is argued that the one effective safeguard for the establishment and continuance of a real peace is to secure the dissolution of the German Empire, and the restoration of the *status quo* before the creation of the North German Confederation in 1867, and of the Empire in 1871,

when Germany was divided into a few large and many small States, nominally bound together by a loose tie, but practically independent for all essential purposes. This view appears to derive strength to a certain extent from the recent rumour of a strong and secret movement centred in Southern Germany favouring a separate Prussia and the re-establishment of the status existing before 1871, but to a greater extent from the appearance of three disruptive forces on the surface of German politics.

Firstly, the Empire has never evoked enthusiasm or even won popularity in Prussia itself. The Junkers or the landed aristocracy, the governing class in Prussia have always believed that the creation of the Empire was to some extent at the expense of the true welfare of Prussia, and it was from this class that the leaders of the counter-movement which crushed the premature and abortive revolution of 1848, were drawn. Secondly, the Prussians abhor the comparatively liberal tendencies of the Empire, whose constitution, although restricted in comparison with those of the western democracies, is far more advanced than that of Prussia. To take only one instance, while the Reichstag or the popular assembly of the Empire is based on direct universal suffrage, the Prussian Landtag is based on the most narrow and restricted franchise. Thirdly, the feeling of the minor nationalities is hardly less powerful in Germany to-day than it was before 1871. Loyalty to his particular State is stronger in the German's mind than loyalty to the Empire, and the most effective appeal to the Germans is that which is made to them as Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, Wurtembergers, etc., and although they are firmly resolved to maintain the Empire at all hazard, they in most cases place the welfare of their State before that of the Empire. However, even if we

give the fullest consideration to these fissiparous and centrifugal forces, it must be admitted that they are far weaker than, and must be swamped by, the binding and centripetal forces, which are operating for the continued existence and progress of the Empire, and the strength of which we shall weigh later on. Even the independence and prosperity of each State, 'the narrow Fatherland' is entirely dependent upon the full preservation of the Empire, 'the greater Fatherland.'

The proposals of the second group of political thinkers are less bold. They realise that the break-up of the German Empire is a task beyond the range of the capacity of the Allied nations, even if they are crowned with complete victory, and that the political and economic unification of Germany which has been consummated cannot be undone. They, therefore, maintain that the only way to prevent a recrudescence of hostilities on the part of Germany is to destroy the domination of Prussia in the Empire. That domination is so complete that there would be no departure from the strictest truth to assert that it has prussianised the whole of Germany. The King of Prussia must be the Emperor of Germany; he appoints and controls the Imperial Chancellor, who is also the head of the Prussian Ministry; Prussia has practically its own way in all the important Imperial affairs coming before the Bundesrath, which is the council of the representatives of the different State Governments, and which wields far more power than the Reichstag; Prussia practically controls the whole of the army and navy. Thus the Kaiser possessing absolute control over foreign and military affairs, and exercising through the Imperial Chancellor such an authority over most of the Imperial affairs as to make the other States bow to his will, finds it easy to pursue the path of aggressive ambition, and may at any moment in the future plunge Germany and the world into another terrible struggle. Hence it is argued that there can be no

peace insurance without the complete break-up of Prussian hegemony. As this predominance of Prussia is due to her large territory and population, it can only be ended by depriving her of her later conquests such as Silesia, part of Poland, Schleswig and Holstein. If this is accomplished, Prussia would lose more than half of her territory and population, which instead of representing 65 and 81 p.c. respectively of those of the German Empire, would represent only 30 and 28 p.c. and thus Prussia would fall to the level of other States such as Bavaria, Saxony, Baden and Wurtemberg. It is maintained that this destruction of Prussian domination in Germany, ending Prussian militarism and leading to a lasting peace, would benefit the German people also, since it would lighten the heavy burden of military charges and service, would cause war pre-occupations to disappear, leaving only productive pre-occupations, and thus would enable them to pursue the path of peaceful progress instead of being forced to subordinate all healthy and progressive activities to the single consideration of military efficiency.

These proposals regarding the dissolution of the German Empire or the destruction of Prussian domination are no doubt very attractive, and the arguments supporting them appear at first sight to be very plausible. But students of modern German history who have grasped the real significance of the forces operating in Germany since the advent of Napoleon, would detect the flaws in the above arguments, and realise the impracticability of the above proposals. Who is the real unifier of Germany? Neither Bismarck nor the Emperor William, because they only regulated and exploited the forces already created by others. The true unifier of Germany is Napoleon. Only those who have closely studied modern German history can realise adequately how deeply the iron of Napoleonic aggression and despotism wounded the German soul. The crushing and humiliating system which he forced upon

Germany and Prussia especially, after his victories of Auerstadt and Jena over them, his oppressive exactions, and the deliberate declaration of his firm intention of wiping out Prussia from the map of Europe as soon as he was free from the Russian campaign—these were the real forces making for the unification of Germany. Seven years of humiliation and suffering proved wonderfully effective in rousing the national spirit of the Germans, who up to this time had betrayed a despicable want of that courage and that tenacity so heroically displayed by the other nations of Europe in continuously resisting the aggressive ambition of Napoleon in spite of defeat after defeat. Napoleon perpetrated no greater error in his life-time than to drive to the verge of desperation Prussia, the one German State capable of serving as the rallying point for the national resistance of the German people. The old apathy and weakness of all classes vanished like thin air under the overwhelming burden of a keen sense of wrong; in the depths of wretchedness and humiliation the idea of a common Fatherland was born; and the German people under the leadership of Prussia caught up that flame of national regeneration which had burst out in Portugal, Spain, Tyrol and Russia at the aggressions of Napoleon. It was the leadership of Prussia that made the national German rising possible; all the German people were inspired and roused to action, by the fiery Prussian patriots and poets, who spoke and sang of the ancient glories of the Fatherland; the cause of Prussia and that of the rest of Germany were identified and the dominant force of the indispensability of unity to national existence was born.

Although the heroic resistance of the German nation in the memorable War of Liberation was one of the chief causes of Napoleon's downfall, there came a reaction against the idea of nationality when the Napoleonic danger had disappeared, and the autocratic monarchs of Europe assembled

in the Congress of Vienna, ruthlessly smothered the national aspirations of the Germans, and kept Germany divided as before. But the national aspirations could not be extinguished, the flame continued to glow brighter steadily in Germany, the wounds which Napoleonic humiliations had created remained unhealed, and it was the conviction of the vital necessity of unity to national existence that gave birth to the first and abortive movement in 1848 towards the creation of a German Empire, and to the successful movement in 1871, when the union was floated on the flood-tide of the surprising victories of the Franco-Prussian War. In that German Empire, the domination of Prussia was accepted, because German unity could be achieved and maintained only under the leadership of Prussia. The larger idea of national union triumphed over the narrow idea of state particularism because this alone safeguarded national existence.

Moreover, it cannot be denied that the German people have gained immensely from the creation of the Empire and the hegemony of Prussia, and their pre-War prosperity must be mainly attributed to these two factors. The Empire has been wonderfully successful on its material side, and it will be generally admitted that Prussia deserves the chief credit for this result. The remarkable organising power and efficiency, which are the main characteristics of the German nation to-day, were first initiated by Frederick William I of Prussia, and were steadily and assiduously developed by his successors with the co-operation of Prussian public leaders. Even the discipline and militarism of Prussia have not obstructed, on the contrary, they have promoted the economic development of Germany. Before the beginning of this War Germany was foremost in most of the material sciences, she had become the mother of scientific inventions, she had built up a powerful fleet, and with its aid carried on an immense foreign trade so remarkable that most other countries had become

entirely dependent on Germany for some of the commodities essential to national life. Further, the Empire was no less successful in the collective assertion of Germanism in international affairs, so successful in fact that the Allied nations have been compelled to enter into this colossal struggle, in order to crush the aggressive ambition of the German nation.

These practical reasons are very strong indeed, but they will become stronger after the termination of this war. Whatever its result may be, the German states will find the necessity of unity far more vital than at any former period in German history, and this pressing need cannot but submerge the disruptive forces described above, which have become prominent only temporarily owing to the heavy losses which the German nation is suffering to-day. The financial loss of Germany in this war has been the heaviest of all the belligerents', her prosperity has been shaken to its very foundation, and Germany will inevitably become bankrupt unless her pre-war foreign trade and the industries dependent upon it, now utterly crushed by the Allies, are restored. But this is the most formidable task, because the termination of this military War is certain to give rise to a long and intense economic war, in which Germany has most to fear from England, her most powerful opponent in economic as well as in military warfare. The German people fully realise that the only chance of success for them lies in the supreme concentration of all their economic and industrial strength, and that for this a united Germany under the leadership of Prussia is essential.

Secondly, even to-day the memories of the humiliation of 1806-13 are dominating German political thought, with this difference only that Napoleon's place in the German mind is now occupied by Russia. Although Russia is in a state of chaos at the present moment, her leaders feel confident that their endeavours to pull her

through the debacle will finally triumph over the forces of anarchy, and it is not inconceivable that a free and democratic Russia will ultimately rise more powerful from the War than the old autocratic Russia was before it. It has been well said that the strongest force making for unity is fear and this fear of Russia whether justified or not, is certain to create a profound impression upon the German nation, and to convince it of the supreme necessity of unity for defensive purposes. A careful consideration of all these forces leads to the inevitable conclusion that the domination of Prussia will remain because it is absolutely essential to the unity of Germany. The unity of Germany will remain, because it is essential to the existence of the German people. Southern Germany especially does not love Prussia but has to respect it for its efficiency, and therefore the predominance of Prussia is accepted and will continue to be accepted as a disagreeable necessity.

The third proposal for insuring a conclusive peace, that the Allies should make the disappearance of the Hohenzollern Dynasty from the imperial throne, one of the primary conditions of peace, stands on the same grounds. The Dynasty must remain because there is no other capable of taking its place. The stars of the Hohenzollerns have almost invariably been in the ascendant, and no other dynasty in the history of Europe, not even the Hapsburgs, has been so fortunate. The rising kingdom of Prussia was in the gravest danger during the Seven Years' War, but just at the critical moment the death of Empress Elizabeth disarmed the enmity of Russia, the situation was saved, and the nascent kingdom narrowly escaped dismemberment. Again, just when Napoleon was seriously contemplating the execution of his avowed intention of eliminating Prussia from the map of Europe, he was tempted by the invasion of Russia, which proved fatal to him. Yet again, when the movement towards

national unity was on the point of being crowned with success, the Habsburg Dynasty of Austria found itself completely eliminated from Germany, so that it was only through union under the Hohenzollerns of Prussia that the national security of the Germans could be achieved and maintained. The natural rival to the Hohenzollerns was the Wittelsbach Dynasty of Bavaria. But the latter was seriously handicapped by a long succession of mad or incapable monarchs, and therefore Bavaria had quietly to submit to Prussia. The claims of the house ruling over Saxony could not be entertained for a single moment, because though possessing high prestige till the 16th century, it had in "modern" times become completely discredited owing to the conspicuous lack of able rulers. On the other hand, the house of Hohenzollerns has been singularly fortunate in producing a succession of energetic, ambitious and able monarchs, who have made modern Prussia and later modern Germany. Hence it was natural that the Hohenzollerns had no rivals when the German nation had to select an Emperor for the newly-created empire. Since that time the prestige of the Hohenzollerns has increased considerably in Germany, while the Houses of Bavaria and Saxony have become more discredited than ever before. Hence it is clear that any hope of Bavaria or Saxony taking the place of Prussia must be dismissed at once, and since no practicable alternative is forthcoming or is likely to be suggested, the Hohenzollerns must continue to occupy the position which they are doing at present. Thus the fullest weighing of the potency of those forces operating in Germany seems to lead to the conclusion that the continued existence of the German Empire, under the hegemony of Prussia, and with the Hohenzollerns at the head of it, cannot be disturbed in the future so far as we can penetrate into it.

This conclusion naturally gives rise to the question, if these schemes for the assurance of a

real and conclusive peace are impracticable, what should be the direction of the efforts of the Allied nations to secure the end in view? The question is very wide, a full and comprehensive answer is beyond the limit of these pages, and, therefore, its barest outlines only can be briefly indicated here. A lasting peace can be secured only if the German Empire is so exhausted and straitened both militarily and financially by the overwhelming pressure of this War, as to become incapable even of any thought of plunging the world into another great war for a couple of generations.

To achieve this supreme purpose, in the first place, Germany's formidable military machine, which has been primarily responsible for the growth of her dream of world-dominion, must be effectively broken up. Such losses must be inflicted on Germany that at least for some years to come, she must continue to feel keenly the depletion of her man-power, and find it so insufficient and invaluable as to be incapable of any thought of wasting it away recklessly in another huge conflict. It may appear cruel and blood thirsty to say so, but it is unavoidable. It is now indisputable that Germany cannot be convinced by any amount of reasoning or arguments, however sound and forcible they may be, and that this is the only way to prevent a far greater bloodshed in the near future. It is therefore satisfactory to find that this object is being steadily pursued by the British and the French on the Western Front, where they have been continuously worrying and harassing the German hordes, and inflicting heavy losses upon them. However the fly in the ointment is the condition of the Eastern Front, where the Russian Debacle is daily assuming graver aspects.

Secondly, it is no less necessary to destroy the power of the German fleet, which though less formidable than the British one, is certainly a grave menace to the peace of the world, being wielded

by aggressive hands, and especially so since the recent development of submarinism.

It is no doubt true that the German fleet has been mostly restricted to its harbours, and has several times especially in the battle of Jutland, received a severe shaking from the might of the British Navy. But much water will have to flow under the bridges, before the German naval power and the high hopes based on it are destroyed. The British Admiralty has on the whole adopted a defensive policy, the German fleet is still fairly intact and formidable, and this has naturally led to a strong outcry in England for a much more vigorous naval policy. In this connection it is worth while referring to the suggestion recently made by Mr. Churchill that a part of the Allied fleet should continue to remain on the defensive to safeguard adequately the Allied interests, and that the remaining portion may be risked on a bold offensive policy against the German fleet.

Lastly, Germany's financial weakness after the war would be even more conducive to the maintenance of a durable peace than her military exhaustion, for in modern warfare the equipment and organisation of an army count far more than its numbers. It is certain that Germany will be compelled to make restitution for her plunder and destruction in the Allied territories which she has

invaded. But it is not so certain, whether the Allies would be able to counteract effectively the efforts, which Germany is sure to embark upon after the War, to re-establish her pre-War trade by recapturing the markets of other countries so as to recover rapidly from her financial exhaustion. For, while the cessation of her foreign trade due to her blockade by the Allied fleet has enabled her to accumulate vast stocks of commodities, which she will endeavour to dump upon other markets as soon as peace is declared, the Allied nations have no such stocks on hand. However, they have fully realised the vital need of protecting themselves against the aggressive militarist commercial policy of Germany, and their representatives met together at the Paris Economic Conference in June 1916, where they discussed the appropriate measures for the formation of a permanent economic alliance among themselves in order to frustrate the efforts of Germany to establish her domination over the production and markets of the world after the War. An economic league of the Allied nations properly furnished with machinery for enforcing the financial, commercial and economic isolation of a nation determined to force its will upon the world by mere violence would be the real safeguard for the peace of the world.

TURKEY AND THE WAR

BY "

PROF. FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.

THE author of this book,* the military correspondent of a prominent Russian newspaper, has the further qualification for his task that he lived for some years in Constantinople and Salonika. Like all who know the Turks at first hand, he has an evident regard for them, both as individuals and as a type. But he

takes a gloomy view of Turkey's political conditions and prospects, and frankly regards the dismemberment of her Empire as the natural goal of the present war—at once a primary factor in causing the war, and a necessary condition of any permanent settlement.

The first part of the book is devoted to a review of the many factors which have contributed to the war. But the author reasonably insists that

* *Turkey and the War.* By Vladimir Jabotinsky T. Fisher Unwin, London.

they are secondary. Alsace-Lorraine, for example, is a question which at once springs into prominence when war begins; the victory of the Allies will mean the restitution of her lost provinces to France: but this did not cause the War. In his opinion, no one of these questions, nor the sum of them, would have provoked such a war, if the condition of the Turkish Empire had not favoured Germany's ambition to dominate the world. In this analysis he is in substantial agreement with Prof. Ramsay Muir's contention (in his *Nationalism and Internationalism*) that it is the unstable equilibrium of the non-national Empires of Austria and Turkey that has really brought about the War.

In the second part he examines the recent history of Turkey, and shows that under modern conditions its failure was inevitable. The Turks themselves form no more than a third of the population of an Empire distinguished by an extraordinary diversity of races. Unlike the German minority in Austria, they lag behind the subject races in culture, in industry and commercial enterprise. To maintain their supremacy, they have been irresistibly driven to autocracy. Under the old regime, this was in the main tolerable because of the large liberty allowed to their subjects in other directions. But the young Turks, imbued with doctrinaire notions of nationality and parliamentary government, found their difficulties insuperable. Hence they were forced, by the logic of facts, to methods of autocracy which out-Heroded Herod, and a policy of 'Ottomanising' the non-Turkish races which was bound to provoke disturbance. As the alternative of allowing their own nationality to be swamped by the rest for the sake of keeping the Empire intact is one which no Turk, 'Old' or 'Young,' is likely to accept with complacency,

the disruption of the imperfectly unified fabric is to be regarded as inevitable.

The author then proceeds to discuss the possible lines of partition, in view of historic or ethnic claims or solid commercial interests. The chief points to notice here are—(1) that Russia must, in some way or other, be given Constantinople and the Straits, to enable her to reach the Mediterranean; (2) that Palestine (as distinct from Syria, to which France has claims) must be taken by Britain, to safeguard not Egypt but the Suez Canal; (3) that the Hedjaz and the Holy Places of Islam must be left independent; and (4) that the real Turkey, or Anatolia, may be left to develop on national lines, and that it would be wise to leave its commercial exploitation to the Germans, whose pardonable restlessness will otherwise provoke some new and disastrous contest. All these points he is at pains to exhibit as consonant with the interests of Britain.

Finally, in an appendix, the author advocates a vigorous prosecution of the war against Turkey as alone likely to bring a speedy and decisive conclusion. He is not blind to the superior importance of the western theatre from a strictly military point of view. But the overthrow of Turkey would close the door of hope to German ambition, and so undermine the German power of resistance more swiftly and completely than any defeat of a purely military character.

The book is illuminating, and incisively written. It is a pity that the English lady who contributed to its 'linguistic form' did not do her work more thoroughly. Flaws not only of idiom but of grammar, which jar upon the reader, are distressingly numerous. In spite of them, it remains a readable and suggestive contribution to the discussion of the great problem of the settlement to come.

MOGHUL MINTS IN BENGAL

BY

MR. PRAMATHANATH DATTA.

THE Moghul Empire attained its highest splendour during its suzerainty of Muhiuddin Mohammad Aurangzeb Alamgir Ghazi Padsha. Before he came to the throne, a greater portion of Afghanistan became independent with the help of the Safavi family of Persia and was thus cut off from the Moghul Empire; but the annexation of Golconda and Bijapur by Aurangzeb was the crowning glory of the Empire, and thus for what was lost in Afghanistan, much more was gained in the Deccan. The characteristic feature of the reign of Aurangzeb introduced certain administrative reforms the schemes of which were devised by the monarch himself.

Reforms of currency were one of them. In his time, gold, silver, and copper coins were minted from the mints established mostly by him. In his reign, there were mints at the following places in the Suba of Bengal, Behar and Orissa: (i) Akbarnagar. When Bengal was subjugated by Akbar, Rajmahal was named after the Emperor as Akbarnagar. The mint was probably established by Akbar, and it came into importance during the reign of Aurangzeb. During the reign of Shah Alam I, son of Aurangzeb, it lost its importance and was closed.

(ii) Islamabad. This was the Mahomedan name of Chittagong. The succinct history of the place under Aurangzeb is this. Aurangzeb's uncle Shayista Khan, who had allowed himself to be surprised by Sivaji in the Deccan, was transferred to Bengal as Subadar in succession to Mir. Jumla. He sent an expedition to Arakan, and forced the king to cede the Chittagong territory in order to check the piracy of the Portuguese and other pirates who infested the neighbouring rivers. He changed its name to Islamabad and the mint remained there till the reign of Shah Alam II.

(iii) Cuttack in Orissa. Here the mint was found by Shahjahan and it was there till the time of Ahmad Shah.

(iv) Jahangirnagar, the Moghul name of Dacca. It was a very famous place at that time, and its reputation for the manufacture of muslin, a fine texture of cotton fabric, had spread far and wide. The mint was opened by Jahangir and it closed with the fall of the Moghul Empire. During Akbar's time there was a mint at Gaur, (in the present district of Maldah) the then capital of Bengal. In it the currency of Akbar was coined and this mint was possibly removed to Dacca, when it was made the capital of Bengal by Jahangir.

(v) Azimabad or Patna. The mint existed there since the reign of Akbar down to the transfer of the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, to the East India Company by Shah Alam II.

(vi) Mooksushahbad or Murshidabad. Murshid Cooli Khan was forced to leave Dacca and to come back to Murshidabad. It is said that there arose a dispute between Diwan Murshid Cooli and Subadar Azimushan, the grand son of Aurangzeb, and as a result of this dispute Murshid Cooli had to leave Dacca for Murshidabad. There the Khan opened a mint with the approval of the Emperor of Delhi. This was probably some time between 1703 and 1705 A. D. Numismatic evidence shows that the coins that were minted by the East India Company at the Calcutta Mint bore the inscription of Murshidabad. This mint of Murshidabad was removed to Calcutta for protection under East India Company and up to 1835 it coined the currency of Shah Alam II.

Mr. R. D. Banerjee, a famous journalist, who has contributed several numismatic researches of

his own, gives a description of a copper coin that bears the name of Aurangzeb and the writings of which are in the Bengali character. There are no other evidences on record about Aurangzeb's coins having inscriptions in a character other than the Persian. That one, according to Mr. Banerjee, was minted from Cooch-Bihar Mint as on it was struck 'Alamgirnagar,' the name given to Cooch-Bihar by Aurangzeb.

In the 16th century Raja Naronarayan of Cooch-Bihar circulated currency coined from his mint. Those coins were known as 'Narayani' coins and they were of gold, silver, brass and copper. Those that have been discovered bear the names of Narnarayan, his son, Lukshmi Narayan, and Raghudebnarayan, another descendant of the family.

In the year 1657 when Shah Shuja marched to Delhi on the reported illness of Shahjahan, the Raja Prem Narayan of Cooch-Bihar dishonoured and banished the Moghul representative of his court and ordered one of his generals to proceed with the army to punish one feudal chief who rebelled and finally took shelter in the Moghul

territory. To this army, joined the Raja of Assam and the combined force caused depredation in the Moghul boundary. When in Delhi, the contest for the Crown was settled down to Aurangzeb, he ordered Mir Jumla to proceed to Cooch-Bihar. Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar in his famous "History of Aurangzeb" gives the following description :


'Mir Jumla made his way to Cooch-Bihar by an obscure and neglected highway. The advance was very slow as the dense bamboo groves had to be cleared to make his way. In six days Mir Jumla's army reached the capital which had been deserted by the Raja and his people in terror. The name of the town was changed to Alamgirnagar.'

In 1661 Mir Jumla marched against Cooch-Bihar and in 1662 he left it for Dacca. On Mir Jumla's leaving the territory, the Raja of Cooch-Bihar rallied his army and drove out the Moghul soldiers that were left behind. For one year only, Cooch-Bihar was subjugated by Aurangzeb and the coin was minted during this period from Alamgirnagar bearing the inscription in Bengali characters.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF DIETETICS

BY

MR. A. S. BHANDARKAR, A. B. (HARVARD)

 HE old dietists used to draw a sharp line between two functions served by food within the body and classify the foods accordingly. These functions were as follows:—

(1) Building up of the worn-out materials of the body and (2) supplying it with energy especially in the form of heat. This was the way they argued in defence of animal protein as food and hence their own classification—"The proteins form a part of the tissues of every living animal and were essential to life, more so to a life of active manual labour. Carbohydrates and fats

did not contain the chief constituent of proteins, namely, nitrogen; therefore they played quite an insignificant part, if at all, in replacing the worn-out tissues of the body." They knew that the heat supplied to the body was mainly due to the oxidation of fats and carbohydrates into carbon-dioxide and water, which further justified in their eyes their assigning function (2) to these latter. "Moreover," they proceeded, "since animal food is rich in proteins akin to those in the human body, it is the most nutritious and wholesome of all the foods." It is rather surprising to find

however, the same attitude more or less modified taken up by not a few dietists of to-day in the face of facts revealed by modern physiological research. Let us examine the above argument in the light of physiological chemistry and common experience. No one denies the truth of the first premise, e.g. that animal tissues contain protein matter. The following are the chief debatable points:—

- (1) Whether proteins alone are important in building up the worn-out tissues.
- (2) Whether animal flesh is the only medium through which we can get the necessary amount of proteins, and whether the amount present there is really an 'indispensable minimum,' as some dietists believe, in the case of a labourer doing very hard work; (3) Are animal proteins the most wholesome of foods?

Many people in India live on vegetable food which contains a small percentage of protein in comparison with meat. Wheat containing about 12 per cent. as against 20 per cent. of meat while rice as little as 8 per cent. But the Indians and even the Japanese labourers possess at least as much hardihood, if not so much brutal force, perhaps, as any English or American labourer. Vegetables like peas and beans may contain protein equal in amount to that in animal flesh, but they do not form the staple food of these labourers, carbohydrates figuring very large in their diet, while the necessary fats they get as vegetable oils or from the dairy products. Where, then, in their case, does the 20 per cent. of protein, regarded as the 'indispensable minimum' for hard manual labour come from? Thus, either the percentage is not an 'indispensable minimum' or proteins have not got the chief monopoly of building up the worn-out tissues of the body. Both these things are true and more than true. It has been found that fats and carbohydrates are both metabolized in the body, being regarded as essential as proteins for this purpose and not merely as 'accessory ingre-

dients. On the other hand a pure animal protein diet—given a certain amount that can be digested without harm—has been found a failure for supplying the body with the necessary amount of energy. A food may be very nutritive but at the same time equally hard to digest. This digestibility depends on two things:—

- (1) The physical nature of the substance and the amount of refuse it contains.
- (2) The intrinsic ease with which a compound substance can be split up chemically and synthesized again into the products of metabolism.

As regards (1), it has been found that the more adhesive the physical aggregation of a substance, the harder it is to digest. Thus liquids are easier to assimilate than solids which have to be dissolved for digestion; pulpy matter easier to digest than fibrous one, the fibres of vegetable cellulose being assimilated with difficulty while those of meat are for the most part thrown away by the system as refuse, sometimes to rot in the larger intestine. Now, while there is hardly any refuse in fats like butter and carbohydrates such as cooked wheat, rice and other vegetables, its quantity amounts to sometimes as much as 20 per cent. in animal food, the food value of fats like ghee, butter and olive oil being almost 100 per cent.

As for (2) it is generally true that most nitrogenous foods being very complex in chemical structure are the hardest to digest. Thus the food which the animals like horses eat is richer in protein but it cannot be digested by man. Weight for weight, too, the fats are more nourishing while the carbohydrates are much more digestible than any meat though habits of diet undoubtedly play a large part in modifying our digestive power. Nervous energy wasted in grappling with indigestible food can be more profitably utilised in the exercise of higher faculties of mind and soul. Digestibility of a food is a matter of still greater concern in the case of men engaged mainly

in intellectual work like students, leaving aside its importance for sick people.

Moreover, while the excess of protein matter is invariably voided in the urine, the excess of sugar due to the digestion of carbohydrates is stored up for future use as glycogen by the liver and the excess of fat by fatty cells, there being a special system known as the 'lacteal system' for the digestion of fats. Let us see now what happens to the undigested food in the larger intestine. The amount of undigested fats and carbohydrates is very small in the first place and its oxidation and reduction products due to bacterial putrefaction in the bowels are mainly substances like lactic, butyric and carbonic acids which form the constituents of our food some being even produced in the process of digestion. Thus, they very seldom do any serious harm if at all. While on the other hand, the putrefaction products of proteins are offensive, bodies like indol, skatol, phenol and a host of others are liable to cause serious auto-poisoning of the individual.

All these above facts show conclusively that fats and carbohydrates rather than proteins such as exist in meat are meant to be the food of human beings and are more essential and wholesome to them than the proteins. This is the truth and nothing but the truth, howsoever unpalatable it may be, to the flesh-eater proteiners; and while one can understand the necessity of having to live upon animal diet to get the requisite fats and digested carbohydrates through its means owing to the lack of eatable vegetables in a country, it is hardly excusable on the part of a searcher after truth to distort the facts of Science for the sake of a theory in defence of a personal or a national custom.

When one sees that the animals whose flesh contains proteins and are eaten on that account, are herbivorous and thus live mainly on carbohydrates, and that the amino-acids, the final products of decomposition of these proteins are not

found in the blood, and that the excess of proteins, unlike fats and sugars, is thrown away by the system, one begins to doubt whether the nitrogen necessary for building up human tissues does really come from food.

In the well-organized and economic scheme of Nature it does not seem improbable that the vast amount of nitrogen in the air serves some more purpose than mere dilution of oxygen to make it fit for breathing. A modern English physiologist has shown by means of interesting experiments on his students, that it is not so much breathing fresh air that keeps a working man from fatigue as the general action of fresh air and light on the skin. One at once suspects that the nitrogen in the air must have something to do with it. The skin-action has a close parallel in the chlorophyll action of carbon-dioxide in the plant-world.

It is curious, indeed, that man, who cares so much for the efficiency of his steam-engine and the heat value of the fuel he puts in, should have paid so little attention to his own food in the past. Even now he keeps on eating things which he knows are either waste or difficult to digest. Custom dies hard. But it is no use saying that it would be harmful to change radically the diet to which one is habituated. It would be harmful, perhaps, if the change is sudden; but that does not take away from the merits of certain foods whose nutrition value has been established on a physiological basis.

I have not the least intention in this article to make converts to any pet fad of mine; as for that, I have not yet been able to convert myself. My only purpose is to lay before the reader the present position of dietetics with respect to modern physiological research and to contradict the fallacious arguments put forth by some of the Western dietists in their unpardonable zeal to justify their favourite theories.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA*

BY

DR. KUNJAN PILLAI, M.A., BSc.

(*Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, Travancore.*)

THE subject of agricultural education is engaging the prominent attention of the Government of India at present.

Early in 1916, a Conference was held at Pusa under the presidency of Sir Claude Hill to discuss this subject. A number of resolutions were passed at that Conference, but evidently not being satisfied with the conclusions arrived at, the Government of India again called together a Conference consisting of officials and non-officials which met recently at Simla also under the presidency of Sir Claude Hill. The question of agricultural education in its various aspects was thoroughly discussed at this Conference and a number of important resolutions were passed.

The proceedings of the Conference reported in newspapers are naturally short and incomplete, and a comprehensive criticism of the conclusions is only possible after the publication of the official report. From the information already furnished to the public it is, however, possible to make a few general observations.

A question of far-reaching importance was raised in the course of discussion at this Conference, namely, whether demonstration work or agricultural education should be given prominence in the development of Indian agriculture at this stage. Some members were of opinion that demonstration should have precedence and that all the men whom Agricultural Colleges are able to train for the next ten years or so should be absorbed into the Agricultural Department to carry on demonstrations, while some others and particularly one gentleman said that preference should

be given to agricultural education. It seems to me a bad policy to stifle demonstration work at present. The vast majority of our ryots are illiterate and the only way of drawing them out of their conservative groove and turning them to the path of scientific agriculture is to carry on demonstrations as extensively as possible under their very nose. Any kind of agricultural education that may be initiated cannot and will not reach the grown-up rural population of the country. Agricultural schools may be started in hundreds; but the ryot will hardly think it worth his while to go to such schools and begin his education. To him practical proofs of the benefits of scientific agriculture will appeal more than the instruction that he may receive from teachers and books and hence the necessity of extending the operations of the Agricultural Department in the field of demonstrations. While recognising the importance and necessity of extending demonstration work one cannot altogether forget the influence of agricultural education on the younger generations and the far-reaching results which the education of the boys in the profession in which they are to be engaged in after-life will bring about. The chief obstacle that stands in the way of the popularisation of scientific methods of cultivation in India is the illiteracy and ignorance of the ryots. If the ryots had in their boyhood received some education, both literary and agricultural, the work of Agricultural Officers would have been much easier. The mistake of not educating the rural population in the past has now been exposed and surely it is the duty of the Government to see that this mistake is not perpetuated. It is high time, therefore, to think

* Prepared for the Madras Agricultural Students' Conference.

out and initiate a liberal policy of education for the boys of the agricultural classes. Apart from the standpoint of the improvement of agriculture, the question of agricultural education has also to be looked at from the standpoint of the problem of the unemployed which is already forcing itself on the attention of the administrators.

How best can agricultural education be spread among the masses is the point to be considered. The resolutions passed at the Simla Conference, in my humble opinion, do not go far enough in this matter. It was decided there that there should be an Agricultural College in each Province for imparting higher education in agricultural science and that one or more agricultural schools should be established in each rural district near Experiment Stations and Demonstration Farms for training the sons of farmers in practical and theoretical agriculture. The number of Experiment Stations and Demonstration Farms in each Province is not very large at present, and if agricultural schools are only to be opened near such stations and farms, the rate of progress in the spread of agricultural education among the masses will neither be appreciable nor satisfactory. Of course, the starting of a larger number of agricultural schools, it may be argued by those who are against such a policy, depends upon money and teaching staff. Both these are difficult to get at present, and hence there should be no grumbling at the inevitable slowness in the spread of agricultural education. One must admit that, without money and men for teaching, agricultural schools cannot be opened. But are these insuperable difficulties? I think not. As far as money is concerned, I think it possible to chalk out a scheme of agricultural education which does not involve such formidable expenditure as is considered necessary by the authorities. Of course, some money has to be spent and the Local Governments can make provision for the same by reserving a special allotment every year even by

curtailing, if necessary, the expenditure to that extent on higher vernacular education of a purely literary kind in rural districts.

The question of finding teachers for the agricultural schools is even more important than that of finances. There are now a number of Agricultural Colleges in India and the Simla Conference resolved that each Province should have one such College. In these Colleges there are two courses, one for two years and the other for four years. At present the men who are trained in the Colleges are mostly absorbed into the Agricultural Department. This policy should be changed. The men undergoing the four years' course may all be taken into the Department, and from those who take the two years' course a good portion should be made available for teaching in the agricultural schools. The number of students admitted to the latter course can be increased to at least 40, without much additional cost on lecturers and appliances. Of these students at least 30 may be expected to pass out every year and of them 10 should be taken into the Department and the remaining 20 should be employed as teachers in agricultural schools. If this course is adopted, it will be possible to open at least 10 agricultural schools every year in each Province 2 teachers being employed in each school.

As already stated, by the adoption of the course suggested above 20 teachers in agriculture can be procured every year in each Province, and with them at least ten agricultural schools can be opened. These schools are solely intended for training men for practical agriculture, men who will go back to the land and engage themselves in cultivation. Appointment-seekers should not be allowed to contaminate the atmosphere of these schools and poison the minds of the innocent boys who wish to develop into practical farmers. No hope of entering Government service should be held out to these boys and very great care should be taken from the start to admit only boys who are

prepared to devote their life to agriculture. Such boys can be had in plenty everywhere and there need be no anxiety on the score of paucity of students for admission to the agricultural schools. I speak from my experience in Travancore and conditions in British India cannot be far different from those obtaining here. Admission to the agricultural schools should be open to boys who have studied up to the fourth standard in vernacular schools and who are not less than 12 years old. The medium of instruction should naturally be the vernaculars, and the boys must have had sufficient general education to be able to read and understand ordinary books in their own vernacular. To each school must be attached a farm of about 5 acres which must be divided into plots and distributed among the students for cultivation. The instruction given in the schools must be as practical as possible. The boys must not be made to cram up books. In fact, it is better to avoid the use of text-books altogether. The teachers must read up books, take notes and instruct the boys in the elementary principles of agricultural science. The instruction thus given must be impressed on the minds of the boys by corroboration with their own practical work on the farm. Every item of work on the farm must be attended to by the boys themselves, and as an encouragement to them they must be given the produce of their own labour. The boys attending each school will be drawn from the neighbourhood of the school itself, and it will not be difficult, therefore, to insist on their attendance in the school early in the morning and remaining there till evening with a couple of hours' interval in the mid-day. Both in the morning and in the evening they must attend to farm-work 2, or 3 hours and in the interval they must be given lessons in the class room for 3 or 4 hours. The course of training must extend over at least to 2 years, and the backward boys must be kept on for another year or so the ultimate object being to fit them for practical

agricultural work on improved lines when they leave the school.

The school that I have in contemplation is more or less after the model of the Loni Agricultural School in Bombay Presidency with this difference. In the Loni school the boys permanently reside on the farm itself and are fed at Government cost. With regard to the school that I suggest the boys are not required to live on the farm. But since they will mostly be of the poor classes, it may be necessary to provide them with mid-day meal on the farm and that at Government cost. By supplying one meal a day to the boys and allowing them to stay in their homes in the night, instead of making them live on the farm and feeding them at all times, the expenditure on the school can be greatly reduced from what it is at Loni, without impairing the efficiency of the training. The Loni Agricultural School is, no doubt, an excellent institution, but the cost of maintaining it is so great that no Government, however strong its finances may be, will be in a position to open a sufficient number of such schools so as to bring agricultural education in the near future within the reach of the whole rural population which is naturally the goal to be aimed at. A less costly, but not less efficient, scheme has to be formulated if the goal is to be reached within the next one or two generations. I have given some thought to this question and arrived at the conclusions described above.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE: Some Lessons from America. By Cathelyne Singh. Price Rs. 1. To Subscribers of *I. R.*, As. 12.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA. By Seedick R. Sayani. With an introduction by Sir Vitaldas Damodar Thackersey. Rs. 1. To Subscribers, As. 12.

G. A. Natesan & Co., Sunkurama Chetty Street, Madras.

BY MR. J. L. JAINI, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

(Judge, High Court, Indore.)

THE entire criticism of my little book in your October (1917) Number is based on ignorant prejudice, which the reviewer's liberal scholarship has failed to conquer. The tone of the review is halting on account of this deep prejudice. When our own Hindu brethren so grossly and persistently misunderstand the Jainas, what wonder, then, that Western judges should misunderstand us more. This rejoinder will be realised only if read side by side with the review which has called it forth. •

It is *insinuated* that Jainism is not independent of Hinduism in matters of religion. My only reply is that for the last about 3,000 years, every great Hindu scholar who wanted to disprove "heresies," has tried his best to tear Jainism to tatters!

Bhadrabahu was a contemporary of Chandra Gupta Maurya, the king being a disciple of the saint. Doubt is again *insinuated* against this. My reply is that all scholars, so far as I am aware, Indian and non-Indian, agree as to the migration of Bhadrabahu from Bihar to the Deccan about the time of Alexander's invasion, so there cannot be the least doubt as to the *contemporaneity* of Bhadrabahu and Chandra Gupta.

As to Ahimsa, Divinity of Man, and denial of God being essentially Jaina principles, I fear the reviewer does not know the Jaina conception of these principles. The Jainas are the strictest practisers, as distinct from mere lip-professors of Non-injury. In theory all my Hindu brethren follow Ahimsa also. But a Hindu may kill for food or even sport, and he may still be an orthodox, high-caste Hindu. To a Jaina, meat in all forms is forbidden. Some non-Jainas may also be pure vegetarians, but their abstention from killing directly or indirectly may or may not be based upon the profound and delicate principle of

Ahimsa as elaborated in so many Jaina books e.g., the *Purusartha Siddhyupaya*.

As to Divinity of Man, as taught by Rationalistic Jainism, there is a world of difference between the Jaina Siddha, the Vedantist, Brahma and the Sankhya Purusha. This is not the place to go into details. But the Siddha is an individual soul, whose perfection does not mean *merging* and losing itself into some other soul, or whose personality is a mere illusion, or entirely inactive and irresponsible, being caught up by its indiscrimination in the lovely toils of dancing Prakriti.

As to denial of God, the learned reviewer is perhaps thinking of Jainas as atheists or *nastikas*. But he has misquoted me. The Jainas are theistic like their Hindu, Mahomedan and Christian brethren. But their God is not a Creator or Manager, or Proprietor-Director of the show of the Universe. Therefore, I purposely at p. ix said: "The former [of the two distinguishing Jaina principles] is the Jaina disbelief in God as a creator of the Universe; the latter is our adherence to the doctrine of *Ahimsa* (hurt nothing living)". If the reader would read carefully the whole preface and introduction, he will find my position perfectly clear, whether he agrees with it or not. I have made a first attempt to have justice done even at long last, and to have injustice and insult removed from a most ancient and important section of the Indian people.

I am aware many Jaina laws are similar to Hindu laws. But that is nothing surely when Jainas and Hindus have lived for untold ages in the same climatic and social environments, there is no wonder that their laws and modes of life are similar. Even the Mahomedans and non-Mahomedans of our Motherland are similar in many and many a point. But similarity, even when

general, does not negative independence and distinct personality.

From the point of Comparative Jurisprudence, I may point out that such similarities may be due not only to contiguity in Space; but also to that in Time. Many and many a striking parallel comes across between the provisions of Jaina Law and Hindu Law on the one hand, and those of the laws of Babylon, Assyria, &c., of about the same old date, on the other; e.g. taking an oath in the temple [cf. Meisner: *Private Law of Babylon*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 43, with *Jaina Law* p. 41, verse 43]; adoption by both the parents [cf. Meisner *loc. cit.*, with *Jaina Law* verses 39, 40,]; also other points, such as the extra share of the eldest born, the widow's right after the death of the husband, when she has children, etc. etc.

The reviewer will be glad to know that *Indra Nandi Samhita* has been translated and will be

published very early by the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

A personal remark may be excused. As a High Court Judge of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, in the judgment mentioned by the learned reviewer, I have only followed the lines laid down more than a generation ago by the Allahabad High Court (I. A. 688). Only in the increased light available to me, and not to that tribunal, I have removed the hesitancy of their language in giving to a sonless Jaina widow "an absolute interest at least in the self-acquired property of her husband."

My heart delightedly re-echoes the appeal of the learned reviewer to students of Comparative Law and Languages to study Jainism and Jaina Law, and then weigh the just and urgent claims advanced by me in the *Jaina Law*.

A MIRACULOUS FISH

BY

MR. MAHOMED ALLY NOORBHOY (ZANZIBAR.)

NEVER has in the history of the Modern Age occurred such an eventful incident as that of the recent discovery of a peculiar fish in Zanzibar waters.

On 12th June, 1917 a fish measuring about 6" x 3" appeared in the fish market of Zanzibar. It had on both sides of the tail in Arabic characters, "*La Ilaha Illalla*" and "*Shane Allah*" which means God is one and Almightyness of God (which is interpreted in different ways.) But the whole form of the fish is so magnificently and naturally adorned with black and white straps that many beliefs have sprung up and men of Arabic learning prophesy great events.

The whole matter goes, that a poor negro came to buy fish in the market. By chance he saw this wonderful fish lying on one of the heaps. He knew to read Arabic characters. He bought the

fish for three pice and went about showing his curious find to everybody. The news soon spread and there became a loud uproar. The same fish was sold then and there for Rs. 5. In the meantime His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar heard of this and had the fish taken to the palace. Then it was sent to the High Commissioner where investigations were made regarding the originality of the marks. The Zanzibar Government medical authority examined it by washing in various acids but no result was obtained. It is clear that the fish is quite natural and no human hands seem to have worked on it. It was at last sold for Rs. 500 and now the buyer is offered Rs. 1,000. Another fish of the same sort and with same characters, but of smaller size was discovered a few days later. From this it is conjectured that a great number of them are still extant.



THE MIRACULOUS FISH.





J. N. TATA

J. N. TATA : A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY ⁸⁰⁹

JAMSETJEE Nusserwanjee Tata,* whose farsighted patriotism and princely benefactions have made his name so well-known in India, clearly perceived the real needs of the country when he strove for a closer alliance between science and industry in his country, and dedicated to that noble cause the genius of his family and his fortune. Seeing the unlimited resources of India, both in men and material, and realising that real progress was impossible without strenuous efforts on the part of his country to adopt, as far as might be possible and necessary, the methods of the rapidly advancing West, he strove to achieve for his own country what the pioneers of industries in the West had done for their own. He realised that the enthusiasm of the youth of India could be utilised for the country's good, and discovered what was at once a useful channel in which the youth could exhibit their zeal and what turned to be a real saviour of Industrial India. Thus his enterprise marks an important chapter in the history of India. While as a captain of industry he is unequalled in this country; but the lesson of his life and his place in the evolution of Indian polity are no less important.

EARLY LIFE.

Tata was born in 1839 of poor but respectable parents belonging to the priestly caste, at Nausari, in the territory of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, situated a few miles from Surat. Education really worth the name was not available at his birthplace, and he was therefore sent to Bombay in 1852 at the age of thirteen. He received his education in the Elphinstone Institution till 1858, when his academic career came to a close. His father had by now acquired some fortune and was trading in opium with China. For a time Jamsetji worked in his father's firm with a view to acquaint himself with business details. Just then, while an opportunity occurred, he was sent to Hongkong, where he completed his training in respect of his trade

with China. While he was in China, events of serious importance were happening in the Far West. The civil war in China (1861-65) suddenly arrested the transport of cotton for the Lancashire Mills. The price of raw staple began to rise enormously. And in the great cotton famine in England, India found a splendid opportunity. India, in fact, came to the rescue, and Bombay took a leading part exporting nine-tenths of the supply. Thus a way was opened for the output of Indian cotton which brought the country quite an appreciable profit.

The merchants thus reaped an abundance of wealth which led to unprecedented speculation and to the starting of banking and financial institutions of different kinds. The Tatas were now dealing in cotton and established good business relations with Mr. Premchand Roychand, who shared the benefits that arose from their existing state of affairs. The Asiatic Banking Corporation, with which he had much to do, was established in Bombay, and it was arranged that a bank should be opened in London also. Accordingly Mr. Jamsetji Tata had to return to Bombay in 1863, but the project of the bank having been abandoned, he solely devoted himself to the cotton shipments. In 1835, the American War came to an end, and, as a result, the prices of cotton and shares steadily fell until at last a climax was reached and there was a reversal of the previous condition of the merchants. Mr. Tata had to liquidate the firm in England and return to Bombay. His firm also was hard hit but fortune soon favoured it in the shape of the Abyssinian War. For, in view of their previous experience of commissariat contracts, Messrs. Tata, with a syndicate of other contractors, were entrusted with the supply of provision and other equipments for the troops. This greatly profited the firm, and Mr. Jamsetji cast about for some other business opening. With two or three partners he purchased an oil pressing factory which had gone into liquidation and converted it into a spinning and weaving mill. This, however, he subsequently sold out at great profit. But he was now determined to have a mill of his own, and resolved to proceed to Manchester and make himself fully acquainted with the industry there and how large a mill may be equipped in India so as to earn handsome profits.

THE EMPRESS MILL.

He now returned from England and, after considerable deliberation, selected Nagpur for the erection of the mill. On the 1st January 1877, the mill was started, and in commemoration of the Proclamation of Victoria as Empress of India, which occurred on that day, it was christened "The Empress Mill," though the business went under the name "The Central Indian Spinning and Weaving Company, Ltd." We are told that unprecedented

* Condensed considerably from a sketch of J. N. Tata published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., for their "Biographies of Eminent Indians Series." Price As. 4.

success attended the Empress Mill, and this was entirely due to the exceptional "courage and dogged perseverance" of Mr. Tata.

THE SWADESHI MILL.

The success which had attended the working of the Empress Mill, and his practical experience in the field, led him to embark on another kind of enterprise aimed at the spinning and weaving finer yarns. He accordingly started a new company for the purpose, which he styled the Swadeshi Mill.

Having been convinced of the practicability of spinning finer counts with long-stapled cotton, Mr. Tata turned his attention to the methods of cultivation of cotton in India, so as to be able to improve the quality and towards that end compiled a brochure describing the Egyptian method of cotton cultivation. Another branch of cotton trade which attracted his attention was the transportation of the finished products with a view to make it as cheap as possible.

The year 1895 seems to have seen the highest point in his growing prosperity, though certainly there was no decline in the closing period of his life. During the few remaining years of his life he was busy trying to materialise the larger ideals he cherished for his country's good. The two mills, which had become a thorough success already were now entrusted to experienced and intelligent hands. With an easy mind he began to devote his whole attention to the three chief projects he had long contemplated.

ENDOWMENTS FOR I. C. S. STUDENTS.

It was about this time that Tata thought out a scheme to enable Indian students to go to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service when they showed some marked ability but were not able to finance themselves. He also instituted a fund to enable Indian graduates to study in any of the advanced Technical Colleges of Europe. This was surely genuine patriotism.

IRON AND STEEL WORKS.

One very important scheme was that whereby the iron ore in the country could be converted into steel without having to be sent to England and got smelted and finished there.

It was the project for converting the rich ore of the mines of Chanda in the Central Provinces into pig-iron and steel. The project was of a gigantic magnitude and appeared impossible. The belief had for long wrongly got to be entertained that there were no mines in India, but after the institution and development of the Imperial Government's Department of Geological Survey, an idea was possible, of the potentialities of India in this respect. Since 1875, Mr. Tata had constantly endeavoured to get into his possession a mine, which may be so extensive in area and so rich as to turn out to be a commercial venture, profitable alike to himself and to his country. This meant infinitely arduous work but Mr. Tata took to it with his usual, patient zeal, consulted experts and spent money but the fruits of his labours were reserved for his worthy sons. In 1907, his children formed a joint stock company with a strong and influential managing board, inviting the public to subscribe the needed capital of 2.31 crores. It was named "The Tata Iron and Steel Company." The company was formed, "for the purpose of creating in India blast furnaces, open hearths steel furnaces, rolling mills, coke-ovens and others plant necessary for the manufacture of pig iron, steel rails, bars, plates, etc."

The Tata Iron and Steel Works, at Sakchi, are too well-known to the public to need a more detailed mention here. The establishment of this factory marks an epoch in the industrial history of this country and illustrates what business capacity combined with perseverance and enterprising skill backed by capital can achieve. It is by far the largest and most profitable industry thoroughly established in this country.

THE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The second important scheme was the Institute of Science, Bangalore. It was the firm conviction of Mr. Tata that for India's industrial regeneration, successful scientific development and research were indispensable. He believed that the establishment and promotion of large industries was possible only with the aid of science, soundly studied and skilfully applied, certainly not as taught usually in the ordinary colleges, but science

studied with a view to apply it to practical use in industrial work. This idea which constantly revolved in his mind, he determined to carry into execution. Mr. Tata prepared a scheme which he submitted for consideration to a committee of eminent University men, for careful examination from all points of view "so as to ensure the ultimate successful launching of the Institute for purposes of original research in science and philosophy."

The actual work of teaching was begun in 1910-11, but owing to some new difficulties of internal management in connection with the teaching staff, it was greatly obstructed. It is to be deeply regretted the actual progress which the people of India had anxiously anticipated, has hitherto been nowhere. The committee of management had many anxious months of trouble and complications to overcome. Happily, these have been removed, thanks to the personal sympathy, tact and judgment of Lord Hardinge.

THE HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER SUPPLY COMPANY

The other large enterprise which engaged Mr. Tata's attention was the utilisation of waterfalls as power for industrial purposes. Though the matter dated back to the days when he was busy selecting a site for the Empress Mills, the idea did not take practical shape till 1897.

As Sir Dorab Tata said at the inauguration ceremony of the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Company, Ltd., on 8th February 1915:

This is primarily an industrial enterprise. To my father the Hydro-Electric project was not merely a dividend-earning scheme; it was a means to an end—the development of the manufacturing power of Bombay. It is in that spirit that we have carried out the fruitful ideas he bequeathed to us, and it is in that spirit that we have received the far-sighted financial support which made possible the construction of the works. As a business proposition pure and simple we could not have asked for, and certainly we should not have received, the financial backing, especially from the progressive Native States, which has now fructified; the great sums of money needed were forthcoming mainly because those who commanded them believed that the scheme would assuredly play an important part in the industrial renaissance of India which is of paramount importance to the whole future of the country.

THE TATA INDUSTRIAL BANK.

Presently comes an announcement adding one more wing which will reach afar to the

many gigantic undertakings of Messrs. Tata Sons and Company. This is a new bank to be called "The Tata Industrial Bank."

The proposed Bank will do all ordinary and Exchange business as is done by the present banks, but its special business and object will be to finance and assist the development of existing and new industries.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Tata did not live to see the fruits of his work but it comforts one that his sons, followed up the father's ideas with singular devotion, brought to completion his three most important projects guided by an instinct for organising, which was like their father's. Judging, from the progress made during the few years the three institutions have been in existence, one is warranted in assuming that the projects will, in course of time, produce very encouraging results which would at once commemorate the great founder's name and advance the country's industries. Mr. Tata died on the 19th May 1904, and a great public meeting was held at Bombay to do honour to his memory and it was resolved to perpetuate it by a statue.

In the course of a speech at the unveiling of the statue on 11th April 1912, H. E. Lord Sydenham, then Governor of Bombay, said: "Mr. Tata's three greatest schemes are beginning to bear fruit. The first production of steel at the magnificently equipped works, at Sakchi, has been effected . . . in other words, the manufacture of steel of the best quality from Indian ore is now assured. . . . The first session of the fine Institute of Science at Bangalore has been commenced. The work of the hydro-electric project is advancing rapidly and smoothly towards completion. We may, therefore, feel that we are commemorating the great achievements of Mr. Tata just at the time when they have passed into a stage of successful accomplishment." Indeed in him, as His Excellency pointed out, the scientific use of the imagination was happily combined with an infinite power of patriotic endeavour. Thus "the application of the spirit of the West to meet the needs of the East has found a stout exponent in Mr. Tata."

CHRISTMAS WITH THE POETS

BY MR. S. JACKSON COLEMAN.

It is not difficult to understand why Christmas, with its associations and hallowed memories, should appeal so powerfully to the poets. They seem to have grasped in full those vivid and picturesque features of the 'old-time narrative which painters have delighted over to imagine and portray. For as the master-painters of every age have turned quite naturally to the nativity as the supreme subject of their loftiest inspiration, even so have the "glad tidings of great joy" had an equally marked effect upon the world's literature. The splendid eloquence of the prophet Isaiah, the exquisite promises of the Psalmists, and the simple Gospel story are poetry in the highest sense of the word. The song of the herald-angels has echoed down through the generations of the faithful and even those who doubt the divine truths are compelled to admiration by the beauty of the language and the charm of such a simile as "the bright and morning star." Christmas and poetry, indeed, seem as inseparable as Christmas and religion.

Since the time when the first Yuletide carol rang over the fields of Bethlehem some two thousand years ago, the Christmas song has been associated all down the ages with this beautiful festival. There are some, of course, who believe that the carol actually preceded the institution of Christmas. In their view the Christmas song is a new birth, purified and exalted of the hymns of the Roman Saturnalia. Whatever may be the truth in respect to this matter, it goes without saying that the poets, as well as the poetasters, have always made Christmas a favourite theme.

It is quite a natural transition for English people to turn from the Bible to Shakespeare's wonderful poems. In dwelling about Christmas and the poets, however, it must be confessed that a certain disappointment is inevitable. At a time when we suppose it was especially "Merry in the hall when the beard wagged all," Shakespeare only mentions Christmas incidentally. There is just the casual question, "Is not canority a Christmas gambol?" in "The Taming of the Shrew," and the remark in "Love's Labour Lost," which reads strangely. "At Christmas I no more desire a rose than wish a snow in May's new-fangled mirth." There is, of course, the reference in "Hamlet" to the quaint superstition that the cock crows all night on Christmas

Eve: "And then they say no spirit dare stir abroad; the nights are wholesome."

The very soul of Milton speaks to us, communicates the awe with which he approached the mystery of the Incarnation. He was only 21 when he composed his majestic hymn, "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." How sublime are the words: "That glorious form, that light insufferable, and that far-stretching blaze of Majesty." Then follows the hymn of devout adoration, and indeed:

If such holy song enrapt our fancy long,
Time will run back and fetch the age of gold.

Most picturesque is the minute description of the passing of the pagan gods at the Nativity. Mrs. Browning, in the "Death of Pan," thinks that the "Gods of Hellas" perished at the hour of the Crucifixion, but Milton sternly maintains,

Our Babe to show His Godhead true
Can in His swaddling hands control the damned crew.

The "Ode" deserves that close and tender study. Ruskin would have us bestow on "Lycidas," from its first words to that last sweet vision of the "Virgin Blest," watching the sleeping Child whilst

All about the courtly stable
Bright armoured angels sit in order serviceable.

Herrick, however, is the Prince of Christmas Poets. We find that he has a "Christmas Carol" which was "sung to the King at Whitehall":

What sweeter music can we ring
Than a carol for to sing
The birth of our Heavenly King?
Awake the voice! Awake the string!
Heart, ears, and eye and everything,
Awake the while the active finger
Runs division with the singer.

Set forth in the "Hesperides" we find "The Ceremonies for Christmase Daye":

Kindle the Christmas brande, and then
Till sunne-set let it burne;
Which quencht, then lay it up agen
Till Christmas next return.
Part must be kept wherewith to teend
The Christmas log next yeare,
And where 'tis safely kept, the fiend
Can do no mischief there.

Poets who would not claim the Christian name have been fascinated by what seemed to them the Christmas legend. William Morris inserted "Outlanders" in his "Earthly Paradise" and

Mr. Swinburne has published, "Christmas Antiphones." The festive, social side of Christmas has attracted other singers. Most of us recollect Scott's lines in the introduction to the Sixth Canto of "Marmion":

England was merry England, when
Old Christmas brought his sports again.

Wordsworth strikes a similar, if deeper, note in his verses which begin: "The minstrels played their Christmas tunes." Mr. John Davidson has a poem, "Christmas Eve," in his "Fleet Street Eclogues," and Mr. Andrew Lang, in his "Rhymes a la Mode," includes a characteristic "Ballade of Christmas Ghosts."

Anne Bronte, in her "Music on Christmas Morning," Wesley when he heard the pean of the "Herald Angels," John Byron, when he bade "Christians Awake," appealed to those confident in their creed. But Browning had his Christmas counsel of perfection, helpful and manly, ready for the doubters to their perpetual benefit. The world's greatest event has set its permanent seal upon its greatest minds, and each anniversary of his death finds us yearly more in touch with his intensely modern spirit, more grateful for the reasoning optimism of his philosophy.

Methods of School Inspection in England

BY MR. P. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, B.A., L.T.

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THE Report on Methods of School Inspection in England is an interesting document containing a historical note on the development of inspectional methods in England and Wales since 1839 followed by a description of the present day methods of inspection and a suggestive discussion of the essential qualifications of an inspector. Special aspects of English inspection, such as the co-ordination of the work of several special inspectors, *viz*, of music, handwork, health of children and physical training in schools, and the drawing up of reports dealing with special movements in elementary schools are then fully dealt with. There is also a well-written and interesting chapter on the inspection of Secondary Schools in England. What is, however, of greater interest than all these is the practical value of the book to educationists in this country which is treading more or less the same path in education as England.

At present the inspection of Secondary Schools in England is conducted by a company of five or six specialists with the district inspector at its head once in three or five years. Mr. Wyatt is not quite in favour of this system on the ground that such thorough inspection would deteriorate into one of details, that the specialists would interfere overmuch with the work of the teachers instead of merely giving them advice wherever

needed, and that it would dislocate the work of the school and be a hard trial for the masters concerned. But it should not be forgotten that such inspections take place only *once* in five years or so, and if only the inspectors are 'familiar not only with the subject but with the methods of its presentation, and with these not only in principle but from 'personal practice' and 'avoid the specialist's tendency to exaggerate the importance of his subject,' such inspections must do good.

Another interesting chapter in the book is that dealing with the promotion of special movements in elementary schools. These movements include the 'restoration to memory of its proper place in school-work and the promotion of manual and out-door pursuits.' Inspectors and Headmasters of schools in England have already begun to perceive that the fashionable doctrine of 'interest in studies' and that of the 'Primrose path' in education have thrown memory into discredit, weakened discipline in schools and tended to make teaching slack and showy instead of strenuous and to the point. Attempts are now being made to remedy this evil. Memory is being reinstated, the faults of looseness and inaccuracy are being remedied and faith in steady hardwork is reviving. We in India too are keenly feeling the need of a like change in educational methods and the sooner the change is brought about, the better will it be for all concerned.

* Occasional Reports No. 7. "Methods of School Inspection in England." By Mr. H. G. Wyatt, Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA

I. Commander Wedgwood *

Englishmen must make up their minds about India. The days when we could lull our principles to sleep with vague talk about our beneficent rule, about a people unfitted for Government, about protecting the non-military classes from violence and tyranny, are past. The war, the German example, has shaken us up. We are perforce driven to be frank with ourselves. If we are going to rule India in the future as in the past, in the teeth of the wishes of the people, then we are Prussians. Then we must use force and fraud, cajolery, and hate. And then in the long run we shall go down with our good name damned for ever; for nothing can long stand against social, commercial, and political boycott, the passive resistance of a people.

At least Liberal members of Parliament are not content to remain the Prussians of India. The alternative is Colonial Home Rule. Unless Liberalism can do this, and so erase the present feeling towards Englishmen in India, the alternative will be independence. The time is short, and I direct the attention of the readers of this book to Ireland and the *Sinn Féin* movement, then to South Africa and General Smuts.

Those men in India, who are like ourselves and have our feelings, may be few, but they are spreading the light, and nothing catches like the match of nationalism; nor is there any creed for which the idealists who move a people will so willingly lay down life and fortune. Even Prussians cannot keep 315 millions of people always uneducated; and with education comes criticism, even the desire for self-respect.

* * *

I have fought alongside Indians in Gallipoli and in East Africa, and suffer from no tendency to look down. I know how they carried the trenches at Ctesiphon when 35 per cent. of their whole force fell upon the field, and yet they won the day; but I did not know before that, in India, as in Russia and in England, there are men of one mind, bound together by ties beside which race and nationality sink into insignificance.—*India*.

* From the Introduction to Mr. Lajpat Rai's "Young India."

II. Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe

The one essential principle to be established is Responsibility. The one blunder that would imperil the scheme is the refusal, for any reason or through any fear, of an adequate measure of responsibility to Indian representatives and legislative bodies. Here is, of course, an almost irresistible temptation to an all-powerful Government having behind it an unbroken tradition of authority. There is something to be said for autocracy; there is as the English-speaking world believes, everything to be said, when a certain stage has been reached, for self-government. But the system for which there is nothing at all to be said is a system possessing the appearance of autonomy with none of its reality.

Now the main and governing fact of the problem, as Mr. Asquith used to say, is that in the Imperial Commonwealth of to-morrow there must be room for self-governing and responsible India. This is the place which the greatness of India involves, which the extraordinary loyalty of India has earned. The wheel, as everyone who follows the Indian Press can see, has come full circle. There has been nothing like the consensus with which to-day the organs of Anglo-Indian or semi-official opinion, such as the powerful "Times of India," are declaring that the immediate goal of all parties is a self-governing India in an Empire standing before the world as a great confederation of democratic peoples.

But, needless to say, there survives still a party of irreconcilables, who are now becoming extremely vocal in a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. They are, unhappily, setting out to "crab" the Secretary of State's visit, and they are using the release of Mrs. Besant as the occasion of an attack upon the policy of advance and reconciliation. They will fail, for democratic England is with the Government in its new purposes; but Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy must be fortified to meet them.

The opportunity calls for a splendid decision and a fine gesture; and one is convinced that after the experiences of these years, the authorities of Delhi understand this as fully as it is understood in London and throughout England.

—*The Daily News and Leader*.

III. •Mr. Lionel Curtis*

In the first of his "Letters on Responsible Government" which Mr. Lionel Curtis is writing to the press on behalf of the signatories of the Indo-British Joint Address to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Curtis points out :

"The Congress and League had asked the Imperial Government to proclaim "that it is the aim and intention of British Policy to confer *Self-Government* on India at an early date." In the answer made to them on the 20th of August they got something else, and indeed more than they had asked for; and they got it in far more definite terms. The goal is stated as "the progressive realization of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The words "Responsible Government" here appear for the first time in any official pronouncement on Indian Policy. I have seen it suggested in the public press that they were substituted by the Cabinet for the words "Self-Government" used by the Congress and League, in a fit of absence of mind. As a glance at the first words of the pronouncement will show, its terms were discussed in correspondence between the Imperial Government and the Government of India. The delay which took place, after the despatches of the Government of India were sent to London and before the pronouncement was made, is sufficient evidence that every word was discussed and weighed. A writer who objects to "Responsible Government" as the goal of Indian Policy cannot get rid of it by imputing carelessness and levity to British statesmen. "Responsible Government" must have been used in the place of "Self-Government" with a full knowledge of the meaning it conveyed.

IV. Dr. V. H. Rutherford * . .

Can India play her proper part, a useful and glorious part, in human evolution, while in bondage to Britain? In refusing India freedom and self-government, is not England a great barrier to freedom and justice in the world? If India were under the iron heel of Prussia or Russia, would not Britons be the first to cry out "intolerable iniquity!" "insufferable crime against liberty!" and in the event of India fighting for her freedom, would not Britons lend their aid as they are now doing to free Belgium or Serbia? British Government of India may be good of its kind but "good government is no substitute for

self-government," as Campbell Bannerman wisely said. . . . The atmosphere of subjection is poisonous, crushing all that is virile and worthy, and fostering all that is vile and ignoble. I am prepared to please British Imperialists by confessing that I think British over-rule is better than Prussian or Russian over-rule, but at the same time I must remind my countrymen that Britons have stooped to Prussian and Russian methods in the government of India.

Sir John Seeley was constrained also to say :—

"We have our misgivings that perhaps a genuine Asiatic government, and still more, a national government springing out of the Hindoo population itself might not in the long run be more beneficial because more congenial, though perhaps less civilised, than such a foreign unsympathetic government as our own."

These words were written in 1883. Since then the national movement in India has spread and consolidated, and Hindus and Mahomedans are united to-day in demand for that form of self-government which has produced such happy results in Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

V. Mr. Balgangadar Tilak

Mr. B. G. Tilak, while replying to an address recently presented to him by the people of the Athani Taluk said :—

"On account of the Arms Act and similar measures of repression Indians have become foreigners in their own land. The Congress leaders moved heaven and earth for the last 30 years and at the end of that period they were given a toy of the Morley-Minto reforms to play with the administration. As a result of all this policy of distrust, India has become a deadweight round the neck of England, and if she is allowed to remain in this state any longer, not only she will be ruined, but she will ruin England also along with herself. English statesmen have now begun to realise this, and they have made up their minds to put new life in the Indians by granting them "Self-Government." This war is not the last. If another war becomes necessary and if India is to be able to fight for the Empire with all her might, she must first get Self-Government within the empire to be able to do so. Government have now fully realised the necessity of granting it, and at this juncture India must stand united and well-organised. Communal jealousies and caste rivalries are the weak points in our armour, but we must strengthen our position by sinking all differences amongst ourselves and make a united and firm

* From *Commonwealth or Empire*.

demand. If every caste and community were to ask for separate electorate and separate representation, then the administration would be a chaos. Religion has no place in modern polity. In His Highness the Gaekwar's State, village communities have been established, but there separate representation has not been resorted to. A representative must be judged by his merits and not by his caste or creed. Legislative Council is not an exhibition of the different castes and creeds in India. Communal representation would rake up old jealousies, and would sap up the very foundations of unity in India. We would be divided by it, and divided we will fall. This quarrel has not raised its head in other provinces, and it is rather a misfortune that Maharashtra should find a fertile soil for it."

VI. Mr. Eardley Norton

The following is the purport of Mr. Norton's speech at the Non-Brahmin Conference, Tinnevely, under the presidency of the Zamindar of Telaprole in December, 1917 :—

Political conditions in a great measure depended on education. To that extent education and politics are synonymous. He did not think there was much truth in the incessant complaint about the influence of Brahmins in all public departments. The true remedy lay not in complaining but in grasping the situation in their own hands. Looking the facts fairly and squarely in the face, it would be impossible to deny the Brahmins monopolised a larger portion of the important posts, but it was equally true that it was by ability, and industry, they have absorbed education, while other communities were indifferent to the demands of education. That India was progressing greatly under British rule was undeniable and it was likely it will be progressing still faster in the immediate future, if the people were united. India's people should turn their best attention to the educational uplift of her sons and daughters. Driving through the streets of Tinnevely; he found mottoes put up "union is strength." He asked if they worked on that principle. Were they united? Did they not fight their own and other communities? Much political intelligence, insight and commonsense were not necessary to understand the situation. A broader view should be taken setting aside personal and communal animosities. As Indians, stand shoulder to shoulder as the Britishers in Flanders, France and Mesopotamia. He said that he agreed it would be impossible as it would be unwise to give India a complete system of Home Rule,

Speaking as one of them he asked for their own advancement and for the recognition of their own political fitness and not oppose reforms. He asked the audience not to imperil the reputation of India for fairplay. He recognised a gradual, none the less important, advance in India was necessary. Within his short stay in India, he saw an absolute system of nomination swept away, he saw reforms introduced in the Legislative Council by general consent. Government conceded that the system worked well. Indian members of Council contributed largely to the enlightenment of the rulers. Who dreamt a few years ago that Indians would be introduced into Executive Councils? Yet reform carried out without convulsion, without throwing India into anarchy and ruin. Look across the Native States, Indians there are displaying a greater capacity to responsible governments. What was possible in Native States was not impossible in British India. It followed that political progress should advance in India as elsewhere. There was no half-way between progress and decay. It was impossible for the human power to stay the hand of progress. So, wisely providing prudent restrictions on the pace of responsible government, he would urge as a frank friend and well-wisher not to oppose the 'march and make themselves the laughing-stocks of others that they are content to keep things as they were.

THE RECRUIT

BY

REGINALD WRIGHT KAUFFMAN.

Give me to die when life is high :

The sudden thrust, the quick release,

Full in the front, in harness, not

A slow decay in timorous peace.

There is not any way but this !

I would not shirk the joy of strife,

Nor lose one flash of perfect death

For sluggard years of coward life. {

My breath which is God's gift to me,

Exulting waits His high behest ;

My heart, which moves at his command,

At His command will gladly rest.

For who would tarry when He calls,

To haggle at the heavy toll,

And render to ungrudging God

The insult of a niggard soul ?

The New Educational Foundations.

India and the National Idea

Civilis writing in the *Asiatic Review* for October makes some interesting remarks on the nature of the national problem as it presents itself in India. He says that it is but a half-truth to declare that India is only a geographical expression, and that there are very many marks which distinguish Indians collectively from neighbouring peoples. The races of India are self-contained and do not look for affinities outside the country. In a certain limited sense, India has already obtained political nationality, which has, however, been the work entirely of England and the English system. The revocation of the Partition of Bengal marks an epoch in the development of the Indian national spirit, when an Indian race succeeded in making its voice heard, not merely in respect of this or that reform, but in 'defence' of a fundamental principle of nationality; and the Partition brought protests from other parts of India also which thereby claimed a sort of kinship with the Bengalis.

The writer then proceeds to observe that racial, linguistic and religious diversity, though formidable, are not insuperable obstacles, since all races and men become merged in the general population and conform to the type of that part of the country which they inhabit and where their paramount interests lie. He then urges that political development might possibly lead to federation, but not to fusion into a single organic whole; "Perhaps it is the only way to realise the dream of national unity for a country situated as India is" He proceeds that even supposing that such a federation is possible, there remains to be solved the thorny question of hegemony. The strange dictum is trotted out that where there is not a predominant partner in a federated State, there is generally a tendency to disruption; and that in India the predominance of a single partner, e.g., Bengal or Madras, might lead to disunion or even to revolution. Moreover, a federation is regarded by the writer as tending to alienate the Native States and to make them fall away from any scheme of United India and the general conclusion is that for a long time India will not be able to take over her own government. The following extract is worth studying, as the chief apologia from the writer's narrow point of view:

The National Congress is said to contain the germs of nationality, and this is true in so far as it has enabled thoughtful men of all parts of India to meet together and discuss matters of public interest, and to press their

views on the Government of India. But the National Congress cannot claim to be truly representative of the popular voice; an atmosphere more or less academic surrounds its proceedings, and its very unanimity discounts the idea that it is the expression of all shades of opinion. The three landmarks of the growth of the national idea are the Partition of Bengal, the case of Immigration into South Africa, and the European War. The Partition of Bengal marked a great advance upon the time when popular interest was entirely provincial, not to say parochial. The grievance of Bengal aroused much sympathy in other Provinces, though it was felt that the matter was one primarily for Bengal, and did not seriously affect India as a whole. The South African controversy was based on a broader and, therefore, more national principle. India was being degraded; a stigma was put upon her because of her race and colour. Far from realising her aspirations of equality with a white colony, she was sharply reminded of her inferiority, and the humiliation roused indignant protest throughout the country—from Madras and Bombay, as well as from Bengal and the Punjab. But there remained still a wider aspect. The South African controversy was a quarrel within the Empire, to be adjusted by the Mother Country. The feeling was, indeed, national, but the expression of it was restricted in its scope. It remained for the war to prove that India was taking her place in the Empire as a national unit. The significance lay, not in the mere fact that Indian soldiers were fighting side by side with England and the Colonies, but in the consciousness that England had called upon her to bear her share of the Imperial effort, and that she had responded joyfully and proudly to that call. The honour of the army became the national honour, the soldiers were the soldiers of India, no matter from what Province they came, and their cause was the national cause.

The Co-operative Store

Dr. S. Venkoba Row, B.A., contributes an informing article on the Co-operative Store to the November number of the *Mysore Social Review*. The Co-operative Store is organised from the standpoint of the consumer, while all the other kinds of co-operation, such as the Co-operative Bank, Co-operative Workers' Society, Co-operative Agricultural Society, etc., are founded primarily from the standpoint of the producer. Stores exist nowadays in many countries, and their constitution is the same in essentials everywhere. Their evolution has always the same significance. Great Britain, however, has the unchallenged reputation of being the place of origin and of the greatest development of the co-operative movement, and one society of that country has given to the store system the name by which it is well known throughout the civilized world. It is that of the famous Rochdale Pioneers. The English model may be considered as the standard by and to which the stores constituted in other countries may be measured and compared as to their perfection or otherwise.

The Indian Poetry of Devotion

Dr. Nicol Macnicol, of Poona, writes in the current issue of the *Hibbert Journal* about the poetical effusions of the religion of *bhakti* which came to have a discernible outline and an audible voice of its own from about the 12th century. *Bhakti* is a personal religion rendered to a personal God, using the language of the people, addressing directly to the heart, being strongly emotional and expressing itself in poetry and singing. At times the gusts of its emotion have swept its followers away in an orgy of sensualism; and there are always behind it admixtures of superstitions or idolatrous elements. The variations in type of the different *bhakti* schools are due partly to the character and legendary associations of the particular God who is worshipped, partly to the characteristics of the people among whom the particular cult arose; and partly to the character of the founder of the particular school, and the influences under which he may himself have come. The various *bhakti* saints and poets arose in the period from the 13th to the 17th century, Ramananda, Kabir, and Tulsi Das in the North, Chaitanya in Bengal, Jnanesvar, Namdev and Tukaram in the West, and earliest of all, Manikkavachakar among the Tamils. All of them agree in the confession of Tulsi Das, "The worship of the impersonal laid no hold of my heart." Among the Vallabhas, *bhakti* assumed extravagant forms, while in Chaitanya emotional violence of an extreme type was displayed.

The Mahratta saints are representatives of the best elements in this *bhakti* school; they do not betray its extravagances; and at the same time display those qualities of earnestness and sincerity which give the movement so much value as testifying to the depth of India's religious desire. Mr. Justice Ranade says, "Jnanesvar appeals to the pantheistic tendencies of our peoples' intellect, while the charm of Tukaram, of Namdev, and others lies in their appeal to the heart, and in the subjective truth of the experiences felt by them in common with all who are religious by nature." Namdev and Tukaram are little troubled by ultimate problems and are occupied mainly with the hearts' needs. They insist in the case of all, on the need of a spiritual preceptor, who is a kind of mediator between them and God. They believe that man's need summons God with a compulsion that His compassion cannot resist and declare that man's sin even is a *felix culpa* for it constrains God to save. Their most frequent mood is one of desire rather than of satisfaction,

They long for experience rather than peace, and seem to dwell for the most part in what the mystics call 'the dark night of the Soul,' the experience of desolation and bereavement. The sense of the world's need of saving did not lie heavy on their hearts, their end was individual and their ideal of sainthood is a life of equanimity, a passive contemplation that looks upon all alike, unmoved in every circumstance. The goal of their attainment is what is called in the language of the mystics 'the unitive way'—a condition of absorption, and of perfect fellowship and of the harmony of love. The writer concludes with the complaint that their devotion ends in vague raptures and does not lead to action and service.

Co-operative Homes

Mrs. Alec Tweedie, writing in the November number of the *English Review*, says that co-operative homes are primarily for towns, and particularly streets or squares or blocks of buildings. She sums up the advantages of this kind of living in these beautiful words:—

The domestic servant has a better home, better food, better clothes, with less work and more wages in money and kind, than the factory girl. In most cases the domestic's home is luxurious indeed, as compared with the lodging or poor cottage inhabited by her industrial sister. If an upper servant, moreover, she not only lives in a comfortable *milieu* of her own, but is in daily contact with that of her mistress, sees the papers, and hears intellectual conversation. She breathes a refining atmosphere, has the handling of beautiful things; so that her work, if she takes any pride in it, has a reactive value of its own. To touch beauty in any shape is to receive subtly beneficial impressions. Look at the ordinary smart domestic servant, and look at her again five years after marriage, when she has become a regular drudge to her husband, her children, and her daily life.

"Being thoroughly house-proud myself, loving chairs and tables and glass and china, silver descended from ancestors, and embroideries bought in far-away lands or gifts from dear friends, I feel that one's household gods are oneself. They exhale sentiment, and sentiment goes far to keep us straight in the world. We have got to live up to ideals. Home life is an idyll; everything should be done to make it beautiful and its surroundings worthy. Our home is our pivot. Look into a house and you will gauge the character of its occupant. The home speaks.

"Co-operation is now the password of the sexes, not antagonism, and co-operation in the homes in these days of complexity is inevitable. The plan must be arranged now, the fulfilment must be attained as soon as the dogs of war are chained. Life is changed for all of us."

Religious Aspects of the Hindu Polity

Mr. Narendra Nath Law, the talented research scholar of Calcutta, writes in the December number of the *Modern Review* about the points of contact between religion and political life in ancient India, and the extent to which religious ideas influenced polity and political thought. Religious ideas coloured the whole political system from the state-ideal to the innermost strata; and the State received its religious colour and semblance through the medium of many factors like the caste system.

The ideal of the State as set forth in the epic and later Sanskrit literature is that it is the machinery for the collective attainment of salvation (*moksha*) by the people under its care, through the fulfilment of their legitimate desires (*kama*) in a legitimate way (*dharma*) through *artha* acquired also in a legitimate way. This conception of the ideal of the State cannot be earlier than the development of the doctrine of emancipation on the earliest Upanishads; and on the other, it appears full-fledged in the epics. The conception of the Sovereign was likewise religionised, which emerges fully in the epics. In the early Vedic literature the monarch appears as human and not divine. The divinity of the king and of the Brahman as well is also echoed in the law-codes and later Sanskrit literature. But the king has his limitations, and loses his claim to allegiance and reverence and may be even dethroned, should he prove an enemy of virtue and morality. His divinity does not place him above the observance of obligations attached to his office and it positively requires that he should have a really godly nature.

The various differential treatments pinned into substantive law and its administration and proportioned to the grades of the castes had also their roots in religious conceptions. The condonation of some offences is also dictated by religious considerations. "The caste system which was imbued with religion and had perhaps originated in religious exigencies; supplied the frame-work of Hindu society not excluding its polity; the rights and privileges of the king and the people detailed above could not have had their origin, except in that socio-religious institution and subsequent politico-religious conceptions."

Workers under the Industrial Revolution

The *Positivist Review* for November contains a luminous article on the effect of the Industrial revolution on the lives of the workers. Following Professor Unwin's suggestion that "the handicraft or guild system is associated with the *town economy*, the domestic or commission system with the *national economy*, and the factory system with the *world economy*," the authors have little difficulty in showing how inter-national trade lends itself to instability, how a miscalculation as to a market, distant both in place and time, may bring ruin on numbers of innocent work-people.

When by our (British) alliance with Spain in 1808, the South American trade was thrown open to us, more Manchester goods were sent out in the course of a few weeks than had been consumed there in the twenty years preceding; as a result there was in 1811 "an epidemic of bankruptcies" in Lancashire, and "the wages of Bolton weavers fell to five shillings a week. Again, owing to the rapid growth of the industry, and its location away from old corporate towns, as well as to the absence of all control of private enterprise, or indeed any control by the central government in matters of local administration other than police, the new towns grew up ugly, squalid, unhealthy, and ill governed. And with the divorce of the workers in the new industry from the land, they had to depend entirely on their wages, a part of which they often—in the absence or in disregard of Truck Acts—had to spend in their employers' shop, or in a shop designated by him—so that money wages became no measure of real wages. The hours were long. In the mills of Tyldesley the working day was fourteen hours, and even at Manchester in 1825, it was twelve and a half as a minimum. No doubt the home worker, before the factory system arose, had "worked long hours, but they were his own hours; his wife and children worked, but they worked beside him, and there was no alien power over their lives."

In short, what the new order did in all these respects was to turn the discomforts of the life of the poor into a rigid system. Hours were not shortened, the atmosphere in which they worked was not made fresher or cleaner, child labour was not abolished. In none of these respects was the early factory better than the home, in some it was worse. But to all the evils from which the domestic worker had suffered, the Industrial Revolution added discipline, and the discipline of a power driven by a competition that seemed as inhuman as the machines that thundered in factory and shed.

Maitri Bodhisat

Metteya (Maitreya) the Blessed One to come, the Lord of Love, who, according to orthodox Buddhists will come forth in his last incarnation and attain to Buddhahood, only after long ages, is supposed to rest in the Tavatimsa Heaven till the final coming. This Maitri Bodhisat occurs as a great Rishi in three books of orthodox Hinduism—The *Vishnu Purana*, the *Srimad Bhagavata* and the *Mahabharata* (Vanaparva). Mr. F. L. Woodward explains the nature and the probable epoch of the appearance of Maitreya in a recent number of the *Buddhist Review* and quotes from Pali books the few existing references to him. Such references are put in the mouth of the Buddha who alone could speak with authority of his successor. In the Long Section of *Tripitakas* the Buddha definitely foretells the coming of Maitreya who will teach this world and the world of gods; just as the Buddha taught this world. There is also one other reference to Maitreya in a late non-canonical Pali book in which the Buddha says that "Maitreya yet shall come." In this book is given the history of the coming Lord during his former births. In this connection it should be remembered that there are very many Buddhas, that not all Buddhas are fully enlightened ones, some are *Pacceka* Buddhas who do not teach the world, and there are also period or kalpas, aeons, eras, when no Buddhas are at all in the world. Finally there is an account when 5,000 years have passed since the final passing away of Gotama i.e., about A. D. 4460, the Buddha relics will disappear and that Maitreya will be born.

Schools and Public Libraries

Writing in the November issue of the *School World*, Mr. John Swinn, B.Sc., points out the need for more self-reliant activity than is usually displayed by the pupils in English elementary schools. He says that the need has long been felt by those interested in primary education, and for some time teachers, organisers, and officials have been seeking suggestions likely to bring about an improvement in this respect. One of the most obvious methods suggested is the extension of individual reading, whereby the pupil is encouraged to extract from standard books suitable information and afterwards to arrange the facts. Without careful supervision, the plan is likely to lead to desultory reading, with all the evils that such a habit engenders. Not merely must a definite aim be insisted upon, but a prescribed plan should be drawn up and only a limited deviation from it allowed.

Gokhale's Testament & the Indian Church

Dr. Fyffe, the Bishop of Rangoon, writes to the current number of the *East and the West* (a quarterly missionary review) as to how the proposals of Mr. Gokhale when carried into effect would affect the Church and missionary work in the Indian Empire. One of the outstanding features of Mr. Gokhale's scheme is that the Local Governments are to be invested with much larger powers than heretofore; and since many services like the Medical, Police, etc., will be provincialised, the ecclesiastical establishment is sure to be provincialised also. This would very likely mean that the whole system of the appointment of chaplains would be altered, but the Church would probably be none the worse for such a system of recruitment, or from a larger measure of devolution of power to the Local Governments. Another effect of the scheme of Mr. Gokhale would be a diminution of European influence generally, and of the missionary's among the rest. "Perhaps there might be some hardship for native Christians too, the hardship that arises from being, in a small minority, regarded with disdain, because they are held to be under foreign influence." The duty of the Church is, therefore, to show that it is not an exotic and an intruder, but that it has become indigenous, self-supporting and self-propagating, and that the Christians are loyal members of the nation to which they belong. The Church's duty is therefore to show that Christianity is an inspiration and not a suspicious enemy of the growing nationalism.

Dr. Fyffe concludes with a peculiarly missionary statement that the elective nature of the provincial councils recommended by Mr. Gokhale could best be attained by giving the masses the benefits of an education not merely literary, but one of conscience also—and that the missionary alone is best fitted to give this sort of education.

Nothing has ever availed to awaken the human conscience like the Story of the Cross. And the greatest service that the missionary is rendering to the future of India, we believe, is the education of India's conscience by that means. He is lifting the conscience of India to the standard of the Cross. That is the only standard that is adequate for the new powers, if they are to be given in their fulness.

The Importance of Scientific Investigation

There is an article in the *Mysore Economic Journal* from the pen of Sir Oliver Lodge, urging the nation to spend a great deal more in the direction of scientific discovery than now and declaring that to keep genius down by hampering conditions is about the greatest extravagance of which it can be guilty; and that scientific workers can be entrusted with the expenditure of funds without the supervision of government officials. The need of the nation for help from scientific men is great as much in the more rational and altogether worthier pursuits of peace, as in war. The food question is not a war time difficulty alone; the neglect of scientific agriculture and the consequent insufficient produce of the soil are a handicap on the whole output of the nation. The satisfactory promotion of scientific discovery is an affair of millions. The nation can afford to be lavish in productive expenditure of this kind; the young energy and the brains are ready, but the means and equipment are lacking. It is a matter to grieve over that corporate poverty and private self-sacrifice are writ large on the portals of every scientific and educational establishment. About the need for scientific agriculture, Sir Oliver Lodge emphasises the following point and urges that scientific discovery can best serve manufacturing enterprise too.

All food must come out of the ground—and be the direct descendant of sun and air. The only question is how to bring about the result in the most abundant and efficient way. Let scientific men be encouraged, not stingily but lavishly, to attack the problems connected with fertility of soil and the best means of utilising solar energy in the production of the right kind of vegetation, and good results are bound to follow. What the nation chiefly lacks in this matter is faith.

And the same thing is true in every branch of manufacturing enterprise. Nearly every kind of industry can make use of the discoveries of science, and new branches of industry may thus also unexpectedly spring up—new inventions which when perfected are seized and utilised by the community without appreciable gratitude. Surely something should be done to encourage them and make them possible beforehand.

Characteristics of Japanese Law

Dr. Shigema Oba, formerly a member of the Imperial Japanese Diet, writing in a recent

up with the assistance of a French jurist based on the *Code Napoleon* and fails to include some of the superior points of the laws of old Japan. Subsequently a careful study was made of British and American law; and still later a preference was given to German Codes, Japan was

saddled with the criminal code of a European republic where manners and customs were entirely different and nationalism was on a different basis; the result being a good deal of irrational action and much inconvenience. The Law Courts of Japan are modelled almost wholly after German Courts, most of the examination of cases is documentary. In the application of Criminal Law there is a wide margin of discretion allowed to the Judge; and here it is for the most part bureaucratic in tendency with little place for democracy. The old laws of Japan had a close relationship to her moral principles which are fundamentally loyalty and filial piety, both of national growth and importance. According to it all punishments were State punishments, and the penalty was imposed for the violation of the moral principles of the State and there was no idea of a duel between the State and the criminal as in Europe. The main evils of the present system brought about by too sudden a revision at the beginning of the Meiji Restoration are now very apparent and need instant revision.

Our jurists have at last come to see this, and a revision of Japan's legal code is inevitable. The criminal codes of Europe and America have a tendency to conflict with moral principles. The revision most needed in Japanese law is one in the direction of the rights of democracy—as against the present bureaucratic tendency. We must return to the spirit of the old laws of Japan based on our ancient moral principles; and we must adopt the jury system, which is the strong point of western judicial systems, omitting, if possible, the attendant evils. If Japan's legal code could be amended in this direction it would be the most ideal in the world.

War and the Religious Conscience

Mr. Bittman, writing in the November issue of the *Christian College Magazine*, summarises with his own additions and views the conclusions reached in a Danish book entitled "War and the Bellicent Christians" on the question of the influence of the present War on the religious conscience of the peoples at War.

Military leaders have always recognised that religion is a mighty factor in keeping up the morale of the troops; and yet the feeling of tension, rapture and solemnity is often much less than what we could expect in the life of soldiers in actual War. In Germany the influence of War is one which has weaned away the nation from true religion, as may be seen in the following:

There is no doubt that at the beginning of the War a deep religious feeling took hold of the people of Germany;—although we may not be able to understand the nature of this feeling. It was a kind of spiritual mobilisation.

ation that took place simultaneously with the military mobilisation. On the day when ~~Tank~~ broke out, the Kaiser told the people who had gathered round the palace: go to the Churches and pray to God that He will vouchsafe victory to the German army and to the German cause. The Churches were here as in other lands thronged with people, and the pastors and the army chaplains could not cope with their work. But all came with the assurance that their cause was just and took it, as a matter of course, that God would grant to them the victory.

Yet a relapse soon set in. Professor Hauch in Leipzig says: "I do not believe that the War has brought about a real change in the religious conditions to our people. The cause was the same as mentioned before: the national religious feeling gained ascendancy over true religion. A German pastor wrote to one of our Danish Bishops: I pity you Neutrals, that you are outside the great and mighty experience of God's glory here in Germany! You know nothing of all the great things that God during the War has granted to us!"

This spiritual mobilisation had also as its object to convince the neutral world of the clear right of Germany in this War, and they were astonished and scandalised when they found that this their object was not being achieved;—but that many of us answered like the Dutch man who said: "Your guns are good, but your cause is bad."

In France, the War has stopped the feud between Church and State and has not only created religiousness but showed that there was more of it even before than was generally thought.

What religiously has happened in the French Army during the War is this, that the Roman Catholic Church has been reaping the fruits of a zealous work in the Churches and in the schools.

And what happened among the soldiers also happened among the great masses of the people. They turned in their calamity to God. France had in a very real and deep sense to think of the significance of suffering, especially in the parts of France occupied by the enemy, and the people came in great crowds to the houses of God to seek solace and comfort.

The British attitude as influenced by the War:

Among the English people at Home, the change is not so great; in the beginning of the War there was here also a kind of "war religiousness" which, however, did not last here either. It is among those who really were religious before the War that the deepening of the religious life has taken place. But it is also felt that the spiritual result of the War among the people is not so great as one might have expected.

Bhakthi Schools in India

The current number of the *Theosophist* contains an interesting article on "the Significance of the Bhakthi Schools of Mediæval India" by Sri Prakasa, B.A., LL.B. The writer begins by referring to the utter blank, found in the orthodox text-books on Indian history, with regard to the great spiritual and intellectual movements that have risen and spread in India down to very modern times. He then proceeds to describe the various schools of reform and religious thought that arose in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. He says:—

Throughout the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, we have a continued succession of master-poets singing their songs of love and devotion in all parts of India. We have Ramanand in the 15th century; Kabir and Tulasi Das in the 16th; Chaitanya, Sur Das, Beharilal, Mira Bai, Tukaram in the 16th and 17th centuries—to mention only a few prominent names. There is but little to differentiate them from each other; all are fired with the fervour of passionate devotion to a personal God: and many of them—Tulasi Das and Sur Das especially—have expressed themselves in such exquisite language that they have long passed for standard authorities in the prosody of the tongues they wrote in. They invariably write in their mother-tongues—the language spoken by the masses—and their constant theme is to inspire devotion for God and wean away the aspirants from the lures of worldly life and take them to heavens of spiritual peace. Above everything, they extend their preaching and their welcome to one and all, taking no thought of caste or creed. Thus it seems to me that these great poets and devotees stood for many principles and fulfilled many functions; in short, they were the barbingers of the spirit of reform in every department of our national life.

Speaking of the various works of these reformers and saints, the writer first deals with the new religion they preached. The new religion consisted in a deep and emotional realisation of a Personal God as opposed to the severe intellectualism of Sankara's Advaita.

Secondly, these devotees were great social reformers.—

They were great supporters of universal brotherhood—great opponents of the evil effects of caste, at a time when caste was losing all its beauty; when it stood for the determination of the individual's position in society; when it was so more a factor in the elimination of strife and competition from human life; but, on the other hand, was coming to have all its worst features in the form of superciliousness of one caste for another and great unction about "touch" and "not-touch"; and thus, instead of serving its natural and useful purpose, was trying to grip Indian society in its fatal grasp. The devotees served the purpose of reform in two ways: (1) By themselves taking the bodies of Shudras and even lower castes; and (2) by abolishing—if some of them happened to be born as Brahmanas—the restrictions imposed upon them by convention. We read

that Kabir was a weaver; Namadeva, a tailor; Tukaram, a Shudra; Tiruvalluvar, a Pariah; and so on. Unlike the great Sanskrit poets of the past who were Brahmanas and worked under royal patronage, these were wandering, unknown men, drawn from among the lowest of the low. Those among them that did happen to be Brahmanas paid no heed to the restrictions of their caste. It is related of Tulasi Das that when a low caste beggar asked for alms from him in the name of God, he invited him to sit down in a line with himself, and the host and the guest partook of their meal together, heedless of the protests of the scandalised onlookers. Devotion knows no caste, and God recognises no difference between one child of His and another.

Thirdly, they worked for union and tolerance between the different sects prevailing in India.

Lastly, these great poets and reformers sang in the language of the people:—

Their purpose was not to win the applause of smart literary sects, their appeal was direct to the hearts of the men and women of every degree. Speaking in the tongues of their brethren, they influenced them in a manner and with an intensity that could be equalled or surpassed by nothing else. They were the great educational reformers; education was no more to be confined to those who study classical or foreign languages, education must be diffused broadcast. They too, like Dante and others of the Renaissance period of European history, loved their mother-tongues and preached for the understanding of all.

Female Education in Japan

The November number of the *Mysore Social Review* contains an informing article on the subject of female education in Japan. The object of the educational system there may be learnt from the Imperial Instructions issued in 1872. They laid down:—

Education was essential for all persons, and that whereas in the past, learning had often been looked upon as a means of securing official position, henceforward the whole population of the country regardless of classes, must be educated so that no village should contain a household devoid of learning nor any house contain an illiterate inmate.

The following remarks from the pen of Baron Kikuchi, the former Minister of Education, who now holds the presidential chair of the Kyoto Imperial University, about the general woman movement in Japan are full of interest and instruction. They contain the potentialities of a great movement:—

For a Japanese woman to bestow filial love upon her father and mother, or her father-in-law and mother-in-law, to be chaste and true towards her husband, to be obedient to her elders, to be zealous in the discharge of her domestic duties, to bring up her children with tender love, never sparing any pains for their sake—to be and to do all this—was to display the characteristics of a Japanese woman.

The Anglo-Indian

Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore in the course of an article in the current issue of the *Modern Review* offers the following study of the "Anglo Indian":

The baser side of human nature is blind. It only attaches importance to the present, and ignores what is yet to come. It thinks it mere weakness or silly sentimentalism to talk of Truth and Right. Buoyed by high hopes India is making too light of this enemy of British Rule. The Anglo-Indian, who, whether as government official or merchant, stands for the greed of power or money, is too close to India to see clearly. To his nearsightedness it is his power, his prosperity which towers, and the 300 millions of India with their joys and sorrows are only so many shadows, faint and unsubstantial. This makes me afraid that any boon, such as may have served to give back to India her strength of manhood, will be clipped and curtailed and bloodless when it does come or perhaps will perish on the journey and add to the skeletons of the unfruitful good wishes which strew the desert path of India's fate.

The Anglo-Indian who wields the weapon of obstruction is intoxicated with power, and out of touch with the life of India by layer upon layer of accumulated official tradition. To him India is but a Government or mercantile office. While, on the other hand, he is connected by blood with those Englishmen over the seas who shape our destinies; his hand is in their hands, his lips at their ears; he has a seat in their council chambers, and access to the green room behind the political stage; he is constantly going back home to leaveon the country with his ideas and is altering its very psychology. He swears by his grey hairs and the length of his experience and claims special indulgence because of the pinnacle to which he claims to have raised the Empire. Where can our words, our hopes, even our existence be seen behind this towering self-assertion? How can we hope for any Englishman to have such abnormal keenness of insight as to succeed in spying out the humanity in these 300 millions over the encircling walls of officialdom?

The distant Englishman who, by reason of the free atmosphere of Europe is able to escape the illusions of blind self-interest and can see India with a breadth of vision, is cautioned by the Anglo-Indian that it is only through the dust-laden nether sky that a practical view can be obtained, and that the distant view from the pure upper sky is visionary. For the distant Englishman to take an interest in Indian affairs is reckoned by the Anglo-Indian to be a piece of impudent meddling.

The War and the English Intellectuals

To Wells alone of England's literary leaders this war seems to belong; and even he may lose it if he is not careful. Wells has owned the war in the peculiar sense that it hasn't forced him to divorce himself from his past as it has forced Chesterton, Galsworthy, Belloc, and, to some extent, Shaw. None of these latter writers was in harmony with British thought before the war, says Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe of the *Manchester Guardian*, but, as he proves in 'the *Century* for October, the great conflict has whipt them all into line, and in the case at least of Galsworthy and Chesterton, almost unmade them beyond recognition. Mr. Ratcliffe leaves out the Cambridge group, headed by Bertrand Russell and Lowes Dickinson, who are non-resisters and pacifists, and declares that while Shaw and one or two not so well known here may have preserved "a remarkable balance of mind," nearly all the rest have "undergone a spiritual conversion." Take Galsworthy:

He is a minority representative if ever there was one. He belongs as completely and inevitably to the few as Rudyard Kipling and Conan Doyle belong to the many. Such men as those are unimaginable in any other relation; they are incapable of intellectual or emotional isolation. Galsworthy, on the contrary, is detached in an extraordinary degree. . . . He is by nature a preacher, a reformer, an agitator. . . . In all England one could hardly find an eminent man of letters more completely endowed with the qualities that put a man among the dissidents. But the war which leaves Rudyard Kipling and Henry Newbolt and Mrs. Humphry Ward exactly where they were before, has transformed John Galsworthy out of recognition. He lined himself up with the multitude of his countrymen; he can write expositions of the war-policy or exhortations to America which appear without incongruity in the popular prints. He performs, of course, his own particular piece of war-service with the inconspicuous devotion and responsibility of which the English writing-class has furnished many instances. But—and here is the odd contradiction—in his propagandist writing he reveals himself as a typical Englishman of the class to which in his novels and plays he has offered a merciless and persistent challenge.

To most literary people, as to all men of ordinary affairs, the war brought into being a new and bewildering world. To Mr. Wells, first of all, it brought a miraculous fulfilment of his own dreams. While everybody else had to make an entirely fresh start, he had merely to carry into actuality the lines laid down through years of fantastic invention.

Indo Saracenic Architecture

Rao Bahadur K. Krishna Iyengar, B.A., L.C.E., writes an interesting article on the above subject to the current number of the *Sanskrit Research*. It is difficult to express the character which the Saracenic style possesses, because of the varied nature it took in countries which the Saracens conquered but whose inhabitants differed widely in origin. The local types of architecture influenced that of the new religion. Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Sicily, Persia, Turkey, India, Afghanistan and Turkistan, came under Saracen influence and in each of these the prevailing local types have influenced the Saracenic variety. There were three reasons for this; (1) some of the nations they conquered were far more highly civilized than the Arabs and the workmen of the former built after models they were accustomed; (2) the iconoclastic tendencies led them to destroy the old temples and utilize them for their own mosques and places; (3) the converts liked their own system of construction and decoration.

For these three reasons the imitation of local forms was brought about. Consequently their first compositions were of a mixed character. At first they were content to rearrange the colonnades etc., of old temples to suit the normal plan of their mosques. In Delhi and Ajmere there are remains of these first mosques in India. They show simply the addition of a wall on the west side with the usual niche for prayer and entrance arches in the Saracenic style, while the hall of prayer and the corridors round the courtyard are composed of pillars from the dismantled Jain temples. In the later evolution they adhered to the pure form of the latest developments of their architecture in Egypt, Persia and Syria.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

INDIA AFTER THE WAR. By Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald. ["The Contemporary Review," Sept. 1917.]

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE INDUSTRY IN NORTH-EAST INDIA. By Harold H. Mann. ["Bengal Economic Journal," January, 1918.]

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR INDIA. By Mr. D. S. Varde, B.A., LL.B. ["The New Review," Oct., & Nov. 1917.]

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY. By Narendranath Law, M.A., B.L., P.R.S. ["The Modern Review," Dec., 1917.]

SANSKRIT EDUCATION IN OUR VILLAGES. By Mr. K. Krishnamacharya, B.A., LL.T. ["The Educational Review," November, 1917.]

THE PUNJAB COMPULSORY EDUCATION BILL. By Mr. R. A. Subramania Iyer, B.A., LL.T. ["The Local Self-Government Gazette," November 1917.]

THE INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA. By Viator. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," October 1917.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

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The Champaran Agrarian Bill

In moving for leave to introduce the Champaran Agrarian Bill, 1917, in the Behar Legislative Council, the Hon. Mr. Maude made a frank official statement on the Behar Indigo scandals which necessitated an enquiry by a commission, of which Mr. M. K. Gandhi was a member. The objects of the Bill have been described in the preamble as "firstly the settlement and termination of certain disputes which have arisen in the District of Champaran between landlords and tenants regarding certain obligations of the said tenants, and, secondly, to establish a system of penalties similar to those under section 58 of the Bengal Tenancy Act which can be imposed upon a landlord who refuses or neglects to give a legal receipt for rent." After reviewing the condition of the indigo cultivation—the Hon. Mr. Maude referred to the recent visit of Mr. Gandhi to Champaran and said:—

It is constantly asserted, and I have myself often heard it said, that there is in reality nothing wrong or rotten in the state of affairs; that all concerned are perfectly happy so long as they are left alone, and that it is only when outside influences and agitators come in that any trouble is experienced. I submit that this contention is altogether untenable in the light of the history of the past fifty years. What is it we find on each individual occasion when fresh attention has been, at remarkably short intervals, drawn once more to the conditions of the production of the indigo plant? We do not find on each occasion that some fresh little matter has gone wrong which can be easily adjusted, but we find on every occasion alike that it is the system itself, which is condemned as being inherently wrong and impossible, and we see also repeated time after time the utter futility of bringing the matter to any lasting or satisfactory settlement by the only solutions that have so far been attempted, namely, an enhancement of the price paid for indigo and a reduction of the tenant's burden by reducing the limit of the proportion of his land which he would be required to earmark for indigo cultivation. Repeatedly those expedients have been tried—repeatedly they have failed to effect a lasting solution, partly because they could not be universally enforced, but chiefly because no tinkering can set right a system which is in itself inherently rotten and open to abuse.

The Muslim Deputation

The Muslim Deputation did not wait on H. E., the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, because of the objection raised by the Government of India to the following statement in their address:—

There is one matter, however, of more immediate importance, if of less permanent character, which is engrossing the minds of the Musalmans almost to the exclusion of other things at the present time and exerting a most unfortunate influence on their whole outlook and attitude, and to which, therefore, it is our duty to invite the attention of Your Excellency and of you, Sir, with a view to redress.

The Indian Mahomedans have given their best manhood in the service and to the cause of the Empire, notwithstanding that, as is well-known, their deep and cherished spiritual sentiments were challenged with the entry of Turkey into the war. In spite of the genuinely loyal and clearly defined attitude they took up of upholding their allegiance to His Majesty the King Emperor, some of their most highly-respected leaders have been penalised, by internment, under the Defence of India Act, for no other reason, so far as we are aware, than that that they gave academic expression to feelings of sympathy, founded upon community of religious faith, with their co-religionists in Turkey. We cannot but deplore this unhappy policy on which the Government have embarked, for, the strict observance of religious neutrality and toleration for the spiritual susceptibilities of all His Majesty's subjects is one of the chief foundations on which British Rule in India admittedly rests. The occasion, having regard to its complicated and delicate character called for the exercise of sympathetic statesmanship rather than the policy which has been pursued. In respectfully submitting the matter to your attention we may especially urge two considerations in this behalf: in the first place, as already implied, the internment of the recognised and reputable Muslim leaders, in view of the proved loyalty of the community to which they belong, constitutes an unjust aspersion on them which cannot but exert an undesirable influence; secondly, it is bound, we fear, unless rectified soon, to set in motion reactions which must operate to the detriment of the peaceful progress of the country as a whole.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Sir J. C. Bose on Scientific Research

In the course of his speech, in opening the New Research Institute at Calcutta on November, 30, Sir J. C. Bose said that he dedicated the Institute, not merely as a laboratory, but as a temple, erected as a fit memorial for the establishment of that truth for which faith was needed. He continued :—

“Thirty-two years ago, I chose the teaching of Science as a vocation. It was held that, by its very peculiar constitution, Indian mind would always turn away from the study of nature to metaphysical speculations. Even had the capacity for inquiry and accurate observation been assumed, at present, there were no opportunities for their employment. There were no well-equipped laboratories nor skilled mechanics. Twenty-three years ago, some of the most difficult problems connected with electric wave, found their solution in my Laboratory and received high appreciation from Lord Kelvin, Lord Rayleigh and others. The Royal Society honoured me by publishing my discoveries and offering appropriation from special Parliamentary grant for five years. After this, progress was uninterrupted. Then there came a sudden unexpected change in the pursuit of investigations. I was unconsciously led into the broad region of physics and physiology and was amazed to find the boundary line vanishing between the realms of living and non-living. My results greatly exasperated the orthodox physiologist. No condition could have been more desperately hopeless than those which confronted me for the next twelve years. The long persisting gloom was suddenly lifted. My scientific deputation in 1914 from the Government of India gave me an opportunity of giving demonstrations of my discoveries before the leading scientific societies of the world. These led to the acceptance of my theories and results and the recognition of the importance of the Indian contribution to the advancement of the world's science. The work, already carried out in my Laboratory on the response of matter and plant life, has opened out a very extended regions of inquiry in physics, physiology, medicine, agriculture and psychology but high success is not to be obtained without corresponding experimental exactitude. Hence instruments and apparatus, designed here, which stand before you in our entrance hall. The advance of science, is the principal object of this Institute and also the diffusion of knowledge. We are here in the lecture room. In adding this feature on a scale, hitherto unprecedented in the Research Institute,

I have sought permanently to associate the advancement of knowledge with the widest possible civic and public diffusion of it and this without any academic limitations henceforth to all races and in all languages to men and women alike. Lecturers will announce to an audience of some fifteen hundred people new discoveries made here which will be demonstrated for the first time before public. Through the transactions of the Institute, these Indian contributions will reach the world. No patents will ever be taken. The spirit of our national culture demands that we should be free from desecration of utilising knowledge for personal gain. Besides the regular staff there will be a selected number of scholars who would devote their whole life to research. It is my further wish that, as far as the limited accommodation permit, the Institute should be available to workers from all countries. In this I am attempting to carry out the traditions of my country which, so far back as 25 centuries ago, welcomed scholars from different parts of the world at Balanda and Taxilla.

In conclusion Dr. Bose said :—

“Many a nation had risen in the past and won the Empire of the world. A few buried fragments are all that remain as memorials of the great dynasties that wielded the temporal power. Not in matter but in thought, not in possessions or even in attainments but ideals, are to be found the seed of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true Empire of humanity be established. Thus to Asoka to whom belonged this vast Empire, bounded by the inviolate seas, after he had tried to ransom the world by giving away to the utmost, there came a time when he had nothing more to give, except one half of an “Amlaki” fruit. This was his last possession, and his anguished cry was that since he had nothing more to give let the half of the “Amlaki” be accepted as his final gift. Asoka's emblem of the Amlaki will be seen on the cornices of the Institute, and towering above all is the symbol of the thunderbolt. It was the Rishi Dadhichi, the pure and blameless, who offered his life that the divine weapon, the thunderbolt, might be fashioned out of his bones to smite evil and exalt righteousness. It is but half of the “Amlaki” that we can offer now. But the past shall be reborn in a yet nobler future. We stand here to-day and resume work to-morrow so that by the efforts of our lives and our unshaken faith in the future we may all help to build the greater India yet to be”.

Native States and Post-War Reforms

In the memorial submitted to H. E. the Viceroy and the Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu on "Native States and Post-War Reforms," Mr. G. R. Abhyankar, B.A., LL. B. suggests,

- i. a reorganisation of the armies of Native States.
- ii. the providing of facilities for enlistment in the regular army.
- iii. the establishment of military colleges.
- iv. and the creation of a Council of Defence to control their armies.

Hon. Mr. Sastri on Native States

In his new book, "Congress League Scheme An Exposition," the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri observes, touching the question of Native States in any scheme of political re-organization: Congressmen and Muslim Leaguers are sensible of the great place that Native States occupy in the Indian polity, and some eminent men among these have striven in the past for greater independence of action to their Durbars and better reorganisation of the personal status of their rulers. The opportunities that they give for the administrative capacity of Indians, and the meritorious use to which those opportunities have been put are the theme of universal admiration in India. Every patriotic Indian views with pride the initiative and originality now and then displayed by ruling chiefs and looks to them to give the lead to British India in measures of social amelioration. But beyond watching them with sympathetic interest from outside, the leaders of large movements in British India have abstained from promoting similar movements within their territories, or allowing their subjects to mix in any all-India organization. Differences of allegiance, of constitutional status and of legal systems, are sufficient to account for the separate channels in which have flowed the political lives of people in British India and Native State India, between, whom however there is a community of civilization, tradition, language and material interest. The wisdom of this separateness in matters of citizenship was recognised by the Maharaja of Baroda last year and more recently by the Maharaja of Bikaner, when they declared that no interference on one side or the other was desirable. It is only the Dewan of Mysore who struck a different note the other day and demanded a place for Native States in the Councils of the Government of India, which would settle vast issues in which many interests belonging to Native States were deeply

involved. Salt, customs, post and telegraph, currency are only a few of the great subjects in which common action for the whole of India is essential. Sir M. Visvesvarayya showed the sagacity of a statesman who breaks new ground when he suggested that the representatives of Native States should speak and vote in the Imperial Legislature only on the occasions when questions of common concern were under discussion. If this suggestion could be adopted and worked into the All-India scheme of reforms, it would give the utmost satisfaction to the leaders of thought in British India; and Sir M. Visvesvarayya would render a great service to the country if he could persuade Native States generally and the final authorities in British India to agree on a workable plan for the purpose.

Maharaja of Kapurthala's Birthday

During the last week of November Kapurthala was *en fete* for a dual reason. One was the celebration of His Highness the Maharaja's 46th birthday and the other the visit of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala who was accorded a public reception with full State-ceremonial on his arrival at Kapurthala on the 24th November.

The customary religious ceremony connected with the birthday took place on the morning of the 25th November followed by the state banquet in the evening.

Following the toast of His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor which was proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala and drunk with musical honours, Mr. Halifax, Commissioner, Jullundur Division and Political Agent for the State, proposed the health of the distinguished host in most felicitous terms.

In responding to the toast, His Highness the Maharaja assured him that until complete victory and the blessings of triumphant peace were achieved he would not hesitate to continue to do all that lay in his power to assist the Empire in its struggle against the forces of barbarism. Before bringing his speech to conclusion the Maharaja expressed in the most cordial terms the pleasure he felt at the presence of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. His Highness dwelt on the longstanding amity and affection that bound the Houses of Phul and Akluwalia together and emphasised the fact that his distinguished guest was by his visit upholding the tradition the foundation of which was laid more than 150 years ago.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Constitutional Reform in Ceylon

A memorandum suggesting reforms of the constitution has been submitted to the Governor of Ceylon and forwarded to the Secretary of State by the Presidents of the Ceylon Reform League and the Ceylon National Association.

The memorial states that in the Ceylon Legislative Council there are three sources of weakness and dissatisfaction, the official majority, the racial basis of representation and the nomination of the majority of unofficial members by the Governor. Public opinion demands a large increase in the number of the elected members and the abolition of the official majority, of racial representation and of nominated members. Europeans and burghers would retain under the scheme special electorates and members, and Mahomedans would also retain their special representative, but he would be elected and not nominated. These three sections of nominated representatives of communities numbering 314,000 would have, as at present, two representatives for the Europeans one for the burghers and one for the Mahomedans; for the remainder of the population, numbering 380,000, racial representation would be replaced by territorial representation and on the basis of a single electorate. The President of the Legislative Council should be elected by the Council.

An Indian Professor in Oxford

Mr. Kiran Chandra Mukherji, a distinguished student of the Calcutta University, who was Essan Scholar for the year 1908, and stood first in the M.A. examination in English in 1910 and passed, standing second, the Greats (Honours' classics) examination of the Oxford University in 1916, has stood first in the John Locke Scholarship examination in Mental Philosophy of the Oxford University. He has been appointed a Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, being the first Indian to do so. He came from Vikrampur in the District of Dacca, and is the son of the well-known Pandit Sarada Kansa Vidyaratna, of Birtara.

Indians at Shanghai

H. E. the Viceroy has been informed by a telegram received through the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China that the Sikh community of Shanghai has contributed Rs. 4,400-2-4 and the Mahomedan community of Shanghai Rs. 419-15-0 to the "Our Day" Red Cross Fund. His Excellency has gratefully acknowledged these donations.

The Sikhs in the Malay States

The following Press *communiqué* is issued by the Punjab Government:—The Sikh community of Kelantan, in the Malay States, has recently taken the opportunity of presenting to the Acting British Adviser an address, expressing its sincere loyalty to the British Crown and its devotion to the cause of the Allies. At the conclusion of the meeting the leader of the deputation handed to the British Adviser a draft equivalent to £270 collected among the Sikhs in the place as a contribution to the Red Cross Fund. As the Sikh community in Kelantan is about 200 men only, most of them being poor workmen, it will be recognised that this was a very handsome subscription. The address was forwarded to H. M. the King-Emperor, who has conveyed his high appreciation of their loyal message.

Lord Curzon's Tribute to Indian Army

Router reports that Mr. John Murray has published in London "A History of the Indian Army Corps," in France, by Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Merewether and Sir F. E. Smith. Lord Curzon, in an introduction, describes the landing of the two Indian Divisions in France in 1914 as a great event, not merely in the annals of the Indian Army, but in the history of mankind. He says the Indian force arrived in the nick of time, and helped to save the cause of the Allies and civilisation.

A Bengal Prisoner of War in Kut.

At the Calcutta High Court on November, 22, Mr. Justice Greaves heard a suit in which the plaintiff, Mr. P. K. Ghose, was a member of the Bengal Ambulance Corps at Kut. He was made a prisoner by the Turks. His counsel said that two letters had been sent to him through neutral countries but no reply had been received from him.

The First Indian Ship Engineer

Mr. Surendranath Majumdar, a Calcutta man, has been appointed a Fourth Engineer on the *s. s. Merchant Prince*, of Prince Line of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He is the first Indian to hold such an appointment in a British line. He came to England before the war broke out to study engineering; and served his apprenticeship in the works of Messrs. Clarke, Chapman and Co., of Gateshead attending lectures in the Armstrong College, University of Durham.

INDUSTRIAL & COMMERCIAL SECTION.



Factories in Bombay

The Bombay Government resolution on the administration of factories states that the total number of factories rose from 785 to 835 owing to the opening of a large number of ginning factories during the year. The number of operatives remained stationary. The Government are unable to regard with satisfaction the general conditions under which mill operatives work in Bombay. In the opinion of the Governor-in-Council the time had come for mill-owners to combine together to grapple seriously with the pressing problems of housing, sanitation, ventilation and education upon which the future of industry so largely depends. Only 17 per cent. of mill children were receiving any kind of education. That was a blot upon the face of the mill industry in Bombay, says the resolution, which can only be removed by vigorous action on the part of the employers. The extension of the system of grain-shops is strongly urged by the resolution as it was to some extent an insurance against indebtedness of mill operatives.

The Metal Industry

Mr. Arnold Wright writes in the *Mysore Economic Journal*:—"From an authoritative source comes the announcement that the Imperial Government have decided to create a new department for the study of all forms of chemistry as applied to the metal and kindred industries. This new official departure will be widely welcomed by all who have been studying the course of modern economic development. It is scarcely open to question that the severe handicaps under which we laboured in the early stages of the War were mainly due to past neglect of the scientific aspects of industry and particularly of the metal industry. 'Never again' is or ought to be our motto. Certainly, we shall only have ourselves to thank if we ever again allow ourselves to fall into the degrading condition of economic bondage in which we existed before the War."

Ship-Building in India

We understand that a Ship-Building Branch of the Indian Munition Board will shortly be inaugurated. A Naval Constructor, from the Admiralty, is on his way to this country to supervise the arrangements. The headquarters will be situated at Calcutta.

The Oil Seeds of India

India's cultivation and trade in oil-yielding seeds and nuts is likely to expand in an extraordinary manner after the War, says the *Indian Industries and Power*. Groundnuts and cotton seeds take precedence because of increased cultivation during the last few years, but there are many others, including castor-seed, copra, linseed, mowha-seed, sesamum, poppy and the soya bean, which will have a great influence on the industrial activity of India. The great possibilities of cotton-seed are very well-known, but it is surprising to find only one mill working satisfactorily in India, with the adjustment of tariffs, the cheapening of freights, and State encouragement to Indian manufactures after the War, this solitary mill should quickly find itself surrounded with companies. Margarine-making will undoubtedly develop here with the expansion of the cotton-seed industry and be a serious competitor to the butter-making firms of Guzerat. India is realising fully the evil of exporting her oil-seeds to Europe when there is so much wealth to be extracted from them, and she too is taking notice of the waste going on in India in the crude consumption of two-thirds of her output for cooking and toilet purposes. It is computed that 65 per cent. of the oil-seeds consumed locally is wasted because of our inability to scientifically extract and separate its wealth producing parts.

The Panama Canal

According to the *Panama Canal Record*, 'the total number of ships making the transit of the Canal during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1917 in sea-going traffic was 1,876. In the fiscal year, 1916, the total was 787; in 1915 it was 1,088. The aggregate gross and net tonnages of the 1,876 ships in the year 1917, according to the rules of measurement for the Panama Canal, were 8,530,121 tons and 6,009,358 tons respectively. The cargo carried through the Canal amounted to 7,229,255 tons of 2,240 lbs..

Tata Industrial Bank

For the purposes of the Tata Industrial Bank at Bombay the house belonging to the Jijibhoy Dadabhoy Charities, situated at the corner of Medow Street, facing the Mercantile Bank has been purchased at a cost of Rs. 7,45,000.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Agriculture and Industrialism

Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee, M.A., F.R.S., Special Lecturer in Indian Economics of the Punjab University, delivered a lecture on Agriculture and Industrialism in St. Stephen's College on Tuesday, the 27th ultimo. Mr. M. K. Gandhi presided.

In showing the vital values of agriculture and of the dangers of the factory life and environment, the lecturer said that it was fortunate that the greatest champion of the peasants and labourers that India has seen and blessed, had taken the chair. Agriculture is unfavourable to an excessive agglomeration of population in an unhealthy environment. It also prevents the disparity of wealth that is characteristic of the factory system of industry. The family, the home and agriculture, each stands for the development of vital efficiency and organic welfare. In modern industrialism the family and the home have been endangered and vice and immorality are traced to the economic system, chiefly the bad housing conditions.

Professor Mukerjee then described from his personal observation the life in the chawls and bustis. The rooms are small, dingy and dark where it is not possible to see in the daytime, without light and which are centres of poverty, vice and crime. The rents are so high that they cover more than 25 per cent. of the workingmen's income. In Bombay city there are 166,337 occupied one room tenements, giving an average of 4.47 persons per room, and no less than 76 per cent. of the population live in one room tenements. The infant mortality in these is as high as 454.4 per 1,000 live births. Liverpool and Manchester show 140 and 129. The bad housing conditions are responsible for an increasing alcoholism and prostitution. The moral danger is aggravated by the disparity of the proportions of sexes in mill and factory towns where the males outnumber females by 2 to 1.

Cotton Cultivation in India

The total production of cotton in India in season 1916-1917 was estimated at 4,273,000 bales of 400 lbs. as against 3,738,000 bales of 1915-1916. This shows a substantial increase in the production. Vast areas hitherto untried could be brought under cotton cultivation. A special research and working committee should be formed for investigation. It rests with the cottonmill owners' association to take immediate and special steps in this line.

Lord Willingdon on Agriculture

H. E. Lord Willingdon opened the 10th annual meeting of the Board of Agriculture at Poona on the 10th December. In the opening speech he said that he had been struck by the magnitude and variety of agricultural problems in India. He was much struck by the progress made during the last decade but they still wanted men who could grow crops to perfection and knew how they could do it at the least cost. He wished to see such men emerging from the rank and file in ever-increasing numbers. Referring to the breeding of the pedigree stock, he said in levelling up the standard from the worst to the best which the country now produced, they had before them work which would produce direct and indirect results in every branch of Indian agriculture.

The Agricultural Services

The United Provinces Government has decided to introduce the following system of nomenclature in the designation of the officers of the Indian and Provincial Agricultural Services:— Deputy Directors of Agriculture will, as hitherto, be designated by circles; the designation of "Assistant Director" will be reserved for junior officers of the Indian Agricultural Service until their confirmation in charge of circles; no distinction will be made between the Imperial and Provincial Services in the designation of officers performing the same duties; the words "to Government United Provinces" will be added to the designation of scientific experts; and the executive officers of the provincial service will be styled Divisional Superintendents of Agriculture.

Filling up a Silo.

The chief points in filling up a silo are:—

(a) The fodder should be spread uniformly and thoroughly pressed down; (b) salt should be spread at the rate of one seer per 100 cwt. in various layers; (c) if the fodder gets dried up, some water should be sprinkled on it; (d) when the silo is filled up a layer of coarse grass or any straw should be given at the top before covering it with earth so that the rain water may not accumulate on it; and (e) to avoid inconvenience afterwards, fodder should be chaffed before it is filled up.

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION.]

The Year Book of Wireless Telegraphy and Telephony The Marconi International Marine Communication Co., Ltd., Fort, Bombay.

This is the fifth annual publication of this bulky volume. The book deals with the development and progress of wireless telegraphy and should prove of particular interest to ship owners. Recent amendments in international laws and regulations relating to wireless telegraphy are embodied in this new edition.

The wireless map of the world appended to this volume is another interesting and useful addition to this issue.

Speeches by Sir M. Visvesvarayya, K. C. I. E. 1910-11 to 1916-17. Government Press, Bangalore.

This volume containing the full text of all the speeches and addresses delivered by Sir M. Visvesvarayya during the period of his Dewanship of Mysore—which has since been extended—is published under the direction of H. H. the Maharaja. Besides being an authorised record of public functions in the State during the six years of his Dewanship, the volume is of interest in connection with the administrative and educational efforts of the Dewan.

The Industrial Decline in India. By Prof. Balkrishna, M. A., F. R. E. S., F. S. S. The Star Press, Allahabad.

The book is a contribution towards the solution of one of the most pressing problems in India, namely, her economic regeneration. Prof. Balkrishna has dealt with the bad effects of Free Trade Policy on Indian Industry and Agriculture. He pleads for protection and complete fiscal autonomy for India. The views of representative Indians and Englishmen on the need of protection for India are given in support of the argument.

Science of Thought. By C. R. Jain. Published by Kumar Devendra Prasad, Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

This is a small and interesting book on the Nyaya philosophy, based on the Jain treatises on the subject. The author is a learned exponent of Jainism whose great work, "The Key of Knowledge," has been reviewed already in the pages of this review. Logic or the science of thought has three schools of eminence in India, the Buddhist, the Jain, and the Hindu, and each school has a respectable antiquity and exhibits great power of analysis and subtlety. In the present book the Jaina views are explained on the principal topics of Nyaya philosophy in general, the nature and kinds of proof, the elements of a syllogism, fallacies, etc.

Moral Readers No. 1. By M. V. Srinivasa Aiyangar, B.A. The Hindu Theological High School, Madras.

This is the first of a series of moral readers which the author is publishing for the use of students in Secondary Schools. The author has spared no pains to make a comprehensive moral anthology of tales and precepts culled from every available source.

Diabetes and its Dietetic treatment. By Major R. D. Basu I. M. S. The Pabini Office, Allahabad.

This is a reprint of Major Basu's well known treatise on diabetes which was once reviewed at length in our columns. The author reiterates that "recent researches have confirmed his view that sugar is not a poison"; and advocates vegetarian dietary in the treatment of diabetes.

New ways in English Literature. By James H. Cousins, Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

There are about a dozen essays in this volume written from time to time to different periodicals. Mr. Cousins writes with intimate knowledge of the charmed circle of Celtic bards of whom Mr. Yeats and A. E. are the leading spirits. The essays on Sir Tagore and Edward Carpenter are apposite in a study of the "new ways in English literature."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

A ROMANCE OF WASTDALE. By A. E. W. Mason. Hodder & Stoughton, London.

ITALY: MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN: A HISTORY. By E. M. Jalilism, C. M. Ady, K. D. Vernon and C. Sanford Terry, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

CANADA AND ITS RELATION TO THE BRITISH EMPIRE. An address by Sir Jew. Flavelle, Bt. Mac-Millan & Co, Ltd. London.

HORRORS OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS AND AGAINST ANIMAL SACRIFICE. Bombay Humanitarian Fund, Bombay.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

LAND AND LABOUR IN A DECCAN VILLAGE. By Harold H. Mann, D. Sc., Oxford University Press-Bombay.

VEHICULARS AS MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION IN INDIAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. By P. J. Mehta M. D., Bar-at-Law. \ Satyagrahasharima, Ahmedabad.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

November 20. Maximalist regime in Russia.

A new French War Committee has been appointed.

November 21. Fight off the Heligoland.

Bonar Law's tribute in the Commons to Field-Marshal Haig.

Mr. Balfour's statement in the Commons on the China and U. S., regarding the Japanese agreement.

November 22. Mr. Martineau, the Governor of Pondicherry and the French possessions in India, delivered the Convocation Address to the Madras University.

November 23. British thrust at Cambrai; General Plumer appointed Supreme Commander of the Italian army.

November 24. Italians repulse the enemy at Salarino, Monto Portico, and Monto Muffone.

Peace *pourparlers* by Russian Maximalists.

November 25. Leninish decree issued reducing the size of the army.

November 26. Deputations and addresses of the Congress-League and the Home Rule League to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy at Delhi.

November 27. Mr. Balfour's speech in the Commons on the Russian chaos. Peace demonstrations in Berlin.

November 28. The annual meeting of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of Madras was held at the Y. M. C. A.

November 29. Lord Lansdowne on allied policy. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State received addresses from the All-India Hindu Sabha and the Anglo-Indian Empire League.

November 30. Statement of the All-India Muslim Deputation as to why their Deputation to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy was dropped. Opening in Calcutta of the Bose's Research Institute.

December 1. A Conference of representatives from Bengal districts with Mr. C. R. Das in the chair resolved that nothing less than complete provincial autonomy would satisfy the educated Indians.

December 2. Great protest meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall against the continuance of the internment of the Ali brothers.

December 3. Sharp fighting near Moeuvres. Sir George Buchanan's Statement on the betrayal of Russia.

December 4. Russo-German peace negotiations. America declares war on Austria-Hungary—President Wilson's speech.

December 5. Hon. Mr. Patel's Bill on compulsory Primary Education in Municipal areas passed to-day in Bombay.

December 6. The Madras Government have issued a revised Order on students and politics.

December 7. H. E. The Viceroy and Mr. Montagu received addresses at Calcutta from the European Association, the Indo-British Association and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee.

December 8. First meeting of the Patna University Senate was held to-day.

December 9. Ecuador's break-up with Germany. King's message to General Allenby on Jerusalem victory.

December 10. H. E. Lord Willingdon opened the tenth annual meeting of the Board of Agriculture in Poona.

December 11. Appointment of a Judicial Committee re Bengal anarchism.

December 12. "Our Day" celebrations all over the country.

December 13. Roumanian army concludes armistice with Germany. Civil War in Russia.

December 14. Arrival of the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu and party in Madras. Sir Daniel Hamilton delivered an address to-day on "Responsible Government and Co-operative movement" at Calcutta under the auspices of the Young Men's Zamindary Co-operative Society.

December 15. An extra-ordinary meeting of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee and the Mahajana Sabha was held to-day for discussing matters relating to the deputation to Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy.

December 16. It is understood that the Madras Presidency Association has been permitted to present their Address to the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu.

December 17. Mr. Montagu and the Viceroy received addresses from the several public bodies to-day at the Government House, Madras.

Literary

INDIA'S HELP IN THE WAR.

An authoritative statement is issued to the press in London detailing India's assistance in the war in men, money, food and war materials, a special section being devoted to help from Ruling Chiefs. The introduction remarks:—"There is danger in dwelling on the defects of Indian administration dealt with in the Mesopotamia Report of overlooking or underestimating the real value of India's help in the prosecution of the war. This account gives some indication of the extent to which India has assisted the Allied cause, but it can give no adequate idea of the patriotic spirit which has inspired the peoples of India throughout the war to pour out their blood and treasure in the service of the Empire. The wave of enthusiastic loyalty which swept over the whole of India at the outbreak of the war was not confined to any one class."

The statement gives as an example among many, of India's loyalty, the action of some Indian subordinates in the Finance Department, who when despite the utmost efforts of the staff accounts respecting the Indian Expeditionary Forces, which the War Office wanted as soon as possible, could not be completed in time to catch the last mail-train from Simla to Bombay, hired a special train and met the charges out of their scanty pay without saying a word of it to their superiors, the matter becoming known only by pure chance.

"This incident," says the Introduction, "is typical of the general spirit which has been apparent in all classes and parts of India, whether under British Government or Ruling Chiefs. The value of this spirit and of determination it indicates is incalculable."

THE "NATION."

All lovers of Liberty and of Liberalism will learn with sincere pleasure that His Majesty's Government have removed the ban which for six months they had imposed on the export of that great Liberal organ, the *Nation*. Referring to this action, the *Nation* has the following in its issue of October 27:—"The act is their own. The *Nation* neither courted an edict which it did nothing to deserve, nor sued for its withdrawal. The journal which has now recovered its freedom is the same in policy and expression as that which was suppressed."

MR. FISHER ON "LEARNING BEFORE EARNING."

"Learning should come before earning. All the young people should be regarded as subjects of education primarily, and in a measure before Parliament he hoped to give effect, to some extent, to that aspiration. It was our duty to frame a scheme of education which would give to every human being in this country as good an education as we could afford to give him and as he could afford to receive. That was the principle upon which he was proceeding. He was glad that attention had been called to the fact that there were a large number of children—he believed 600,000, who had had their education curtailed in order that they might assist the country in the war. There were children who had been labouring in the field, in the factory, and in the mine. They had suffered injury to their educational growth which it would be very difficult to repair, but he had not forgotten them. It was not an altogether easy problem to solve satisfactorily, but he would do his best to provide for those children facilities for recovering some part of what they had lost."

THE MAHARANI OF BHAVANAGAR.

The Maharani Sahiba of Bhavnagar has for the last three years been publishing a Gujarati weekly paper giving information about the war. Thousands of copies are distributed free to schools, colleges and libraries and to villages and cheras.

THE "NEW ERA."

The United Provinces Government has forfeited the security of the "New Era" and seized copies containing the following articles:—"Messrs. Mohamad Ali and Shakuat Ali," October, 20; November 3, "Eye-opener;" November 10, "Mussalman and Mr. Montagu," December 8. The paper ceases publication for it is understood that a new paper is started to represent Moslem opinion.

THE "BOMBAY CHRONICLE."

A settlement has been arrived at between the Board of India Newspaper Company and Mr. Horniman at the instance of certain friends of the latter who have carried on negotiations on his behalf. Mr. Kama, Managing Director has resigned managership of the paper and retired from the Board. Four new Directors nominated by Mr. Horniman and his friends have been elected to the Board, viz. Messrs. F. E. Dinshaw, M. S. Captain, Ratansi Dharmsey Morarji and Cowasji Jehangir. Mr. Horniman has consequently withdrawn his resignation and resumed Editorship.

Educational

BURMA UNIVERSITY SCHEME.

A lengthy Burma Government Resolution on the fifth quinquennial Report of Public Instruction in the province, from 1913 to 1917, states, in regard to the proposed Burma University: "There is every indication that the time for the establishment of a University in Burma is approaching and the constitution of the University has been the subject of prolonged and careful consideration during the quinquennium. But financial stringency has stood in the way of the immediate adoption of a comprehensive scheme and so far it has only been possible to sanction the acquisition of a site for the University which this scheme contemplates. In the meantime it will be necessary to make a modest beginning with a University comprising the two existing colleges on their present sites, supplemented by a central administrative staff. This initial scheme is now at an advanced stage, and it is hoped it may be brought into effect at an early date."

THE MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

The recent meeting of the Madras University Senate was productive of an interesting discussion on the subject of English teaching in colleges. It was on the proposition to reduce the English minimum in the Intermediate Examination that the debate arose, and the bulk of informed opinion was in favour of altering the present English course so as to suit Indian conditions. The Hon. Mr. Stone pointed out that the idea of reducing the Intermediate minimum in English was much too crude and what was necessary to improve the admittedly unsatisfactory situation, so far as the Intermediate examination was concerned, was to deal with the courses themselves. What at present happened was that intricate questions, involving elaborate studies in criticism, were too often set at Intermediate Examinations and the boys failed. To set great store by what one speaker called "fancy knowledge" was becoming a dominant tendency with examiners and the Senate had arrived at a definite understanding to check this, though the proposition to reduce the English minimum was negatived. The question regarding payment to members of the Syndicate who went out to inspect colleges was later on raised by Mr. G. A. Natesan and was productive of a certain amount of acrimonious discussion. The matter was eventually postponed till next March.

MADRAS HEADMASTERS' CONFERENCE.

A Headmasters' Conference, organised for the first time in Madras, began its sittings on Oct. 20.

The Hon. Mr. J. H. Stone, C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, opened the sessions and in doing so dwelt on the importance of the gathering. He warmly scouted the idea that the Conference had been engineered by Government. The Conference had been organised solely in the interests of headmasters and by the headmasters themselves. At the same time the headmasters had sought and had obtained the co-operation of assistant masters who had warmly approved of the idea of the Conference. The speaker was sure that the deliberations of the Conference would prove helpful to all interested in education.

Several papers were then read on educational subjects.

MAHOMEDAN EDUCATION.

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—

The Government of Bombay have for years past laid down that Indian children shall not be educated in English for the first four years of their school life. They now lay down that Mahomedan children shall not be educated in Urdu, and shall be educated in the local vernaculars. We have protested against the first prohibition, we can on no account acquiesce in the second. Our fundamental objection is this; that the parents know much better than any Government—whose personnel and policy are constantly changing—what is good for their children from every point of view. Now, this question of Urdu is a vital one for Mahomedans and more particularly in places, where they form a small minority. It is their salvation, it is their way to the warm water of life from out the frozen mass of Hindu castes by which they are surrounded. They cannot assimilate with the Hindus with whom they are racially and nationally, one because of the caste system. If they are not to die out as a people, their only resource is to put themselves in contact, by means mainly of the Urdu language, with the head-waters of the Islamic communion in Upper India.

LADY O'DWYER ON EDUCATION.

Lady O'Dwyer has written a foreword for a pamphlet by Mr. Ghulam Hussein, Barrister-at-Law, of Amritsar, on the education of Indian women in the Punjab, in the course of which she says:— "This, I believe, to be vital to the future progress and well-being of the Province in which I take a deep personal interest."

Legal

THE OUDH COURTS BILL.

At a meeting of the United Provinces Legislative Council on the 10th December the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani moved for leave to introduce the Oudh Courts (Amendment) Bill the object of which was to provide that not less than half the Judges of the Judicial Commissioners' Court should be members of the legal profession. The Government opposed the measure, which on a division was lost by 22 votes to 12. Mr. Chintamani next moved for leave to introduce the Oudh Civil Courts (Amendment) Bill to provide that the appointment of Judicial Commissioners in Oudh should be reserved for Barristers. The motion was lost by 22 to 12. Among the resolutions moved by Mr. Chintamani was one urging the Government to adopt a vigorous policy to check the ravages of plague. The Hon'ble Colonel Maclaggart said that the Government was doing everything possible. As a matter of fact money set apart for fighting plague was lying idle, because people did not choose to avail themselves of it. If anybody proposed a practical scheme on behalf of the people, the Government would be happy to consider it. The resolution was accepted.

TALPUR SUCCESSION CASE.

The Privy Council has upheld the decision of the Sind Judicial Commissioner's Court in the Talpur succession case, which arose under the following circumstances:—When H. H. Mir Hussanally Khan Talpur died on the 30th January, 1907, he left a sister and a nephew. H. H. Mir. Abdul Hussain Khan Talpur filed a suit against Bibi Sona, sister of the deceased, and her son, H. H. Mir Nur Mahomed Khan, for possession of the property left by the deceased, which amounted to about Rs. 13 lakhs, on the ground of the custom existing in the family by which females were excluded from inheritance. The suit was heard by Mr. Leggat, then Additional Judicial Commissioner, who held that the custom was proved, and decreed in favour of the plaintiff. The appeal was lodged by Bibi Sona and Mir Nur Mahomed Khan in the Judicial Commissioner's Court, when Messrs. Bratt and Crouch gave judgment, reversing the decision of the Lower Court, and dismissing the suit. Mir Abdul Hussain Khan appealed to the Privy Council and the case was heard last sessions, but judgment was deferred.

INVESTIGATION OF CONSPIRACIES IN INDIA.

The Governor-General in Council has, with the approval of the Secretary of State for India, decided to appoint a Committee, (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies, and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them. The Government of India consider that for the proper examination of these questions a strong judicial element is essential in the Committee. They have accordingly secured the services of Mr. Justice Rowlatt, of the King's Bench Division of His Majesty's High Court of Justice, as president, and the following gentlemen have agreed to serve as members:—Sir Basil Scott, Kt., Chief Justice of Bombay, Dewan Bahadur C. V. Kumarasawmy Sastriar, Judge of the High Court of Madras, Sir Verney Lovett, K. C. S. I., Member of the Board of Revenue, and Mr. Provash Chandra Mitter, Vakil of the High Court of Calcutta. Mr. J. D. V. Hodge, I. C. S., Bengal, has been appointed Secretary of the Committee. The Committee will assemble in Calcutta early in January, 1918. It will sit in *camera*, but will be given full access to all documentary evidence in the possession of Government, bearing on the existence and extent of the revolutionary conspiracies in India, and will supplement this with such other evidence as it may consider necessary.

THE LAWS' DELAYS.

The Privy Council has dismissed appeals from the judgment of the High Court of Bengal, in the case of Tarini Charan Sirkar vs. Bishun Chand and others relating to mortgage transactions. Lord Buckmaster, giving judgment, pointed out that during the eleven years since the institution of proceedings, Bishun Chand's mortgage had risen from Rs. 5,000 to over Rs. 80,000. He emphasised the danger of this combination of usury and abuse of legal procedure. It was not easy to suppress the former, but the latter ought not to be incapable of remedy. There seemed to be no lack of expedition in Courts in disposing of cases once they had been entered for hearing. Delay was associated with the dilatoriness of procedure and apparent unwillingness of persons controlling the litigation to bring it to a speedy conclusion.

Medical

MEDICAL WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION.

Presiding at the opening ceremony of the All-India Conference of the Association of Medical Women in India on December 7, at Bombay, Her Excellency Lady Willingdon said that the greatest lesson learnt from the war is the extent to which women can undertake with success the most diverse forms of public duty. The work of the women's branch has profoundly impressed upon her the versatility, ability and self-sacrifice which women can bring to bear upon a task which inspires and appeals to them. She mentioned that military authorities have recently appointed a unit of medical and surgical staff to Freeman Thomas War Hospital, Bombay, composed entirely of women doctors. Dr. Agnes Scott, Vice-President of the Association, described the work during the ten years of the existence of the association. Dr. Anna Kugler gave an address on the problems which the association hopes to solve. These include the difficult conditions of childbirth, infantile mortality training of nurses, etc.

VALUE OF APPLES AS MEDICINE.

Ripe, juicy apples eaten at bedtime every night, observes the "Wealth of India," will cure some of the worst forms of constipation. Sour apples are the best for this purpose. Some cases of sleeplessness have been cured in this manner. People much inclined to biliousness will find this practice very valuable. There are some cases with which sour apples are not agreeable. It sometimes happens in these cases that stewed apples will agree perfectly well while the raw ones are very disagreeable.

THE HOSPITAL SHIP "MADRAS".

The following extract taken from a book "A Message From Mesopotamia by the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Lawley" may be read with interest:—

Of all the work accomplished by voluntary effort for the sick and wounded in this great War none has been more effective or more valuable than that which has been done by the Hospital Ship *Madras*.

Immediately on the outbreak of War she was acquired by the citizens of the Madras Presidency transformed, equipped, and manned with such celerity that so early as November 1914 she was able to set out perfected, so far as human agency may attain perfection in design, construction and

most important of all, control and direction for the convey of five hundred sick or wounded men.

Having rendered services of incalculable value to the troops in East Africa, she was, towards the Autumn of 1915, diverted for service in the Persian Gulf.

She was the first Hospital Ship to cross the bar and make her way to Basrah; and for many months she was the *only* Hospital Ship in the Tigris waters.

Now over two years and a half she was moved on a constant and unfailing course of mercy, and it is by thousands that the number may now be computed of those who have been helped back to health and hope by as devoted and unselfish a body of men and women as ever set out to heal the sick.

During the last week in January 1917, I found myself on board the *Madras* steaming up the Persian Gulf. As a non-combatant and Red Cross Commissioner, I could without impropriety travel in a Hospital Ship, and it was, perhaps not altogether inappropriate that I should be a passenger in a vessel bearing the name of the Presidency with which my family and I have been intimately associated in days gone by.

ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE.

A meeting of the Medical Practitioners of Calcutta under the presidency of the Hon'ble Dr. Nilratan Sircar, was held on the 2nd December 1917, at the office of the Bengal Medical Association, 212, Cornwallis Street. It was decided to hold annually an All-India Medical Conference. The first Conference is to be held this year during the ensuing X'mas week in which questions of Sanitation, Medical Ethics, Education and matters pertaining to the responsibilities, rights and privileges of medical practitioners in India will be taken up for consideration. Dr. Raghavendra Rao of Bombay has been elected President of the Conference.

PASTEUR INSTITUTE OF SOUTH INDIA.

The annual meeting of the Pasteur Institute, Southern India, was held in Madras on the 5th December. Colonel Miller, I. M. S., presiding.

Colonel Cornwell, I. M. S., in a report, stated that the number of patients during the year was 1,707, an increase of 217 (Asiatics 167, Europeans 50). Four died during the course of treatment, five died in less than fifteen days from the date of the completion of the treatment and five died 15 or more days after the completion of treatment.

Science

SCIENCE ASSOCIATION.

The Annual Science Convention was opened at Calcutta recently in the lecture hall of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the General President, and scientific papers of considerable importance were read by several distinguished men of science and illustrated by experiments, some of them also by means of lantern slides. There was a large attendance.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee in opening the Convention referred to the great usefulness of this Association which had done much to further the cause of science in India, and he paid a glowing tribute to the memory of the founder, the late Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar.

Mr. C. V. Raman, the Sir Tarak Nath Palit Professor of Physics in the Calcutta University, then delivered a lengthy address on the progress of Physical Science in Bengal in the course of which he detailed the achievements of some of our well-known scientists in various directions and in referring to the College of Science said that the young men there had done remarkably good work in the way of scientific research.

Mr. Raman next read a paper on the subject of vibration, and gave entertaining experiments with a mechanically-played violin and cello.

A number of other gentlemen, Research Scholars and Professors of the Association, University Professors and Lecturers in Applied Mathematics, contributed papers on "Resonance Radiation and the Quantum Theory," "the Theory of Foucault's Test and the Radiation from the Edges of Diffracting Apertures," "Sommerfeld's treatment of the Diffraction Problem" and a number of other papers.

The Chemical Section was opened by Dr. P. C. Ray with an inaugural address and the Biological Section by Dr. B. L. Chaudhuri.

TANNING LEATHER.

A new process for the conversion of hides and skins into leather is said to have been perfected by a leather expert in England. After the usual preliminary treatment the hides are tanned by steeping them in a solution of an alkali silicate or a solution containing colloidal aluminium silicate, soluble or colloidal silicic acid or other silicon derivative with or without the addition of sodium chloride. The process may be used in conjunction with other methods of tanning.

GAS FROM WOOD.

Trials on wood as part substitute for coal in gas-making have recently been carried out in France. The wood used was the sea pine, in the form of billets cut from the middle of the trunk. The charge of the wood was about half the weight of that of coal and carbonisation occupied about half the usual time. When running one retort with wood to every two with coal, no appreciable difference in the calorific power of the gas was noted. Of the two by-products—small coke and tar—the former amounts to 5 to 10 per cent. The tar from the combined distillation of wood and coal is much lighter than common tar, and is more difficult to separate from water in the condenser. Owing to the acid character of certain of the products of the distillation of wood, *e.g.* acetic acid—trouble may be caused in the condensing plant unless the proportion of coal is sufficient to yield ammonia in the quantity necessary to neutralise the acids. The yield of gas from the wood was found to be substantially equal to that from coal.

OIL AND COAL BURNING FURNACES.

Oil burning furnaces require smaller amount of air for complete combustion than coal burning furnaces. This is due to the better condition for combining and thoroughly mixing the fuel and the air. With the burning of coal the air must force its way through the mass of fuel and cannot thus flow freely. In burning oil fuel, the oil is sprayed and the air is admitted in such a manner as to bring a proper combination resulting in more perfect combustion. For every pound of oil fuel burned, it will be found necessary to supply from 13 to 14 lbs. of air.

COPPER.

The world's production of copper in 1916 was 1,396,600 tons, as compared with 1,061,300 tons in 1915, an increase of 335,600 tons. The 1914 output was 923,909 tons, and that of 1913 was 1,066,000 tons. Of the 1916 total 880,880 tons are credited to the United States, the output of which in 1913 was 556,000 tons. The Geological Survey of that country has estimated the production of smelter copper for 1916 at 1,927,850,848 lb., or 860,647 gross tons. Next in importance ranks Japan with 90,000 tons in 1916, followed by Chili with 66,500 tons, and Mexico with 55,000 tons.

Personal

THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE.

Touching the recent elections to the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay the *Leader* writes:—

We deplore the result of the election in Bombay of the members of the All-India Congress Committee for the next year. That such men as the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parekh and Messrs. C. H. Setalvad, H. A. Wadia, N. M. Samarth and N. V. Gokhale should be kept out of the Committee is indeed a sign of the times at which we imagine no thoughtful patriot can rejoice. Mr. Samarth has long been on the brain of the new patriots; he has been an object of their special disfavour. His ability cannot be disputed, nor can any one gainsay that his long connection with the Congress, which is of 22 years-duration, has been of distinct value to the national organization. He had a large share in giving to the Congress the constitution of 1908 and has ever since been one of its most active and influential members. He was one of the Congress delegates to England in 1914 and has for some years been the working Secretary of the Bombay Presidency Association. He has opinions and a will of his own, to which he holds tenaciously, and this happens to be his chief disqualification in the eye of those who follow new leaders; Mr. Setalvad is a Congressman of 24 years standing, an ex-President of the Bombay Provincial Conference, one of the Secretaries of the Bombay Presidency Association and Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University and was a member of both the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils. Mr. Gokhale is one of the most thoughtful men we know in the country. The Hon. Mr. Parekh is a venerated old man noted for his uncommon uprightness. That Mr. Wadia is endowed with brilliant ability, everyone knows who knows him. The non-election of these good men and true and of some other old Congressmen both in Bombay and Madras is a loss not to them but to the Congress and through it to the country. We daresay that Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar would also have been thrown out but being *ex officio* members they are beyond the reach of those zealous men whose motto seems to be that valour is the better part of discretion. They obtained admission into the Congress by virtue of the amendments inserted into the constitution in 1915;

they made themselves felt at their first session last year and they give promise of signal achievements in the near future.

In connection with the elections to the same body in Bengal, the paper says:—

To Bengal must go the credit of making a cleaner sweep of the old members of the All India Congress Committee that Bombay has done. To be sure Babu Motilal Ghose has been re-elected and so have been his friends and followers—Babu Basanta Kumar Bose, Rai Yatindranath Chaudhuri, and Babu Bijoi Krishna Bose. But Rai Baikunth Nath Sen Bahadur has been kept out and Mr. B. Chakravarti has been elected. Similarly, Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, the Hon. Nilratan Sircar, Babu Krishna Kumar Mitra, Mr. J. Chaudhuri, the Hon. Babu Brovas Chandra Mitra, Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Babu Satyanauda Bose, Babu Prithwis Chandra Roy, Mr. Surendranath Mullick and others have been cast out in favour of Mr. C. R. Das, the Hon. Mr. Fazlul Haq, the Hon. Babu Kamini Kumar Chandra, Mr. K. B. Sen, the Hon. Maulvi Abul Kasim, Mr. A. C. Banerjee, Babu Jitendralal Banerji, Babu Bipin Chandra Pal, Babu Hirendra Nath Datta and others. As in Bombay so in Bengal, the ex-Presidents remain because they could not be ejected. What next?

MR. GANDHI AND SOCIAL SERVICE.

At a meeting of the Reception Committee of the first All-India Social Service Conference held on Friday, the 7th December, at the Y. M. C. A. Committee rooms, Calcutta, Mr. M. K. Gandhi was unanimously elected President of the Conference which will be held in Calcutta on the 27th December next. Prominent social service workers from different parts of India have been invited to address the Conference on various aspects of social service in this country. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri is the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Mr. Amal Home, the Hon'ble Asst. Secretary of the Bengal Social Service League, is the Hon'ble Organising Secretary of the Conference. All communications regarding the Conference are to be addressed to him at the Conference Office, 63, Amherst Street, Calcutta.

MR. A. HYDARI.

Mr. A. Hydari has been elected President of the next session of the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference in Calcutta. Mr. Hydari is an enrolled officer in the Indian Finance Department, whose services have been lent to the Hyderabad State.

Political

WOMEN IN PARLIAMENT.

China is the only Oriental country where women are allowed to legislate. One of the Provincial Parliaments formed after the Republic was established—that of Canton—allocated ten seats to women, who are elected by the votes of their own sex. Two of the successful candidates are school-mistresses, and most of the others are the wives of wealthy merchants. Since taking their seats the lady legislators have devoted themselves most diligently to their duties. They frequently take part in the debates, and display considerable aptitude for Parliamentary business. It is believed that the example set by Canton will, in course of time, be followed by some of the other provincial assemblies in China, which, at present, consist exclusively of men.

BRITAIN'S POLICY.

Mr. H. G. Wells writes:—

Great Britain has to table her world policy. It is a thing overdue. No doubt we have already a literature of liberal imperialism and a considerable accumulation of declarations by this statesman or that. But what is needed is a formulation much more representative, official and permanent than that something that can be put beside President Wilson's clear rendering of the American idea. We want all our peoples to understand and we want all mankind to understand that our Empire is not a net about the world in which the progress of mankind is entangled, but a self-conscious political system working side by side with the other democracies of the earth preparing the way for, and prepared at last to, sacrifice and merge itself in the world confederation of free and equal peoples. 'The time is drawing near when the Egyptians and the nations of India will ask us, "Are things to go on for ever here as they go on now or are we to look for the time when we, too, like the African, the Canadian and the Australian will be your confessed and equal partners?" Would it not be wise to answer that question in the affirmative before the voice in which it is asked grows thick with anger?

TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

We understand that Dr. Chuni Lal Bose, Rai Bahadur, has been elected President of the ensuing session of the Temperance Conference. This is the first time, that a temperance worker hailing from within the province itself, is elected to preside over the deliberations of the annual Conference.

THE MUSLIM DEPUTATION.

The following resolution was unanimously passed by the members of the Deputation present in Delhi and submitted by telegram to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State:—

"That this meeting of the members of the All-India Muslim Deputation present at Delhi enter a strong protest against the objection taken by the Government of India to the passage in their address relating to the internment of distinguished Muslim leaders under the Defence of India Act—a question which the meeting is convinced is closely bound up with the contentment of very large numbers of His Majesty's subjects and which in their opinion does involve an important constitutional issue. This meeting is further of opinion that refusal by the Government of India to allow the Deputation to be received by the Secretary of State unless the passage referred to above was deleted, constitutes an encroachment on the rights of Indian citizens to place their political grievances before His Majesty's representatives. Having regard, moreover, to the fact that other deputations were allowed to present addresses to the Secretary of State containing a number of matters not bearing on the question of constitutional reforms and considering also that this attitude of the Government has debarred this deputation from placing before the Secretary of State and the Viceroy the views of the Muslims of India on many important questions of constitutional reform contained in their address, this meeting deploras the decision of the Government of India and deems it its duty respectfully to bring to the notice of the Secretary of State the circumstances which prevented the deputation from placing the Muslim view-point regarding the political situation before the Right Hon. the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy."

NON OFFICIAL MUNICIPAL CHAIRMEN IN BOMBAY.

The Bombay Government announces that the Governor-in-Council is pleased to direct under section 23 (2) (c) of the Bombay District Municipal Act, 1901, that every President of a city municipality in the Presidency proper shall, in future, be elected by such municipality. Accordingly the remaining city municipalities those of Bandra, Godha, Viramgam, Thana, Jalgaon, Yeola, Barsi, Satara town, Bhusaval, Malogaon, Pandharpur, Bagelkot, Guledgud and Ratnagiri, will in future elect their Presidents and the arrangement will come into force when the offices next fall vacant.

General

THE BENGAL VILLAGE.

H. E. Lord Ronaldshay, speaking at the opening of the Estupar Baptist Mission School, said:—"It is I believe, in the villages of Bengal that one may best learn what Bengal is. It is village life which constitutes the most abiding and the most important element in Indian life, and it is to the village one must go if one hopes to learn the right of the feeling, hopes and aspirations of the Bengal people."

20,000 AEROPLANES FROM THE U. S. A.

More than 20,000 aeroplanes are now in course of construction in the United States, says the *Times*. Washington correspondent, and this country will soon send the first all-American battle-plane to Europe. According to an official statement issued by the Secretary for War, highly satisfactory progress has been made in the equipment of the aerial branch of the Army and in the training of airmen. While it is inexpedient to impart information of military value, it is permissible to make a partial announcement of the progress of the American aviation programme. Contracts have been allotted and work is in progress on the entire number of aeroplanes and motors for which £128,000,000 was provided by the Aviation Bill passed by Congress in July. This called for more than 20,000 aeroplanes. The types of machines now in process of manufacture cover the entire range of training machines, light high-speed fighting machines, and powerful battle and bombing planes of the heaviest design. The contracts cover an ample number of training machines and embrace many giant battleplanes of a capacity equal to the Caproni, Handley Page, and similar types. The American forces in France will be amply equipped with aircraft.

KEEP THE KING'S ENEMIES OUT.

A new article is added to the articles of association of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce with a view to keep the King's enemies out of its membership. The new Article 17 (a) states:—"Any individual member who is, or was, or whose father is, or was, and any firm any of whose partners are, or were, and any Joint-Stock Company or other Corporation one-third of whose capital held by members who are, or were, a subject or subjects of a foreign State, shall in addition be subject to the following provisions, namely:—

(1) His or their membership shall be, *ipso facto* terminated if war is declared between H. M. the King-Emperor and any State of which he or his father, or in the case of a firm of which any partner or his father, or in the case of a Joint-Stock Company or other Corporation, one-third of the capital is held by members who or their fathers is or are or at any time was, or were, a subject, or subjects. (2) His or their membership may be terminated at any time by a unanimous resolution of the Committee in that behalf or by a resolution of the members of the Chamber in general meeting, and neither the Committee nor the member of the Chamber in general meeting shall be required to give any reason for such termination.

GEORGES CLEMENCEAU.

The new Premier of France, Georges Clemenceau, was born in a hamlet in the Vendee on December 28, 1848. Many years after, when he entered the Chamber as head of the Clemenceau Ministry, writes the *Times of India*, M. Baudry d'Asson, the well-known Royalist member, and an amusing and picturesque figure in debate, cried out, "Vive la Vendee!" "That cry well expresses the contradictions in the career, as well as in the temperament, of the remarkable Frenchman. His family, in the Revolution time, threw in their lot with the Chouans; he himself was Mayor of Montmartre under the Commune, and by Mayoral decree imposed an exclusively secular education upon his 'administrés.' Thus, his hatred of Clericalism had early beginnings, since it found expression under the Government of Quatre Septembre, when the future ruler of France was thirty years of age. It required another thirty years before he came to office—to leave it after fifty months in dramatic circumstances. In the cold shades of Opposition he was of terrible power, and became known as the 'Cabinet Breaker.' It was a deserved title, for, with fierce invective, he overthrew many a powerful combination. He was the bitterest opponent of Jules Ferry, the first French Minister of Imperial notions, and contributed to the fall of his Cabinet. It is because M. Clemenceau has preserved so many of the Breton characteristics that he is the formidable power he is. There is a streak of harshness, almost of hardness, in him; an overbearing impatience with stupidity, an impenetrable stoicism—all of them traits that one refers back as much to his native air as to his rationalistic upbringing."

